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ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCHES,

RESPECTING

THE RED MAN OF AMERICA.

INFORMATION

RESPECTING THE

HISTORY CONDITION AND PROSPECTS

OF THE

INDIAN TRIBES of the UNITED STATES:

Collected and prepared under the
direction of the **BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS** per act of Congress
of March 3rd 1847.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT L.L.D.

Illustrated by
S. EASTMAN, CAPT. U. S. ARMY.

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Published by authority of Congress.

Part IV

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO.

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PART IV.

PHILADELPHIA:
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & COMPANY,
1854.

TO

FRANKLIN PIERCE, ESQ.,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIR:

In dedicating this volume to you, by the patriarchal title of KOSINAN, the highest term known to the lexicography of the Indian tribes for political sovereignty, and yet a word which is intimately associated, in their minds, with all the obligations and endearments of the father of a family, I advert to the double tie by which the aborigines regard you as the FATHER OF THE UNION.

It is but little over three-fourths of a century since these tribes have been the peculiar charge of American Executive and Legislative care. Too feeble in themselves to exert a prudent or wise use of their power without legal tutorage, yet having had, at all periods, large superfluous territories to cede and alienate, thereby rising to the rank of independent communities, they occupy an anomalous position in our relations. On the one hand, being deemed as wards of the government; and, on the other, as *quasi* foreign nations.

They have occupied this peculiar position from the days of Washington. Nor have the most timely and persevering efforts been wanting to fulfil these diverse duties faithfully. Not only has the government directed its best efforts to this end, but it has, from its inception experienced the full concurrent moral and benevolent influences of the community. Yet it must be acknowledged, on a review of the whole period of our propinquity to this race, that the means employed to elevate them in the scale of nations have often measurably, and often totally, failed.

This is not attributable, I apprehend, to the want of zeal, constancy, or faithfulness in enforcing on the Indian mind the superiority of our laws, arts, industry, or religion. There is reason to fear, that with every effort to render them wiser, happier, and better — to snatch them, as it were, from their fate, and to exalt them to the golden sunlight of civilization, letters, and Christianity, we have not, it is to be feared, welcomed them with the same free and equal offers which are made unreservedly to the rest of the oppressed family of mankind.

I should not, I confess, feel authorized to employ these expressions, if circumstances had not placed me in a position, on the frontiers, to judge of the race by a long period of close proximity and intimate relations, public and personal. I am persuaded, from these observations on the man; from the operation of our laws on the frontiers; and from his mental habits and idosyncracies, that if there be one leading measure more than any other, or all others, aspiring to control his destinies, which it is in our power to bestow, it would be to extend the frame-work of our code, civil and criminal, over every organized foot of territory possessed by them. The experience of mankind teaches, in every latitude of the globe, that, to be effective, protection of the obedient classes of society, as well as punishment of the vicious, must alike accompany the reign of law; and there is no exception to be made. If I have made any valuable observations, in relation to the Indian tribes, or if there be exceptions, they are such as an advanced state of arts and letters require; which make the concession of privileges and immunities to them, means of exaltation in the scale of civilization, rather than the final rewards of them.

I have the honor to be,
Most respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

FOURTH REPORT.

WASHINGTON, *F. Street*, Oct. 1, 1853.

To the HON. GEORGE W. MANYPENNY,

Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior.

SIR:

I have the honor to lay before you, to be submitted to the Department, the following information, in continuation of that heretofore presented, respecting the Indian tribes of the United States, prepared in obedience to the directions of Congress. It has been my object in conducting this investigation, strictly to follow the obvious meaning of the original act, in its direct and simple intentions, by collecting a body of ELEMENTARY INFORMATION on the topic. To do this, the subject has been systematically divided, by sectional and diacritical marks (vide formula herewith,) in each volume, thus connecting kindred with kindred matter, and in this manner presenting the data collected, relative to the history, statistics, languages, and other leading characteristics of the tribes. The discussion itself has been placed on broad, yet distinct grounds; paper following paper in its strict numerical and alphabetical order. The same topical method has been pursued, in the materials now submitted, avoiding theories and speculations, which have tended so much, on this prolific topic, to mislead judgment and distort opinion.

Generalization on the subject, to be productive of practical or valuable results, it is conceived, should follow implicitly the accumulation of the materials, and it is a labor that may well be deferred to a more matured state of the inquiry. To enable this to be done, complete tribal views are required of the whole groups or families of tribes, in their multifarious extent, from Minnesota to New Mexico, California, and Oregon. It is to tribal, sectional, and characteristic details, that we must look for distinctive views to test their actual history and traits, as well as to determine their present condition and prospects, and to intimate their opinions on life and futurity. On such data alone, whatever be the requisitions of a sublimated rationalist philosophy, for which chronology is too short, and Christianity too simple, practical minds must rely for the soundness of the policy to be pursued respecting them. It is eminently a practical, not a speculative question; and upon this basis the anticipations of benevolence and education must also rest. Useless is it, for the present generation to bemoan the fading away, and perishing of tribes, in the by-gone history of the country, if we are not prepared, by wiser or better plans, founded on facts, to avert the fading away and perishing of tribes for the future. The appropriation of large sums of money annually, in annuities to the tribes, without securing the high objects for which political economy contends, and on which humanity insists, is but aggravating the evil it professes to cure. To expect barbarians prudently to manage their finances, and become political economists, is to look for what never has, and never will happen. We must not only think for them, but compel them to act in accordance with the dictates of sound thought.

From full and free communications with the originators of this measure, such were the views entertained by Congress, respecting the general question, and touching what was requisite to be done, to ensure better results. We are ourselves on the highway to national prosperity, founded on a geographical area which once was theirs. We cannot doubt the honesty, or zeal, of efforts made for their reclamation, through a long course of time, by Spain, France, England, and America; yet those efforts, even from the days of Las Casas, and the apostolic Eliot, have, it must be confessed, proved a comparative failure. There must, necessarily, if we inquire closer into the subject, be some misconceptions or misapprehensions. Is America absolved from her great moral obligations to the aboriginal race, by these failures — made in other times, and with far *less* means of securing triumphs?

Philosophy has deemed the history of the Indian tribes an enigma. There is nothing to connect it, by any sober chain of testimony, with their origin or residence in any other part of the world, if we except the little that philology, and perhaps monumental indicia, have contributed. Civilization was not satisfied, when these inquiries were ordered, that the character and claims of the Indian tribes had been adequately presented. Education promised rewards to further exertions — Arts, Agriculture, Christianity, were constant in asserting the practicability of their reclamation. Should legislation alone fail of its aims, or persist in lines of policy, which the soundest principles of political economy had exposed, if morality itself had not condemned?

I cannot be mistaken in these impressions. No misconception of the objects contemplated — no injustice of allusion — no misapprehension of the efficacy and value of the means pursued to collect and prepare this information — no want of appreciation of the claims of the tribes themselves, upon our public sympathies and attention, either here or elsewhere, have, for a moment, diverted my attention from the object, or slackened my zeal or diligence in its prosecution. There are persons in America who believe, that our duties to the unenlightened aboriginal nations are overrated; persons, whose intellects or fancies are employed in the contemplation of complicated and obscure theories of human origin, existence, and development — denying the very chronology which binds man to God, and links communities together by indissoluble moral obligations. There are persons, unacquainted with their true condition and character, who would not feel great sympathy, if the whole aboriginal race, tribe on tribe, were hurried into perdition — that which the false maxims and practices of the tribes strongly threaten. With individuals of this mode of thinking, it is confessed we have few predilections, believing that whatever our duties may be to the rest of the unenlightened nations of the world, they are emphatically due to the ignorant, benighted and erring hunter-tribes who are the subject of these investigations.

I was not content, in undertaking the task of collecting the materials of our aboriginal history, with the opportunities of my long residence in the Indian country, and my having devoted much of it to the study of their languages, history, and institutions, but I sought strenuously to enlist observation and experience, official and unofficial, in the production of this information, wherever it could be found. Soliciting your favorable attention to the data now presented,

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

PART FOURTH.

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I. GENERAL HISTORY. D.

[4th Paper, Title I.]

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TITLE I., LET. B., VOL. II.

First Interview with the Tribes of Virginia, New York, and New England, at the Close of the Fifteenth and Commencement of the Sixteenth Centuries. A Sketch of their general Ethnography.

TITLE I., LET. C., VOL. III.

Spanish Discoveries in Florida, and the present Area of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas. Expeditions of D'Allyon, Narvaez, and De Soto. Discovery of the Mississippi River.

TITLE I., LET. D., VOL. IV.

Discoveries on the Gila, Colorado, and Rio Del Norte. Expedition of Coronado in 1542, and Conquest and Founding of New Mexico. First Excursions into the present area of Western Texas and Arkansas.

I. GENERAL HISTORY. D.

DISCOVERIES ON THE GILA, COLORADO, AND RIO DEL NORTE—EXPEDITION OF CORONADO—CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO.

THE year 1519 was one of deep interest to the fate and fortunes of the Gila, Rio del Norte and Colorado Indians. Florida had been known during nine years, when an event occurred of the greatest interest in the history of the tribes. This was no other than the discovery of Mexico. The empire of Montezuma, which had been founded, agreeably to their own traditions, on that of the Toltecs, had that year reached its culminating point. When Cortez landed on the Mexican shores, judging from the ordinary course of things, he appeared more likely to have served, with his few followers, as an offering to Huitzilapochtli, the war-god of the country, than to have conquered and brought it into subjection to Charles V. Yet, in two years, he was master of the empire. He had, during that period, entered Mexico the first time, turned upon Narvaez and his Cuban pursuers—defeated them—founded the city of Vera Cruz, re-entered Mexico with the conquered troops, levelling its walls as he advanced; and he was soon heralded in Spain as a hero, and urged his claims at the Spanish court for rewards, as if he had performed feats worthy of Hannibal or Scipio.

This story has been told by the Spanish historians with every advantage to the conqueror, which national pride and vanity can give it. The type of civilization of the Indians themselves has been greatly exaggerated, that the splendor of the conquest might be enhanced. It must be admitted, however, that in some of the arts, as metallurgy and spinning—in the knowledge of astronomy, and in public architecture (for the commonalty lived in huts), they had made advances which are astonishing. These contrasted strangely with the manners and morals of the people, and only go to prove how far the intellectual faculties and industrial means of a nation may be improved, while in domestic morals they still remain at, or very near, the initial points of barbarism.

Considered as men inured to the Indian art of war, they were sanguinary and cruel, but they were so infinitely inferior in courage in field-fights, as well as in skill and implements, to Europeans, that they never fought a respectable pitched battle during the whole conquest — they could not be relied on for any effective struggle, when not roused by the fury and superstition of their priests, and when not in the immediate presence of their supposed gods, or at the sites of their temples. Victory over such weak and undisciplined hordes was not difficult, and it was too often, on the part of the conquerors, a cloak to cruelty and injustice.

Of the tale of the conquest we have nothing to remark in this connection, excepting as it exposed the tribes of the present enlarged area of the United States, north of the line of the Gila and Rio Grande del Norte, to invasion. This result followed the taking of Mexico, within the period of some twenty years, and it is to the particular narration of these events in Mexican history, now become our own, that these pages are devoted.

It was resolved to make New Spain a vice-royalty, in 1530, and after some delays in finding a representative, Mendoza was appointed to the chief office by the Spanish court. He reached the city of Mexico in 1535, carrying a printing-press; the first, it is believed, ever introduced on the American continent. Under a wise, energetic, yet calm and beneficent rule, the disorders of the country were remedied, partial insurrections quelled, and the reign of law fully established. It so happened, in the course of a few years, that a Franciscan missionary, named Marcos de Niza, who had visited the country north of Sonora, reported that he had discovered a populous and rich kingdom called Quivera, or the Seven Cities, abounding in gold, the capital of which was named Cibola. On Cibola, therefore, all eyes were soon set.

The origin of the tale of the Seven Cities was this: — In 1530, while Nuño de Guzman was President of New Spain, an Indian called Tézou, of New Galicia, told him that his father, who was now dead, had been a trader in ornamental feathers, such as are used in head-dresses, to a people in the interior, lying north of the present course of the Rio Gila, and that he brought back, in exchange, large returns of the precious metals. Tézou said that he had accompanied his father on some of these journeys — that there were seven cities as large as Mexico, built on a regular plan with high houses, and that there were entire streets of gold and silversmiths — a falsehood that fanned hope into a blaze.

De Guzman, putting full faith in these stories, gathered an army of four hundred men and proceeded in search of this golden country, taking Tézou along; but after reaching the province of Culiacan, he found the mountains beyond it so difficult to pass, that he would not proceed with his discovery; and hearing at the same time that Cortez, with whom he was on bad terms, had returned from Spain with high honors, and fearing for himself, he gave up the expedition and contented himself with founding Compostella and Guadalaxara, which became the nucleii of New Galicia. Meantime, Tézou died.

While this story was still current in the country, Cabeça de Vaca, the only surviving officer of the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez (1527) to conquer Florida, reached Compostella, with three companions, one of whom was a black man named Estevan. De Vaca gave such glowing, and in some measure, mysterious, accounts of the countries through which he had passed, in his extraordinary pilgrimage of nine years, that the ardent minds of the Spaniards were fired anew with the thirst of discovery, and the story of Tézou was invested once more with all the probabilities of truth.

Mendoza, who had but recently arrived in Mexico, determined to order an expedition of exploration into the region. As a preliminary step, he despatched Marcos de Niza, with two other friars, and a competent military escort, into the region, taking Estevan as a guide. On reaching Culiacan, on the borders of the country, they rested a few days and prepared themselves by further information. Estevan, evincing the impatience of his African character to participate in the first advantages of the anticipated discoveries, in his great eagerness to reach the place, preceded the three friars with a few Indians. He crossed the Gila, and hurrying over the desert, which was without an inhabitant, reached the valley of Cibola, where they found the first town, while De Niza and his two companions were still sixty leagues in the rear. He made haste to present himself before the caciques of the town, of whom he insolently demanded their gold and their wives. On this audacious demand, unsupported as he was by force, and unauthorized in making it, the chiefs questioned him closely, by what authority these demands were made. Judging, from his replies, that he was a spy from a party on its march to invade their country, they decided, after a short consultation, to put him to death, and immediately carried this decision into effect. When De Niza and his companions heard of this, they forthwith retreated to Compostella, and thus ended the second attempt to reach the kingdom of the Seven Cities.

But a golden lie is not easily put down. It was an age in which nothing but wonders would be believed. Golden Indian provinces were constantly flitting before the Spanish mind, and the friar de Niza, when he had reached Compostella, determined not to be behind-hand in fanning the fires of expectation. He went to Mexico, and in an interview with Mendoza, not only confirmed him in his prepossessions of golden regions north of the Gila, but published a description of his tour, in which, according to Casteñada,[1] he gave the most alluring account of a country, respecting which, he found the popular impression so high.

Mendoza, thereupon, determined to hasten an expedition to explore and conquer the country, and thus add it to the already large acquisitions made under the banners of Charles V. This was the beginning of the history of the intendency of New Mexico. To lead this expedition, he finally named Francesco Vasquez Coronado, the successor of De Guzman as governor of New Galicia. It was only necessary to announce such a design from the vice-royal court at Mexico, to attract gentlemanly adventurers from every quarter. Such was the enthusiasm indeed, generated on this occasion, that men of the highest rank pressed for even subordinate places in the expedition. It was determined to take De Niza as guide, and to send him ahead of the army in order to make preliminary discoveries. Of a force of three hundred men, it is said by Castenada, that there never was an expedition organized in America, which had such a proportion of gentry who were eager to participate in the glory of the enterprise. The annexed Map of the S. W. corner of New Mexico, Plate 1, drawn agreeably to the most recent reconnoissances of the officers of the United States Army, employed in exploring its geography, has been constructed from the most authentic materials.

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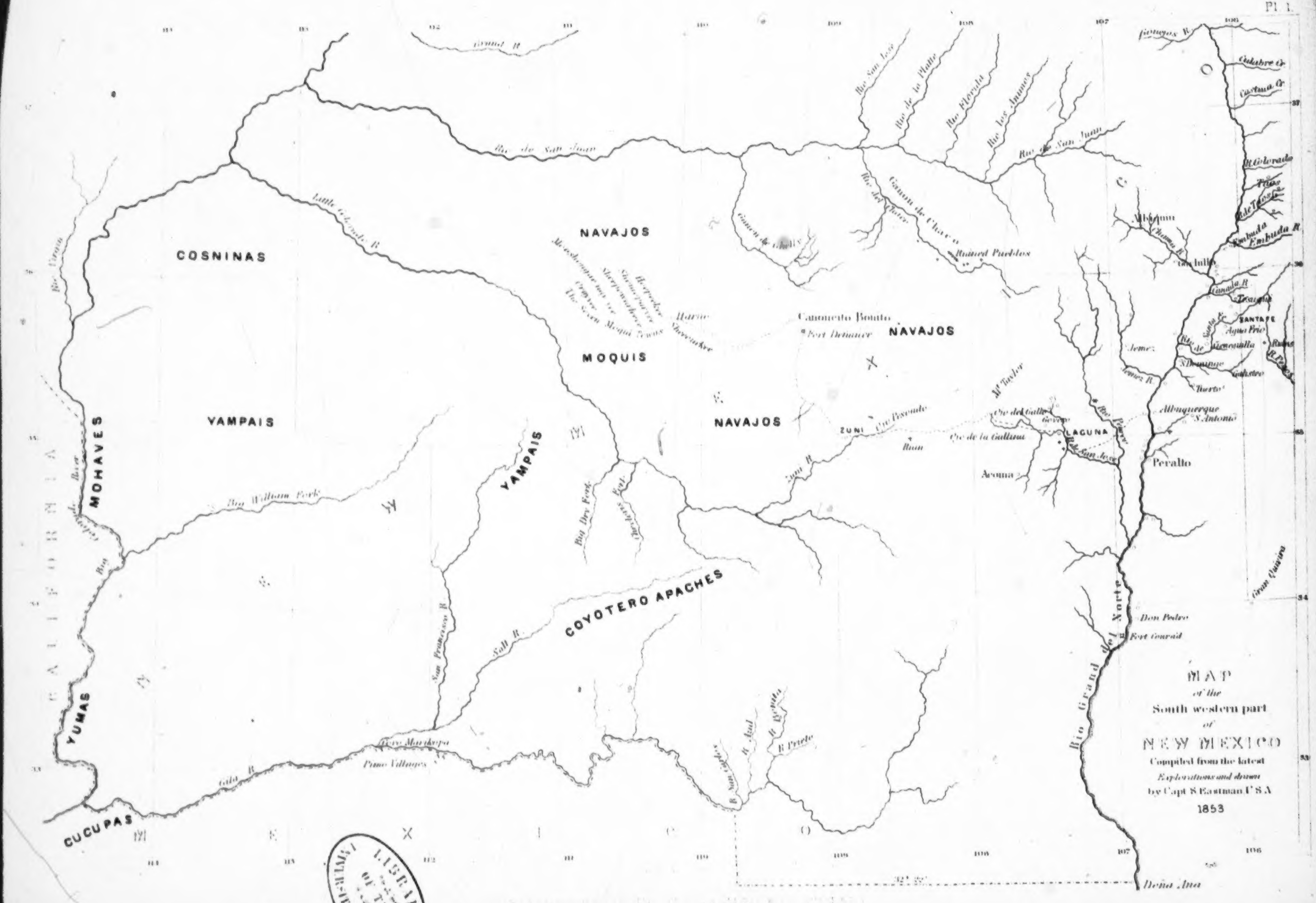
[1] Vide Ternoux Compans.

Mendoza, himself, repaired to Compostella to review the troops, and accompanied them two days' march on their way. Eight hundred Indians, glad to be fed (doubtless), immediately joined this little army of cavaliers. At Chiametta, Coronado met De Niza and his companions, who, with a dozen men, had been despatched in advance. These men had penetrated to Chichiticale, two hundred leagues from Culiacan. They reported secretly that the country was nearly a desert. This was whispered about, and greatly dispirited many; but the Fray Marcos de Niza, who was now also present, endeavored to reanimate the desponding, by telling them that the country seen by the officers was "good," and that he would guide them to rich provinces.

On reaching Chichiticale, of which so much had been boasted, Coronado found a single roofless and ruinous house, which had been built of "red earth." The army soon entered and spent a fortnight in marching in the desert north of the Gila; after eight leagues further march they came to a river, on the banks of which they soon after reached the long-sought Cibola. It was a small town, built on a high rock, not containing over two hundred warriors. The houses were terraced in three or four stories, with a narrow and steep ascent; they were now, agreeably to Mr. Kern, in old Zuñi. (For a view of the present town of Zuñi, see Plate 2.) They immediately assaulted it, sword in hand, but were opposed by the casting down of stones, one of which knocked down Coronado. An hour's struggle, however, gave them the place. It was evidently one of those picturesque geological formations so common in that part of New Mexico. It gave them provisions, but no gold. There was an utter disappointment in this respect, and it was not without a strong effort that Fray de Niza could be protected from the rage of the disappointed soldiery, and he was soon sent off secretly, for his own security.

Coronado made his head-quarters at Cibola, and sent out various expeditions into the adjacent regions; he also dispatched invitations to the Indians to come in and establish friendly relations with him. These told him, apparently to rid themselves of such a guest, of a province of seven towns, called Túsayan, at twenty-five leagues distant, the people of which were represented as living in high houses, and being very valiant.

Pl. 1.



NAVAJOS
COSNINAS
MOQUIS
NAVAJOS
NAVAJOS
YAMPAIS
YAMPAIS
MOHAVES
YUMAS
CUCUPAS
COYOTERO APACHES
CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
Rio de San Juan
Rio San Jose
Rio de la Platte
Rio Florida
Rio los Animas
Rio de San Juan
Rio del Chaco
Canon de Chaco
Ruined Pueblos
Canon de Chelly
Little Colorado R
Rio Virgen
Grand R
Bill Williams Fork
Colorado River
Big Dry Fork
Cheleses Fork
San Francisco R
Salt R
Gila R
Pimo Villages
Coco Maricopa
R San Carlos
R Azul
R Bonita
R Prieto
Harno
Chevenakee
The Seven Moqui Towns
Canoncito Bonito
Fort Defiance
Zuni R
ZUNI
Ojo Pescado
Ruin
Mt Taylor
Ojo del Gallo
Covero
Ojo de la Gallina
LAGUNA
Rio San Jose
Acoma
Rio Puerco
Jemez
Jemez R
Albuquerque
S. Antonio
Peralto
S Domingo
Galisteo
Rio de Santa Fe
Santa Fe
SANTA FE
Agua Frio
Cienaguilla
R Pecos
Canada R
Tesuque
Embuda
Embuda R
Rio de Taos
Taos
R Colorado
Costilla Cr
Culebre Cr
Conejos R
Abiquiu
Chama R
Rio Grande del Norte
Don Pedro
Fort Conrad
Gran Quivira
Doña Ana
32° 22'
106
107
108
109
110
111
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113
114
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MAP
of the
South western part
of
NEW MEXICO
Compiled from the latest
Explorations and drawn
by Capt S Eastman U S A
1853

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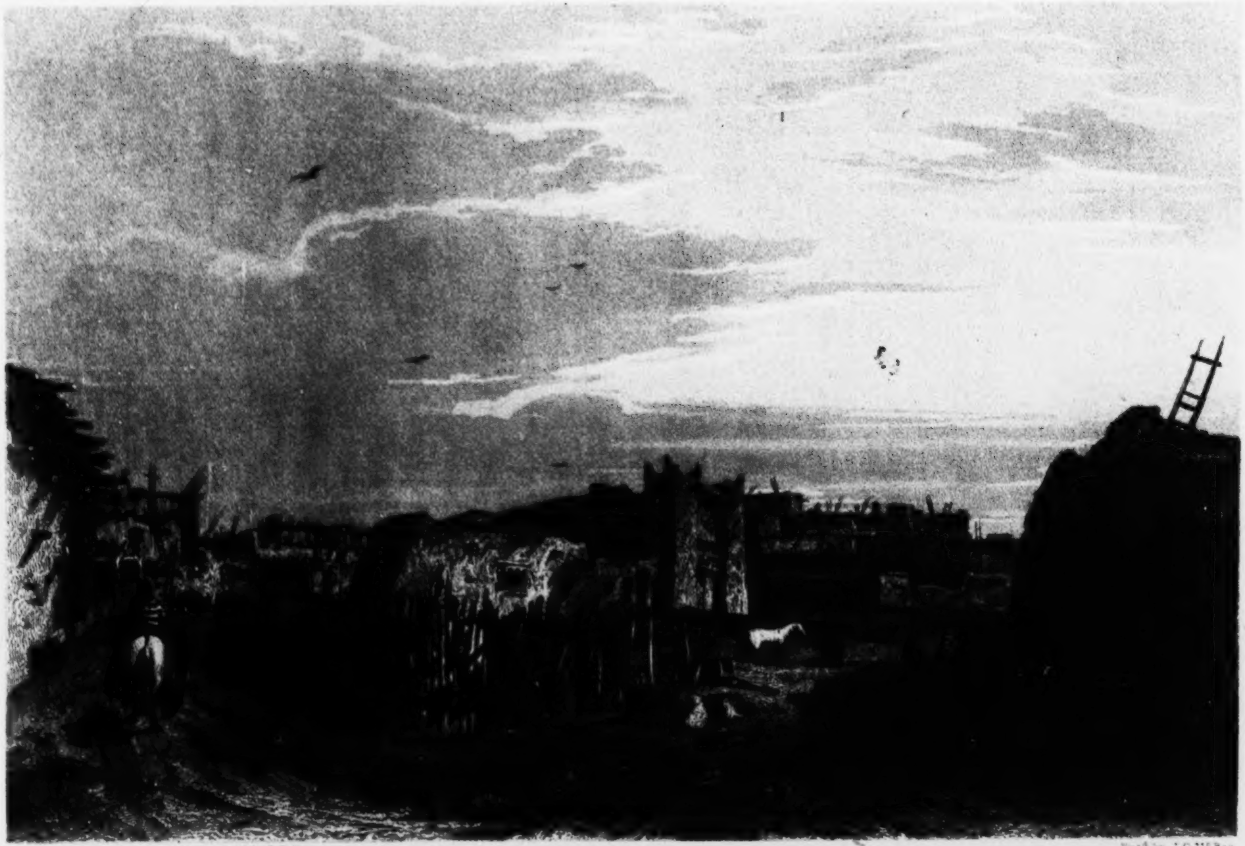

Drawn by Capt^n S. Eastman U.S.A. from a sketch by R.H. Kern.

Pl. 2

Eng^d by J.C. M^c Rae

PUEBLO OF ZUNI — NEW MEXICO

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY

The course is not mentioned, but from subsequent events it must have been generally *west*. He despatched Don Pedro de Tobar, with seventeen horsemen, four foot-soldiers, and a friar, to explore it. On reaching it, they found the Indians in possession of cultivated fields. As soon as they were aware of the presence of an enemy, they assembled in a body, armed with arrows, clubs, and bucklers. They drew a mark on the ground, and forbad the Spaniards passing it; but this only served as a signal for Tobar to advance, and he and his followers slew "great numbers of them." After this, the Tusayans submitted and presented their invaders with "cotton-stuffs, tanned-hides, flour, pine-apples, native fowls, maize, and torquoises." Such is, in part, the exaggerated language of the narrative of Castenada. Tobar was now, doubtless, at the seven villages of the modern Moqui. They told him of a great river, at twenty days' distance, which he would reach after crossing a desert inhabited by a gigantic people.

Coronado, on the return of this party, ordered Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, with twelve men, to explore this great river. They were well received by the Indians of Tusayan, who supplied them with food and guides; and after twenty days' march, agreeably to their prediction, over an entirely uninhabited country, they stood gazing on the banks of the great cañon of the "Tizou," now called Colorado River. They were surprised at the elevation of its banks, which they thought "three or four leagues in the air."[1] It is thus perceived that the expeditions of Tobar and Cardenas were *west* from the head-quarters of Coronado, at Cibola. For three days they tried to find some depression to get down to the river; but failing in this, and threatened with a want of water, they retraced their steps to Cibola, passing in their way a high fall, at which there were crystals of salt.

The information collected by Coronado, from all sources, had the effect to make him better acquainted with his geographical position. After passing north of the Gila, from Chichiticale, he had found nothing but a desert. The first watercourse met with, was a stream to which he gave the name of Verneigo, on ascending the banks of which, he had indeed reached the long-sought Cibola, a name which had been long bandied about vaguely by rumor, but which there is no reason to believe that the Indians had ever bestowed upon it. The reports of the Indian Tézou,—of De Niza,—and of De Vaca, had alike proved fallacious; but the Spaniards, foiled thence, were not to be thus discouraged. Coronado looked stoutly about him. By the expedition of Don Pedro de Tobar, and of Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, he had evidently fixed the location of the town of the Moqui, and Colorado or Tizou river, and clearly determined the existence of large desert tracts west of him.

In the meantime, information from the *east* and *north-east* pressed in upon him, and denoted that to be the quarter from which he had most to expect. A chief of considerable presence and plausibility, called Bigotes, visited him from a town called Cicuyé, situated four days' march east of the Rio Grande del Norte. It was situated seventy miles east of Cibola, which, in the longitude of 35°, (being about fifty-seven miles to the degree,) would denote the place to be on the Pecos. Bigotes was well received, and was the first person to inform the invading army of the existence of the bison in that direction. One of the military parties had, on crossing the desert north of the Gila, found an enormous pair of horns — doubtless elk's horns; another had encountered a flock of large horned sheep, but they had witnessed nothing of the animal spoken of by the chief, and the intelligence created much excitement. The visit of Bigotes appears to have had the object of opening a trade with that quarter. But whatever were the motives of Bigotes, he spoke most favorably, far too favorably, of the country and its resources. In effect, a most friendly alliance ensued.

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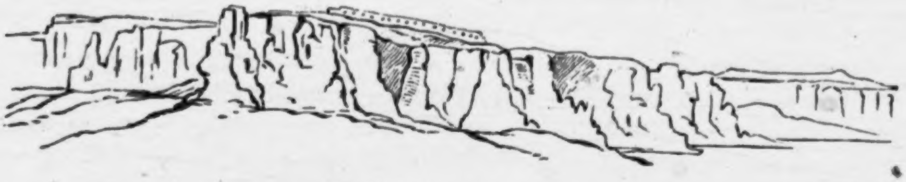
[1] Castenada.

Hernando de Alvarado was first sent in that direction, taking twenty men, with Bigotes as his guide, having permission to be absent eighty days. He departed with alacrity. After five days' march, they arrived at a rock-castled town, called Acuco, the modern Acoma. It was so high above the plain, that the narrator quaintly says, that the shot from an arquebus could scarcely reach its summit. It had a stairway of steps cut in the rock, which was plain and convenient at the bottom; but these became faintly scraped in the rock, and dangerous, at the top, so that it was necessary to scramble in ascending. Provision was made for its defence by piles of stone, which could be rolled down on the assailants. There was, on this elevated area, space to cultivate and to store maize, and it had tanks of water. The following is a sketch of this place, as it now appears, from the officer above named.



Rock of Acuco, or Acoma.

No hostility was offered here; and after viewing the place, Alvarado continued his way. After three days' further march, he came to another town, called Tigouex, (on the Rio Grande); where the natives, seeing he was accompanied by Bigotes, also received the party well. His next march occupied five days, which brought him to Cicuyé, the object of his expedition. This place was strongly fortified, but the inhabitants received them as the natives of the other towns had, as messengers on a friendly visit, and they were courteously entertained.

While at this place, Alvarado was introduced to an Indian of a striking appearance and demeanor, called El Turco. He wore a noted beard (whence the name), and spoke with great fluency. He had been taken prisoner by the Cicuyan Indians, on the east of the Rio Grande; and, probably observing the eagerness which the Spaniards manifested for gold or silver, or from some other cause, he spoke of these metals as being plentiful in the regions in which he had been captured. He probably, from subsequent events, thought only of his liberation, through the march of the Spaniards into that region. However this may be, he was very lavish in his descriptions of the country; and said many things which were mere exaggerations. Under this new cause of excitement, the bison, to see which they had so eagerly wished, lost much of its interest; and when Alvarado had accomplished his mission, he hurried El Turco back to his starting-point, that he might communicate the same intelligence in person to Coronado. The latter had, in the meantime, moved the position of the invading army from Cibola to Tigouex, evidently on the line of the Rio Grande. El Turco repeated his florid descriptions. He added that there was in that quarter a river two leagues wide, which contained fishes as large as horses, and was navigated by great lords, in canoes of twenty oarsmen, sitting in their sterns, having flags with golden eagles flying over their heads. This lying story was partly believed. The general sent Captain De Alvarado, with El Turco for his guide, back to Cicuyé, to reclaim certain golden bracelets, of which, he said, he had been despoiled when he had been made a captive by the Indians of that village. But the cacique of Cicuyé assured Alvarado, on his arrival, that he had taken no bracelets from the prisoner, and that El Turco was "a great liar." Hereupon, Alvarado lured both Bigotes and the "cacique" of Cicuyé into his tent, and put them both in chains. In this condition, they were marched back five leagues to Coronado, at Tigouex, who kept them imprisoned for six months. Affairs began thus to be involved, by the ill judgment of Alvarado, who served the truth-teller and the liar both alike.

Tigouex was now made head-quarters. At this place, there were some houses of "seven stories," which rose above the rest like towers, and had "embrasures and loopholes." This is called the "handsomest, best, and largest village in the province." The whole army was finally concentrated here, and passed the winter (1540–41[1]) at this place. Snow fell, in December, nearly two feet deep; it became cold, and the soldiers suffered for clothing. To supply this, Coronado called for three hundred garments from the Indians; and when they interposed delays, saying that there were twelve villages to contribute their share, and that the chiefs must be consulted, he would brook no delay. The cavaliers sent by him, stripped the poor natives on the spot, leaving them to the inclemency of the weather; and when the dresses did not suit in quality, they stripped the next Indian they met, chief or commoner, and forced away his garments.

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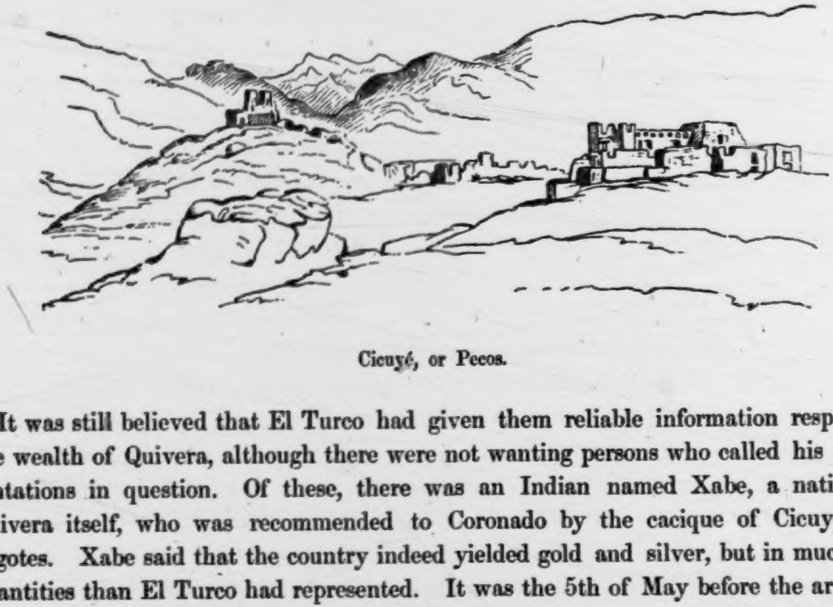
[1] There is the discrepancy of a year in this writer.—H. R. S.

Coronado was not only inhuman in some of his exactions, but impolitic in his dealings with the red men. He had, early in the autumn, offended the sense of justice of the people of Cicuyé, by imprisoning their chief, an aged man, instead of El Turco alone, who had amused them with falsehoods. This stripping the Indians of their garments, became another cause of offence, to which were indeed added, in the course of their two months' wintering here, acts of licentiousness and perfidy, that roused the Indians to a keen sense of wrong; and by the time that the next campaign opened, there was a general state of hostility. It appears that Coronado did not occupy the town of Tigouex, but formed his encampment in the open plains near it. In the course of the hostilities brought on by the injustice and foolish and wicked acts of some of his subordinates, orders were given to assault the rock-town; which sustained with much firmness a long siege, and was finally abandoned by its inhabitants from the want of water.

Coronado was now among the Indian rock-towns, with terraced houses, which compose a line of native "pueblos," connecting the Rio Puerco with the upper waters of the Little Colorado, up which latter he had been carried by the fork of the Verniego, till reaching Cibola. This latter had been the talismanic word since first leaving Compostella and Culiacan. The disappointment produced on reaching it, by finding it neither populous nor wealthy,—the several expeditions of Don Pedro de Tobar and Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas towards the west; and the experience and observation of a winter, while the head-quarters of the army remained at Tigouex, had completely dissipated these sanguine hopes. The reports of Bigotes and El Turco from the east, had, however, supplied a new rallying-word to concentrate Spanish courage and chivalry. Nothing could now exceed the new hopes that were inspired by the word Quivera. It was on every soldier's tongue. The siege of Tigouex-on-the-rock had not been completed, when Coronado pushed on to Cicuyé (on the Pecos), with a view to lead an expedition to Quivera; and as soon as the spring opened, the rest of his force followed him. Now, however, the army fought its way, in a manner very unlike the preliminary excursion of Alvarado, the previous season; who, with only twenty men, had been received everywhere with friendship. It was no longer as a friendly power, wishing to open intercourse and commerce with them, that the Indians received Coronado; but as an enemy—a conquering enemy; and the reputation that had gone out before him was that of a cruel and treacherous enemy, who did not respect alliances, nor regard truth (a truce having been broken) nor virtue (the domestic circle having been invaded). A course more destructive of the good opinion of the natives, and of the principles of a sound and wise policy, could hardly have been adopted by the several sub-commanders; and if Coronado did not, in all cases, sanction these acts of cruelty and injustice, he did so on some occasions, as in stripping the Indians, and he did not effectually redress their injuries when brought before him. He should have punished the violators of truces, and enforced the rights of humanity and chastity. Truth requires this to be said; and if it has been long delayed, it is, perhaps, owing to the original Spanish manuscript of Casteñada having been so long withheld from the light.

Cicuyé was evidently seated on the Pecos, north-east of Santa Fé. When Coronado crossed the stream it was still fast locked with ice, which had continued during four months, and it was so firm that horses could cross. Such severe cold was very rare. On reaching Cicuyé, he formed his camp as usual, near the town, to which he restored its chief, after a protracted and unjust captivity. Good relations were thus restored, which, if not entirely sincere on the part of the natives, were apparently so; and this act of liberation was afterwards followed by also restoring Bigotes. He sent parties out to establish relations with the neighboring towns, particularly with Chia and Quirix; but the more westerly tribes, among whom he had sojourned, remained implacable, nor would they return to the towns from which they had once deliberately fled. The Indian mind is governed very much by ideas of ill-luck, in certain localities, and this is probably one of the reasons for the ruins of some of the Indian towns which exist, at this day, in New Mexico. The following is a sketch of Cicuyé as it now is.



Cicuyé, or Pecos.

It was still believed that El Turco had given them reliable information respecting the wealth of Quivera, although there were not wanting persons who called his representations in question. Of these, there was an Indian named Xabe, a native of Quivera itself, who was recommended to Coronado by the cacique of Cicuyé and Bigotes. Xabe said that the country indeed yielded gold and silver, but in much less quantities than El Turco had represented. It was the 5th of May before the army at Tigouex left their encampment, after this hard winter, to rejoin the Spanish general at Cicuyé; and as soon as the river was free from ice, he began his march for Quivera, with El Turco and Xabe for guides. Here commences an extraordinary series of adventures, which, for a certain reckless daring, are unparalleled by any thing of the kind, except those of De Soto, who had died the year before at the mouth of the

Arkansas, but whose successor, Moscoso, at this time was pursuing his wild adventures west of the Mississippi. Coronado at once set out from Cicuyé; four days' march towards the N. N. W., over a mountainous country, brought the army to the banks of a large and very deep river. It was necessary to bridge it, and after thus crossing it, they continued to advance in the same course for ten days, when they reached the buffalo country, and found an Arab people called Querechos, who lived in buffalo-skin tents, and subsisted entirely on that animal. Having communicated with El Turco, these Querechos confirmed his statements. Coronado was now marching in a north-eastern direction; every step carried him farther from the true position of Quivera.[1] These Nomadic Querechos directed him to march eastwardly, where he would find a large river, which he could follow ninety days without leaving a populous country, and that this river was more than a league broad. Continuing their march in the same course, they reached extensive plains, and came into the midst of incredible multitudes of the bison. The flying natives were again encountered in their march towards the east, and El Turco asserted that they were now but two days' march from a town called Haxa. There was an Indian in the army, named Sopete, a native of Quivera, who is called "a painted Indian," who constantly affirmed that El Turco was a liar. Still, Sopete was not believed, because the Nomades, in whom we may probably recognize the modern Comanches, concurred with El Turco. But neither the warnings of Xabe nor Sopete were regarded. On, Coronado went, traversing immense plains, seeing nothing for miles together but skies and herds of bison; hundreds of these they killed. Gulfs and valleys, which were occasionally encountered, formed no impediment to the indomitable zeal and courage of his followers. Literally, they overcame every physical obstacle. It is not stated that they altered their course from east. For seven and thirty days they pushed on, horse and foot. It was said, on the authority of an Indian woman captured, that they had reached to within nine days' journey of the advance party of De Soto. From the accounts given, Coronado must have marched seven or eight hundred miles east of the point at which he crossed the Rio Grande. He was forty days, with a light party, in retracing his steps to Cicuyé; and he had penetrated, without doubt, through portions of Texas and far into the present area of Arkansas, the supposed "Arache" of Casteñada.

The ardently sought Quivera still eluded discovery. It was the golden town of this talismanic name that was to reward the toils of these arduous and harassing journeys through immense solitudes, which were only relieved by countless herds of the bison, and their flying enemies, the Indian nomades of the prairies. At length Coronado, when he had probably reached the great south branch of the Arkansas, determined to send his army back; and at the same time, taking a light party of cavalry, to continue the search a little further. As a preliminary step to these movements, El Turco was closely examined as to the cause of his numerous and persevering falsehoods. The Indian, if not taken entirely aback by these examinations, was put to extremities; and, from whatever cause, confessed that his design had been to entangle and mislead the army, and cause its destruction on these bleak wastes, and level plains of grass. On this discovery of his bad motives, Coronado ordered him to be immediately strangled. This was done with military precision; and thus perished a man who had exercised a leading influence, for a long time, in determining the movements of this army; who seemed, indeed, reckless of truth in his assertions; but who, if the secret workings of his mind could be unfolded, perhaps thought himself to be doing the general cause of the Indian an heroic service, by leading its direst enemies on to inevitable destruction. Such fanatic principles had once nerved the excited but mistaken hands of the Turkish assassin of Kleber, on the banks of the Nile; and, with the perhaps more justifiable sympathy, those of a Charlotte Corday, in the dark revolutionary spasms of France.

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[1] It is noticeable that Grand Quivera, on the modern maps, is quite in another direction, being nearly due east of Don Pedro.

After this act, the army marched back, under trusty Teyas guides; who led them, in twenty-five days, a distance which they had, by involved courses, been thirty-seven in originally traversing. Coronado spent a few days more in his search, and then returned, and rejoined his forces west of the Rio Grande; to which he brought the report that he had visited Quivera, which is said to exist "at the foot of the mountains bordering the sea," a term that would puzzle the wit of any sane geographer. The description given of its position, resources, and population, is at least so vague, that the term appears to be used by Casteñada rather as something to salve disappointed hopes, or garnish over ill formed or executed plans of discovery.

Every practical object of the expedition had indeed failed. There was not only no new Mexico or new Peru, as it was fondly hoped there would be, to serve as the basis of conquest and discovery, but not even a particle of gold or silver found. Instead of it, they had found rough mountain tracts, or vast deserts of sand, covered with grass, generally without forests and without water, and occupied by tribes without civilization. The valleys susceptible of cultivation constituted but an inconsiderable portion of the whole country, and could only be made productive by irrigation. The Indians who occupied these, often lived on high castellated pinnacles of sandstone rock, of which they had taken possession, and which they had rudely fortified against the wild roving tribes. They cultivated maize in isolated valleys, far separated from each other by wide deserts. There were some slight traces of a fixed industry, and incipient art; but there were few, and very detached elements, out of which to construct a civil government.

Coronado, when he had reached his head-quarters at Tigouex, turned his thoughts on a return to his government at Gallicia; not, it would seem from Casteñada, in accordance with the opinions of the body of his army, who sought to explore further.

This idea of a return he did not, at once, reveal; but promised the army to lead them forth again the next season, to pursue his discoveries. Events so fell out, in the course of the season, as to favor his views, and at the same time secure the approbation of the officers and troops; and in the month of April, 1543, the whole army took up its line of march for Mexico. Thus terminated the expedition of Coronado.

Having called the attention of Mr. R. H. Kern, U. S. Topographical Service in New Mexico, to the route pursued by Coronado, he concurs in the general geographical determinations above stated.

"In tracing Coronado's track, on the accompanying map, reference (he remarks) has been made to old Spanish MS. charts, to mark it as clearly as possible where my personal knowledge failed, and to confirm the accuracy of such positions as have fallen under my own observation.

The narrative of Casteñada is written in the vague, rambling style peculiar to all the histories left us by the Conquistadores and early monkish explorers. And so provoking is this fault, that one cannot help applying to them his own words: If they are important, they reduce them to nothing; and if they are insignificant, they soon become so serious and surprising that they can scarcely be believed.'

In view of this, and from their crude way of keeping their courses and measuring distances,[1] I have been induced to rely on my own knowledge as much as on Casteñada's narrative.

No difficulty occurs in tracing the march as far as Culiacan, as we have Pascuara, Compostella, and Chiamatla, to fix it with certainty: that place has been used as a point of departure, and the following brief synopsis of the journey thence is offered.

After leaving Culiacan, and striking north to the Sonora river, where a colony was planted, the army travelled the same general direction to Chichiticale, thence across the desert to the Gila and the Zuñi rivers, to Cibola or Old Zuñi.[2] Here, striking east, it passed by Acuco or Acoma, and entered the valley of the Rio Tigouex, or Del Norte. Thence by way of Cicuyé or Pecos, it penetrated to the buffalo range on the banks of the Canadian river, and returned to Tigouex by way of Quivera and Cicuyé.

Subordinate expeditions were sent, at different intervals, to examine the adjacent countries, and penetrated as far as the Rio del Tizou (Big Colorado of the West), in the region of the Gila and the Big Cañon, to the Gulf of California, and to the villages of Hernes or Jemez, Braba or Taos, and Tutahaco. These will be treated of after finishing the route of the main body of the army.

The first place mentioned by name is Chichiticale, no trace of which can be found on any of the maps that I have had access to, and an arbitrary position has been assumed, but as nearly correct as possible from the data on hand. It seems to have been rather a house than a town, but is possessed of an importance arising from having been visited by Cabeça de Vaca some years previously, and its being the last place on the edge of the desert lying south of Cibola.[1]

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[1] Part I., Chapters 20–21.

[2] My reasons will be found further on, for giving this place the preference over the Moqui villages.

Three days after leaving this place, the army came to a river running in a deep ravine, which from its situation in regard to the point assumed in Chichiticale, must be the Gila. Within eight leagues of Cibola another river was encountered, which from the color of its water was called the Vermejo. This river must be the Little Colorado; but, as I incline to the opinion that Old Zuñi is synonymous with Cibola, I think this second river was Zuñi creek — a miserable apology, to be sure, for anything bearing the name of river, but having a sufficiency of reddish muddy water in the rainy season, to have attracted Casteñada's attention, especially as it seems to have been directed to the most insignificant objects.

My reasons for giving the preference to Old Zuñi over Moqui as being the same as Cibola, are as follows: —

That mention is made of a province called Tusayan, lying twenty-five leagues[2] from Cibola and to the north-west,[3] where were seven cities, but with no intermediate population — the account of Don Pedro de Tobar's visit to this province — his mention of the inhabitants offering him cotton cloths[4] — the fact of the expedition to the Rio del Tizou, under Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, passing through Tusayan on his route; the similarity of Casteñada's description of the valley of Cibola to that of Old Zuñi — its situation with reference to the Pueblo[5] where the army encamped the first night after leaving Cibola, and its distance from Acuco, or Acoma,[6] and the Rio Tigouex, or Del Norte.

The only argument in favour of Moqui is, that there are still *seven* villages extant, comprised under that general name. But Old Zuñi formerly stood on the Big Mésa, a couple of miles to the east of the present village, and numerous ruins bearing more or less the marks of time, are still found up the valley of Zuñi creek as far as the Ajo del Pescado. No other place, except Tusayan, is mentioned where cotton fabrics were offered to the Spaniards, and even at the present day the Moquis and Pimos are the only people in New Mexico who manufacture the same material.[7]

Again, if Moqui be assumed as Cibola, where will we find the village at which the army encamped on its first day's march? Casteñada says, most explicitly and truly, that there were no inhabitants between Tusayan and Cibola.

These are some of my reasons for supposing Cibola and Old Zuñi to be the same;

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[1] For an account of the ruin as it existed in 1697, by Juan Mateo Monge, derived from the Archives General at Mexico, see Vol. III., p. 301, 302.

[2] Part I., Chap. 11.

[3] Part II., Chap. 3.

[4] Part I., Chap. 11.

[5] Part I., Chap. 14. — This Pueblo is undoubtedly the same as that on Inscription Rock. Vide Simpson's Report on the Navajo country.

[6] The identity of these two places needs no argument. The lonely situation and immensity of the rock upon which Acoma is built, will strike any one who has ever visited it, on reading Casteñada's account.

[7] Whilst in Zuñi, in 1851, I purchased several of these fabrics from some Moquis.

They are briefly stated, perhaps too much so, but no more time was at my disposal to enter into the subject in a more detailed manner.

During the stay of the army at Cibola, some of the people of Cicuyé (Pecos) visited the general, and on the strength of their representations, Hernando de Alvarez was ordered to take twenty men and accompany these Indians to their own country, which lay some seventy-five leagues[1] towards the east, and then return and give an account of what he may have seen. Five days were occupied in reaching Acuco, or Acoma, three days from this place brought him to Tigouex,[2] situated on a river of the same name, and which is, undoubtedly, the Rio Grande del Norte. Five days thence, he arrived at Cicuyé, or Pecos. Here the wonderful stories of the Turk drove all idea of the bisons from his head, and he returned and gave an account of what he had seen, and what had been told him.

In the meantime, Coronado had left Cibola, with part of his force, to visit Tutahaco, which lay some distance down the river, below Tigouex. After leaving the latter place, he must have travelled on the sandy plains to the west of the valley, for mention is made of his party being two days without water, and at last finding it in a range of snow-covered mountains; these must be part of the high ridge, that begins in the Sierra de las Ladrones, and running almost parallel to the river as far as El Paso.

As many of the present Mexican towns are built upon the sites of former pueblos, the eight, mentioned under the name of Tutahaco,[3] may have occupied the places now held by some of the Mexican villages. The numerous changes incident to such a lapse of time, and the destruction of the archives of New Mexico prior to 1680, render abortive all attempts at locating these lower villages with any degree of certainty. Another officer,[4] on the return of the general from Quivera, travelled down the river for eighty leagues, and discovered four large villages, which gave in their submission. Allusion is made to the disappearance of the river beneath the surface; but his orders restricting him to a distance of eighty leagues, he did not push on to the place where it reappears.[5]

The main body of the army, under Don Tristan de Arellano, having rested at Cibola the length of time specified by the general, took up its line of march for Tigouex. Following up the valley of Zuñi creek to the Ojo del Pescado, their course at this point turned a little more towards the south, and the first night's camp was passed at the Inscription Rock.[1] Thence nearly east, they crossed the Zuñi Mountains[2] at the Ojo de la Jarra, and descended to the Pueblo of Acuco, or Acoma, and finally joined the general at Tigouex.

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[1] Part I., Chap. 12. — I have changed the reading from miles to leagues, this being about the distance from Zuñi to Pecos, and the time allowed to perform his journey (80 days) being rather too liberal for one hundred and fifty miles, and in Chapter 18, the distance from Tigouex is stated to be twenty-five leagues; and in Part II., Chapter 7, the distance between Cibola and Cicuyé is put down at seventy leagues.

[2] This place cannot be identified with certainty. Isleta approaches nearest to Casteñada's description.

[3] Part II., Chap. 6.

[4] Part I., Chap. 22.

[5] This is not such an extraordinary event, for I have been informed of the same fact by credible eye-witnesses —the locality about the same, and in the vicinity of the Jornada del Muerto—unusual drought, of course, the cause.

Passing by the siege and surrender of that place, two events are mentioned,[3] which deserve a passing notice. One, is the sending a captain to Chia; and the other, the visit of six Spaniards to Quires, a province composed of seven villages. Chia is evidently the same as Silla or Cia. It is on the Rio de Jemez, and about four leagues from the Rio Tigouex; the present name, in their own dialect, is Tse-ah. The pueblos composing the province of Quires, were those extending from San Felipe to San Juan; the former being now known as San Felipe de Queres. On the 5th of May, the army took up its march for Cicuyé; but beyond the simple announcement of the distance being twenty-five leagues,[4] not another fact is presented to assist us in the elucidation of the route pursued.[5]

Cicuyé is described[6] as but one pueblo, built upon a rock lying in a narrow valley, in the midst of pine-covered mountains, forming a great square, the centre of which is occupied by an estufa; the whole was encircled by a low stone wall. It is also recorded as the last village lying towards the great plains.[7] These points are applicable to Pecos, and to that alone; and I have no doubt this and Cicuyé are the same. In the dialect of the Pecos Indians, the name is A-cu-lah. It has always been exposed, on account of its frontier situation, to the attacks of the Comanches;[8] and within the last fifty years, it lost in one battle with this warlike tribe, some two hundred warriors. At the present time, the whole tribe numbers some sixteen hundred, scattered among different pueblos.

Some difficulty occurs in tracing the route of the army after leaving Cicuyé; the description and localities of rivers met with in the great plain, render it necessary to change the reading of its course from north-north-east, to south-south-east. The height of the mountains to be crossed by travelling the first course, and the impossibility of striking the Pecos river in that direction where it is large enough to render it necessary to be bridged, or even of meeting with it at all, have induced me to suppose the course I have indicated to be the proper one. Even if it did go in a north-north-east direction, the Canadian would be the first river likely to have lain in their path; but we have Casteñada's distinct assertion[9] that Cicuyé lay on this very stream, not only in his narrative of its outgoing, but in the account of its return, where he says,[1] "we reached the river Cicuyé more than thirty leagues below the place where a bridge had been built the first time we crossed it. We ascended it thither by following the banks;" and further on, he says, "The guides declared that this river, at a distance of more than twenty days' journey, threw itself into that of Tigouex."

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[1] Vide Simpson's Report on the Navajo country.

[2] The abundance of timber mentioned by Casteñada, will suit no other locality.

[3] Part I., Chap. 18.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Part III., Chap. 5. Mention is made, however, of some ruins that were passed on the route. This would indicate they took the same road as that which now leads by Abo Quarra, &c.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Part II., Chap. 7.

[8] Probably these and the Teyans are the same. Texas derived its name from the tribe of Tejas, living within its borders. The Querchos are probably the Apaches.

[9] Part I., Chap. 19.

Pecos is situated near the river of the same name, and about thirty miles from its source in the mountains. The valley is hemmed in by high and densely-timbered peaks and mesas, on the eastern and western sides; to the north, the snow-covered mountains lying north-east of Santa Fé are distinctly visible; whilst to the south, the country is broken up into rugged and detached table-lands, affording no very serious obstacles to the march of the army in that direction.

Assuming, therefore, the course to be towards the south-east, the army struck the Cicuyé River, near the mouth of the Gallinas, about lat. 35°; and as it was during the time of the thawing of the snow, the volume of water could easily have been swollen to the size mentioned; ample timber could be found in that vicinity for the construction of the required bridge.[2] Ten days after leaving this point, they encountered a band of the Querechos (Apaches?) who lived in lodges made of buffalo-skins, and supported themselves by hunting those animals. Two days afterwards, these Indians were again met with. Their story of the numerous villages and big river to be found by travelling towards the rising sun, was similar to that of the Turk; but this is easily accounted for by the fact of their having held communication with the Turk on the subject.[3]

The general course must have been towards the east, for they seem to have followed the one indicated by the Querechos; and the next day after their second meeting with that people, they came upon an immense herd of buffaloes, the greater part of which disappeared in a ravine, taking three of the horses with them; these were, however, subsequently recovered. Don Rodrigo Meldonado was despatched from this place, with his company, on a voyage of discovery; and came upon an immense ravine, in which he found many Indian dwellings, and the same that Cabeça de Vaca and Dorantes had passed through. I regret not having Cabeça de Vaca's narrative to refer to, for the truth or falsity of this my opinion, in thinking this ravine and the Cañon of the Canadian, the same. No distances are even alluded to by Casteñada, in the march of either the advance party or main body; and I have formed my opinion simply on the supposed fact of the route being to the east, after meeting with the Querechos, and the description of the ravine answering to that of the Canadian River, not only from its immense size,[4] but from its being the home of the Apaches, a nomadic tribe with manners and customs precisely like those of the Querechos. Three or four days' journey made by a reconnoitring party, sent out whilst the army was lying in the ravine above mentioned, brought it to some more cabins that lay over an extent of country requiring three days to traverse; the inhabitants were called Teyas, and the name of the place Cona.[1] Here guides were furnished them, who took them to another great ravine, most probably the cañon of Red river, and this is the most easterly point reached by the famous expedition in search of the seven cities of Cibola.

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[1] Part I., Chap. 21. [2] Ibid., Chap. 19. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid., Chap. 20.

In this valley the army rested some time; when, the supplies beginning to fail, and the general having found out the deception practised on him by the Turk, a council of war was called, when it was decided that the general, with a small portion of the force, should go in search of Quivera, whilst the rest, under command of Tristan de Arellano, were to retrace their steps to Tigouex. The points we have to bear upon the locality of Quivera, are the assertions of the Teyas that it lay to the north of Cona,[2] Casteñada's that it lay to the "west,[3] in the midst of the lands which reach to the mountains bordering the sea," and the existence at the present day of a large ruin lying between the Pecos and Del Norte rivers, at the foot of the Sierra de los Jumanes, and bearing the name of "Gran Quivera." If this latter place be not the same, I am at fault, for I am unacquainted with any other village that will answer one single point described above.

The ruins of the modern Quivera indicate a place of some former magnitude, and even (the remains of) a stone aqueduct are said to be found there. Casteñada's description[4] of its situation with reference to the ravine where the army halted, would seem to indicate this as the spot; but he also describes the inhabitants as having the same manners as the Teyas, though living in houses like those of New Spain.[5] These ruins bear too much the stamp of the usual terraced houses of the Indians of New Mexico, to suit his description; but might they not have been constructed by the same people, under the direction of the priests, especially as the coat-of-arms of Spain, cut in stone, is still discernible over the entrance to the church? The reference to the flat character of the country, and the range of mountains in which old Quivera was situated (it being at this place that they were first perceived),[6] is applicable to no other place than the ruins known now under the name of Quivera. The allusion to the river Espiritu Santo, Mississippi, having its rise in this region, is of course not worth a notice, for the early travellers had but a vague idea of the water-courses of the countries they traversed.

Coronado was forty-eight days[7] in reaching Quivera—and if this be the same as the present Quivera, I cannot imagine how he could have consumed so much time—it rather opposes the idea of the two places being the same; but as my own personal knowledge of nearly the whole Territory of New Mexico does not enable me to select another place, I must reiterate the opinion that Quivera, the last village visited by Coronado, was at or near the ruins bearing the same name now.

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[1] Part I., Chap. 20. [2] Ibid. [3] Part II., Chap. 8. [4] Ibid. [5] Ibid. [6] Ibid.

[7] It is to be regretted that not a single word is to be found respecting the details of this march.

The army, after spending some time in collecting buffalo-meat, returned to Tigouex, consuming only twenty-five days on the retreat (and much of that time lost), whilst thirty-seven were expended in the advance.[1]

A brief notice of the minor expeditions, and I have done.

The first was made by Don Tristan de Arellano, by descending the Sonora river to the sea (Gulf of California).[2]

After the departure of the army from Sonora,[3] Melchior Diaz, taking with him twenty-five men, turned his steps in a westerly direction, in the hopes of discovering the coasts. He arrived in a province where he found men of a prodigious size, dwelling in houses scooped out of the earth, and covered with straw; these were built on a river of great size, called the Tizou, from the circumstance of their carrying a lighted brand to keep themselves warm — the operation being performed by shifting it from hand to hand. These were the Cu-cu-pahs, who inhabit the country adjoining the Big Colorado of the West, and lying south of the Gila. I have traversed this river (the Colorado) from lat. 35° 8′, to the Gila; the same manners and customs (as those described by Casteñada) are peculiar to all the different tribes[4] inhabiting its valley, even to the use of the brand for the purpose of warming the body. These Indians, as a mass, are the largest and the best formed men I ever saw — their average height being an inch over six feet. After marching to the spot where Alarçon had brought his ships, and finding the letter left at the root of the tree, Diaz travelled up the Tizou, or Colorado river, until an opportunity presented of crossing it. Thence following the coast of the Gulf of California[5] until an accident caused his death, when his party retraced its steps to Sonora.

Whilst the army was lying at Cibola,[6] Don Pedro de Tobar was despatched to the province of Tusayan (Moqui), composed of seven cities, and on his return, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas was ordered to extend his explorations in that direction as far as the Rio del Tizou, of which the people of Tusayan had spoken to Tobar. This river is the Big Colorado of the West, and the chasm described is the Big Cañon of that river.

In carrying out this order, Cardenas passed through Tusayan, or Moqui, and visited the Cascade,[7] on the Little Colorado. No other river in North America passes through a cañon equal in depth to the one alluded to. The description is made out with rare truth and force. We had a view of it from the San Francisco mountain, N. M., and judging from our own elevation and the character of the intervening country, I have no doubt the walls are at least 5000 feet in height. The desert country lying between

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[1] Part I., Chap. 21.

[2] Part I., Chap 9.

[3] Part I., Chap. 10.

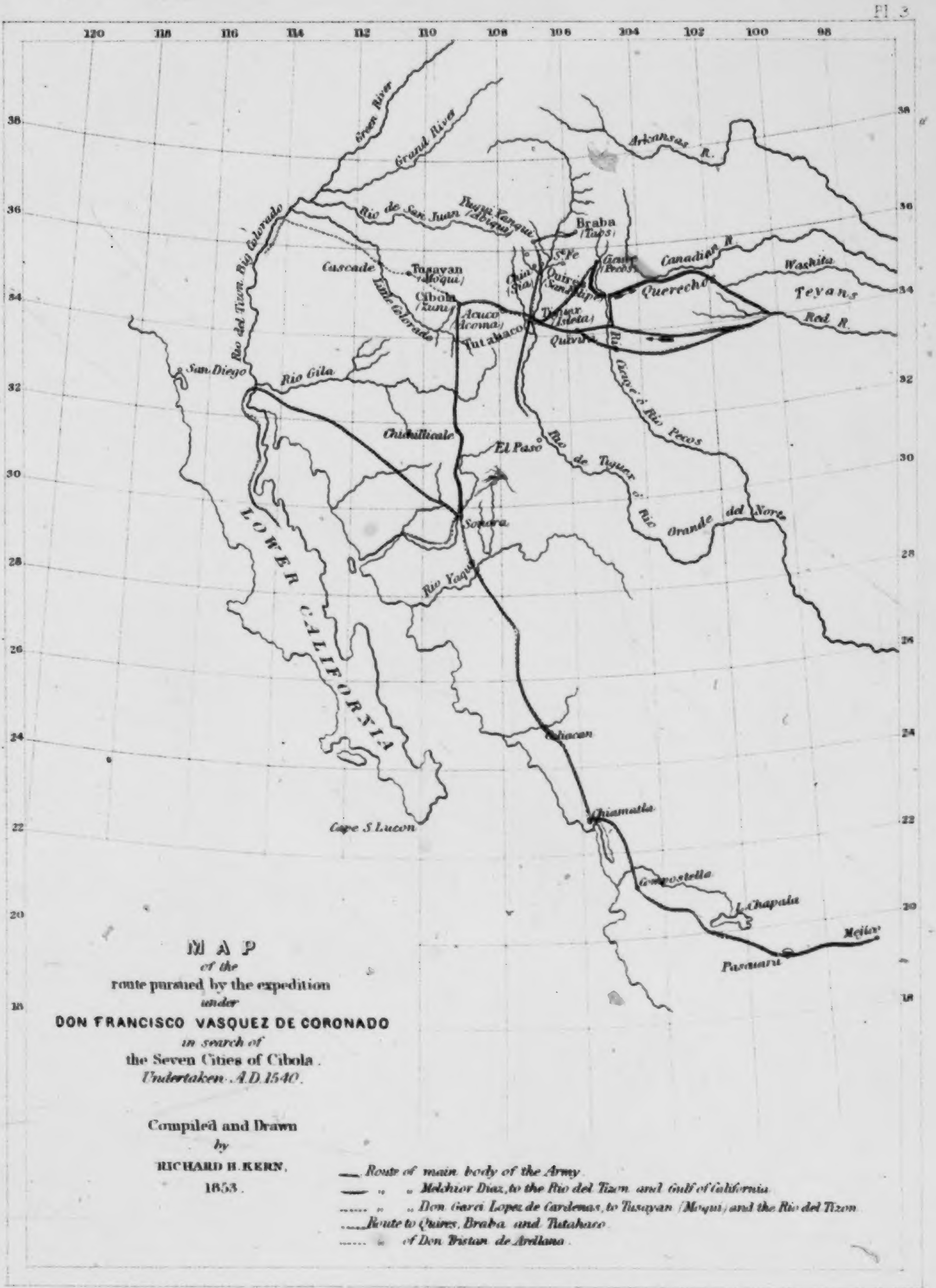
[4] Jamajas, or Mohaves, and Zumas.

[5] Part I., Chap. 17.

[6] Part I., Chap. 11.

[7] This cascade is in about 111°, lat. 35° 25′, and during my connection with Captain Sitgreaves' Exploring Expedition in 1851, from Zuñi to the mouth of the Gila, I had an opportunity of visiting and sketching it. It consists of two falls over a vertical wall, the height of both being about 120 feet.

Pl. 3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18
Green River
Grand River
Arkansas R.
Rio de San Juan
Nuestra Senora (Abiquiu)
Braba (Taos)
Sᵗ Fe
Cicuye (Pecos)
Canadian R.
Washita
Querecho
Teyans
Red R.
Rio del Tizon, Big Colorado
Cascade
Tusayan (Moqui)
Little Colorado
Cibola (Zuni)
Acuco (Acoma)
Tutahaco
Chia (Sia)
Quirex (Sandia)
Tiguex (Isleta)
Quivira
Rio Cicuye ó Rio Pecos
San Diego
Rio Gila
Chichilticale
El Paso
Rio de Tiguex ó Rio Grande del Norte
Sonora
Rio Yaqui
LOWER CALIFORNIA
Culiacan
Chiametla
Compostella
L. Chapala
Pasquaro
Mexico
Cape S. Lucas

MAP

of the
route pursued by the expedition
under
DON FRANCISCO VASQUEZ DE CORONADO
in search of
the Seven Cities of Cibola.
Undertaken A.D. 1540.

Compiled and Drawn
by
RICHARD H. KERN,
1853.

— *Route of main body of the Army.*
— *" " Melchior Diaz, to the Rio del Tizon and Gulf of California.*
...... *" " Don Garci Lopez de Cardenas, to Tusayan (Moqui) and the Rio del Tizon.*
—— *Route to Quirex, Braba and Tutahaco.*
...... *" of Don Tristan de Arellano.*

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PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT GRAMBO & Co PHILADA

Moqui and the Big Colorado answers with equal truth to that described in the narrative. After travelling along the Big Cañon for some days, this party returned to Cibola.

[1] In the summer of 1442, Don Tristan de Arellano ordered Captain Francisco Barrio Nuevo to ascend the river with some soldiers, in a northerly direction. Two provinces were visited, that of Hernes (undoubtedly the present Jermz), and Yuque-Yunque; the latter probably being in the vicinity of Abequin.

Twenty leagues further on, in ascending the river, they found a large and powerful village called Braba. This and Taos I think are the same, from the fact of its being built on both sides of the river (Rio de Taos), and joined by bridges; its high, cool situation,[3] and its position being the furthest to the north-east,[1] and I doubt much the assertion, that Alvarado[4] "visited this Pueblo whilst seeking to discover Cicuyé."

The expedition despatched at the same time to Tutahaco, I have already alluded to.

Of the identity of the following named places enumerated in Part II., Chap. 6, I think there can be no doubt.

Cibola	Old Zuñi.
Tusayan	Moqui.
Acuco	Acoma.
Tigouex	Isleta, or some Pueblo in its vicinity.
Tutahaco	The position can be identified, but not the places.
Quirix	San Felipe and adjoining Pueblos.
Cicuyé	Pecos.
Hemez	Jemez.
Aquascalientes . .	Perhaps near the town of the same name.
Yuque-Yunque . .	Possibly, Abiquin.
Braba	Taos.
Chia	Silla, or Pia.

The foregoing conclusions are submitted for your consideration. I have depended almost as much on my own personal knowledge, obtained during a residence of some years in New Mexico, as on the vague and exaggerated details of the narrative.

As I expect to leave in a few days to visit New Mexico, an opportunity may be afforded me to collect more information on this interesting subject. Accompanying, you will find a condensed map of the route (Plate 3), and four views: The rock of Cibola, or Old Zuñi; Acuco, or Acoma; Cicuyé, or Pecos; Braba, or Taos."

The ultimate point reached by Coronado, cannot be determined with precision. Mr. Kern fixes the position of Cicuyé (Cicouа), with great probability, on the head waters of the Rio Pecos. It is probable that Coronado, after quitting his head-quarters at Tigouex (Tehoua), in the spring of 1542, and crossing the river Tigouex, which is the Rio Grande del Norte, followed up its eastern banks by the usual Indian path to the stream on which Santa Fé was afterwards founded; and thence eastwardly, by the Indian trail, to the Pecos. He was accompanied by the chief, Bigotes, of Cicuyé, and under the particular guidance of the illusory Teyan Indian, El Turco, both of whom were anxious to return to their native country on, or north of, the Pecos. El Turco, who had described Quivera so glowingly, led him, in truth, away from this vaunted gold-yielding town which he was searching for, into the illimitable and townless, and forestless buffalo plains, into which he was finally plunged. The time employed in the march from his head-quarters at Tehoua, to the town of which Bigotes was a chief, comprised a period of five days, which, at the rate of progress where it can be appreciated, would carry him from the one spot to the other.

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[1] Part I., Chap. 22.
Part II., Chap. 6.

[3] Taos is about 8000 feet above the level of the sea.

[4] Part I., Chap. 22.

In Edwards's narrative of Colonel Doniphan's expedition in 1847, during the Mexican war,[1] he describes the ruins of an Indian town called "Pecas," on the head-waters of the Pecos river, which occupies the probable position of Sikoua (Cicuyé). He speaks of the place as an Aztec ruin—of the church as being one of large dimensions, which had been formerly used as a location for burning the eternal fire, and of its having an antiquity of five hundred years—points of tradition which he heard at the place, and which may be readily excused as the imaginings of popular antiquarian rumor; of no value, but which may be employed to denote it as the site of a very old Indian town.

Mr. Kern limits the exploration of Coronado north-west of Sikoua entirely to the regions west of longitude 100°, and south of latitude, about, 35°. From the recent explorations of the sources of the Red river by Captain R. B. Marcy, U. S. A., and the peculiar mineral formations it discloses, it does not seem probable that the extensive beds of a substance so noticeable as the sulphate of lime found there, would have escaped the observation of Coronado and his parties, had they reached this extensive tract. The data given by Casteñada, although the courses and distances of his narrative are often confused or vague, lead to the belief that the expedition had entered the region designated by Moscoso as the province of "Los Vasqueros,"[2] and that it traversed portions of the vast buffalo ranges north of latitude 45°.

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[1] One volume, 12mo.: Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1847. Vide p. 43

[2] Irving's Conquest of Florida.

Old Zuñi, the Cibola of Casteñada.

II. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. C.

[3d Paper, Title II.]

TITLE II.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE II.

TITLE II., LET. A., VOL. II.

General View of the Manners and Customs of Man in the Hunter State. Aboriginal Man, and the Influence of the Continent on Him. Constitution of the Indian Family. Forest Teachings. Arts of Hunting and Fishing. Incidents of War—of Peace—of Birth—of Death. Amusements and Games. State of Woman in Savage Life. Characteristic Dances of the Tribes.

TITLE II., LET. B., VOL. III.

Generic Traits of Indian Mind. Dignity of Indian Thought. Basis of Mental Character. Customs denoting a Foreign Origin. Persic and Hindoo Customs. Distinctive Phases of the Hunter State. Its Government Patriarchal. Influence of the Wilderness on the State of Woman. Costume. Male and Female Costume. Winter and Summer Dress. Implements and Accoutrements in War.

TITLE II., LET. C., VOL. IV.

Traits of parental Affection. Regard for the Demented. Cruelty of the Barbarous Tribes to their Prisoners. Instance of gross Superstition. Manners and Customs of the Winnebagoes and Dacotahs. Character, and striking Manners and Customs of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes of New Mexico. Buffalo-hunting on the Western Prairies.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS. C.

SYNOPSIS OF PAPER THIRD.

1. SOCIAL STATE OF THE INDIANS.

a. Traits of Filial Affection.
b. Parental Affection of Nodowáqua.
c. Respect for Lunatics.
d. Instance of this in Oregon.
e. Horrid Sacrifice of a girl, Haxti, by the Pawnees.
f. Sacrifice of a Son by a Dacotah, to an offended Deity.

2. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

1. WAR.

198.[1] War; Enlistments; Rendezvous.
199. Subsistence.
200. Subordination in Battle, &c.
201. Stratagems.
202. Captives.
203. Personal Servitude.
204. Chastity.
205. Costume.
206. Head-Dresses.
207. Arms and Implements.

2. DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS.

211. Funerals, Dress, &c.
212. Places of Sepulture.
213, 214, 215. Position of the Corpse, &c.
216. Scaffolding the Dead.
217. Funereal Ensigns.

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[1] Inquiries, Appendix, Vol. I.

218, 219, 220, 221. Ossuaries, Charnel-Houses, Incinerations, &c., Oriental Customs.
222. Funereal Fires.
223. Grave-Posts and Inscriptions.

3. Moral Traits and Arts.

224. Monumental Structures.
225. Orphans.
226. Treatment of the Poor and Aged.
227. Dwellings, Villages.
228. Mode of navigating Streams, &c.
229. Are they Mechanics?
230. Mode of Cooking.
231. Curing Meats.
232. Spontaneous Means of Subsistence.
233. Resorts in Times of Scarcity.

4. Costume.

234. Ordinary Dress.
235. Changes of Dress for the Seasons.
236. Ornaments and Amulets.
237. Use of Dyes and Pigments.
238. Badge of Office.
239. Physical Traits.
240. Texture of the Indian Skin.

3. MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND OPINIONS OF THE DACOTAHS.

191. Hunting — its Seasons, and peculiar Animals.
192. Laws of the Division of the Spoil; Secret Arts.
193. How different Animals are Trapped, Shot, or Decoyed.
194. Mode of drying and dressing Skins.
195. Manner of taking Fish; Various Ways.
196. Children taught the Use of the Bow and Arrow.
197. Indians of the Upper Mississippi have abandoned the Use of the Bow in Hunting, &c.
198. How War-Parties are raised and conducted.
199. Power of the War-Chief; Reliance on magic Medicines.
200. What an Indian Battle is.
201. A Whistle blown before Battle.
202. Prisoners tied; Children adopted.
203. No Slavery in the pure Hunter State.
204. Females respected; Superstition here.
205. War-Costume.
206. Hair braided in War.
207. Arms.

208. Scalp-Dance, danced by Women only. Various Dances to the Sun, Moon, Thunder, Giants, &c.
209. Ball-Playing.
210. Sioux Gambling.
211. Customs when a Man dies.
212. Graves — how made.
213. Corpse — how placed.
214. If slain in Battle, how treated.
215. Ordinary Deaths.
216. Indian Coffins; Fact of the Red Squirrel.
217. Flags.
218. Sioux gather the Bones of the Dead from Scaffolds, and inter them.
219. No Charnel-Houses.
220. No Incineration of Bodies.
221. Scarify themselves — cry aloud — carry Food to the Dead.
222. Funereal Fires.
223. Make no Mounds; Use Grave-Posts.
224. Not Energy enough to build Mounds.
225. Orphans — poor indeed.
226. Care of the Aged.
227. Sioux Lodges — how made — their Size.
228. Canoes — their Structure.
229. Imitative; hate Labor.
230. Women cook — overdo Meats; Dislike Milk — no set Time for Meals.
231. Mode of jerking Meat; Fish smoked; Chippewa Mode.
232. Roots eaten — Wild Fruits — Honey — None of the Latter prior to 1819.
233. Things eaten in Stress; Women commended for their Industry.
234. Costume, Male and Female — its Cost, and Description.
235. Dress gaily on some Occasions; Chiefs the meanest clad.
236. Value Ornaments — Silver, Wampum, &c.
237. Dyes obtained from Flowers, Roots, Barks.
238. No Badges of Office.
239. Fashion of Wearing the Hair.
240. Physiological Fact respecting the Indian's Skin and Color.
241. Power of Thought.
242. Have not produced a Professional Man.
243. Repeat Traditions — have mental Invention.
244. Speakers use Metaphors and Parables; Repetitious.
245. Sioux have little Picture-Writing, and that confined to Subjects of War.
246. They pronounce some foreign Sounds readily.
247. Dacotahs ascribe to every Person four Souls.
248. They tell Stories of Transformations, Ghosts, Fairies.
249. A Moral in some of their Tales.
250. Use two Kinds of Drums, a Flute, and Rattles.

251. No Rhyme — no Indian Poets.
252. No "Music-Boards."
253. Indian Choruses fixed.
254. Lament of Kitchina.
255. A peculiar Chorus for each Dance.
256. They worship the Sun and Great Spirit.
257. Cradle-Songs, a Kind of Humming.

4. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MOQUI AND NAVAJO TRIBES OF NEW MEXICO.

Dec. 25th. Pueblos of Laguna. Curious Church, and Ceremony. Song to Montezuma. Baskets of rude Images of Animals offered to the Great Spirit. Extraordinary Bird Concert. Singular Dance of Men and Women.
" 26th. Dancing and Addresses.
" 27th. Amusements of a Holiday.
" 28th. Abandonment to Diversions.
" 30th. A Funeral. Handfuls of Earth, and Jars of Water, thrown in the Grave.
" 31st. Position of Laguna. Man in a State between Civilization and Barbarism. Population. Government. Ideas. Arts. Costume. Moral Character.
Jan'y 1st. An Indian Orator. Village Criers.
" 2d. Charnel-Houses. Rabbit-Dance.
" 8th. An Indian Procession. Estufa. Ceremony of the Malinche.
" 9th. Ceremony of the Malinche repeated. Arrow-Dance.
" 15th. Pueblo of Lima. Population. Traditions. Albinos.
March 31st. First Towns of the Moqui. Curiosity. Smoking. Corn. A high Place on the Rocks. Mode of building, &c.
April 1st. Singular Dance of the Moqui. Costume, Male and Female. Indian Vocal Music. Customs described.
" 2d. Account of the Moquis. Population. Government. Their opinion of the Americans. Tradition of their Origin. Nine Races of Men. Resources. A sacred Fire kept up. Products raised. Females select Husbands. Polygamy unknown. No fermented Liquors. A happy People. Seven Villages in one Valley. Harno differs in Language. Customs at large.
" 3d. Temperature. Return.
" 5th. Myths of the Aborigines of New Mexico. Curious Traditions of Santiago of the Creation of the World, Man, &c.

5. HUNTING THE BUFFALO ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIES.

(A.) The Bison — its Ranges, Character, and Mode of Hunting.

Former range of the Animal east of the Mississippi. Term applied to it by Linnæus. An Animal of cold Latitudes. A formidable Enemy to the Hunter. Its History. Hordes of it West, seen by early Travellers. A Mode of decoying them.

(B.) SPORT OF BUFFALO-HUNTING ON THE OPEN PLAINS OF PEMBINA.

1. Diminution of the Buffalo.
2. Great Slaughter created by the Robe-Trade.
3. Chase of the Animal, on Horseback.
4. Power of Scent of this Animal.
5. The Bow and Arrow an Effective Arm.
6. Power of the Lance.
7. Pursued fatally on the crusted Snow.
8. A Herd on the Ice.
9. Size compared with the Cow (Plate 8).
10. A Hunting-Party on Horseback.
11. Incident of an accidental Shot.
12. Charge upon a Drove.
13. Pursuit next Day.
14. Thrown before an enraged Buffalo Bull.
15. A Predicament.
16. A Bison charges on a Man.
17. Lake of the Spirit Land.
18. Trophies of the Chase.
19. Results of Twenty-Two Days' Hunting.
20. Character of the Boisbrule Hunters of Red River.
21. The Animals hunted by them Annually.
22. Narrative of an Expedition for hunting the Buffalo.
23. Picturesque View of the Camp and Prairies.
24. Prairie compared to the Ocean. Geographical Data.
25. Unerring accuracy of the Boisbrule woodsmen.
26. Enormous and fierce Cranes.
27. *Mal de Bœuf.*
28. A Band of Buffalo Bulls.
29. Fierceness of the Animal.
30. A Herd of Cows.
31. Long and keen Sight of the Hunters.
32. Necessity of calmness in Action.
33. An Indian tossed on the Horns of a Buffalo.
34. Dangers of the Hunt.
35. Expertness in Loading and Firing.
36. Immense Slaughter of Animals.
37. Mode of Dressing the Animal — the Parts technically named.
38. Wolf Meat.
39. How the Flesh is jerked — Pemican.
40. Hide — what done with.
41. Elk, Antelope, Deer, Hare, Badger, Grizzly Bear.
42. Horse hunts without his Rider.
43. Instincts of the Horse.

44. Great Numbers of the Buffalo.
45. Perilous Scene.
46. Beaver-Dam — its admirable Structure.
47. Substitute for Fuel.
48. Cold and Snow no Impediment to Hunting.
49. Description of the Buffalo.
50. Buffalo Calves.
51. Immense Results of the Hunt.

1. SOCIAL STATE OF THE INDIANS.

(A.) TRAITS OF PARENTAL AFFECTION — OF REGARD FOR THE DEMENTED, AND OF EXTRAORDINARY CRUELTY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SUPERSTITION.

(*a.*) FILIAL and parental affection is often exhibited by the North American forest tribes in the most marked manner. An example of filial regard has been narrated in a prior part of this work (Part II., p. 142), in the conduct of an aged chief, which has no parallel, so far as we recollect, in heroic history; and Bianswa deserves to have his name inscribed among those who have made the noblest sacrifices to filial piety.

(*b.*) A very striking instance of devotion in a daughter for an aged father, occurred in the vicinity of Michilimackinac. Gitchy Naigow (Anglice, Great Sand Dune), was a Chippewa chief, who, during a long life, maintained a reputation for bravery, vigorous exertion, and policy in Indian life, in the region of the Upper Lakes. He was a warm friend of the French during their supremacy in the Canadas; and an actor in the scenes of peril that preceded, and followed the fall of Quebec, in 1759. He had been one of the assailants at the memorable capture of old Fort Michilimackinac, in 1763, and is mentioned by the name of Le Grand Sable, as one of the most sanguinary actors on that occasion.[1] He lived many years afterwards, shifting his tent as the seasons changed, from the open shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan, to the thick woods which are the shelter of the natives from the wintry winds. Eighty years and upwards had now whitened the locks of the aged chief, and he felt that his continuance in these scenes must be short, when he accompanied his relatives for the last time, during the month of March, from the borders of the water, to those forests which yield the acer saccharinum, or sugar-maple. This is a season of enjoyment with the

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[1] Travels of Alexander Henry, p. 124; 1 vol., 8vo., N. Y., 1809

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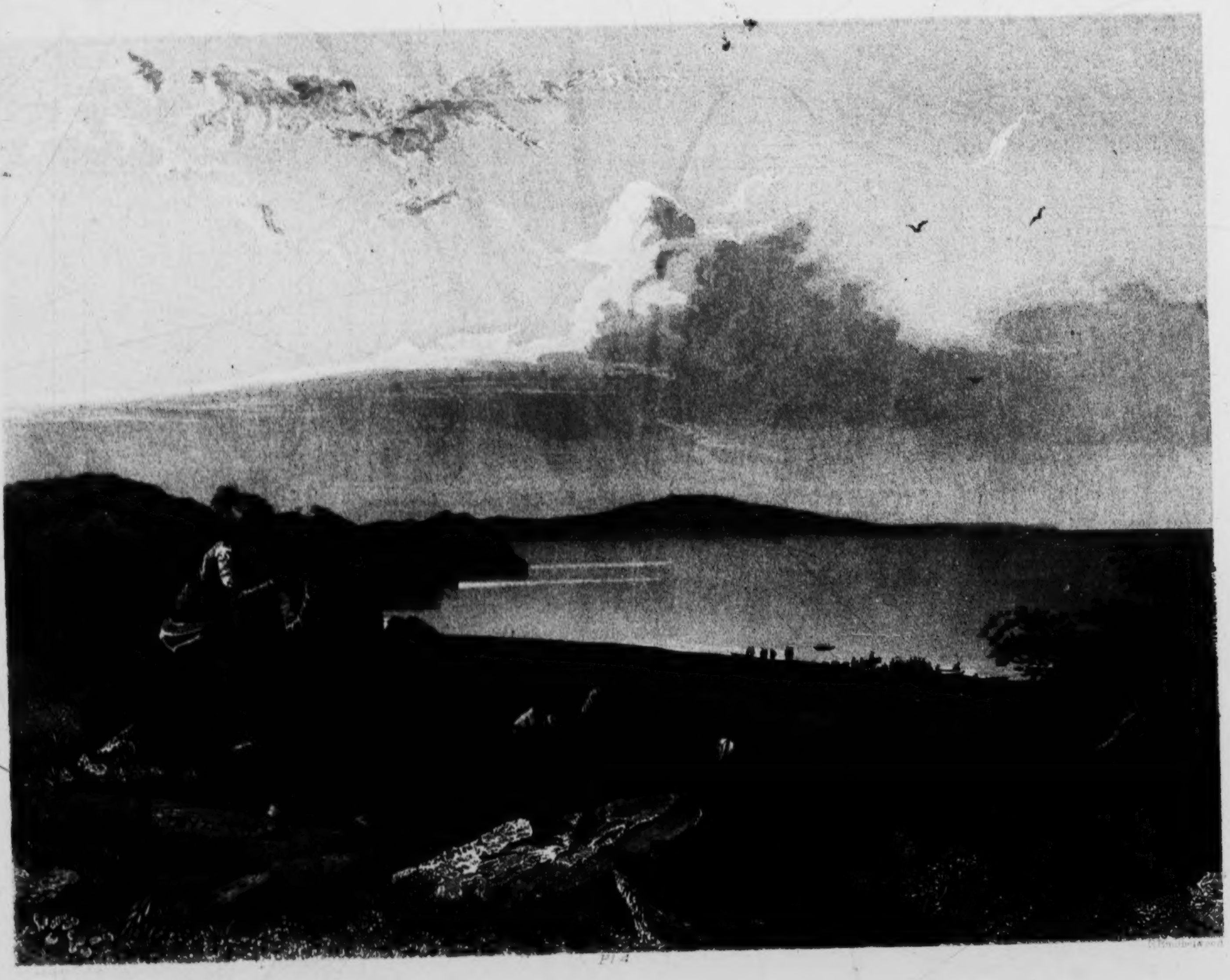

Pl 4

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Indians, and they usually remain at their sugar-camps until the sap assumes too much acidity to be longer capable of being made into syrup, and the trees begin to put forth leaves. In the mean time, the days of the enfeebled patriarch, who had pitched his tent in a hundred forests, approached their close. It was found that, when they had packed up their effects to return to the open lake, he was unable to sustain the journey. His daughter, Nodowáqua, the wife of Saganash, determined to carry him on her shoulders, that he might, for the last time, be permitted to witness those refreshing shores. For this purpose, as soon as the carriers were ready to move, she took her long and stout deer-skin apecun, or head-strap, and fastening it around his body, bent herself strongly forward under the load, then rose under the pious burden, and took the path for the lake. (Plate 4.) It is usual to put down the burdens at set places, and to proceed by rests (onwaibe by onwaibe) on their way. These she obeyed, and brought him safely to the open shores of Lake Michigan. The distance was about ten miles. (Plate 4, Part IV.) I obtained these particulars from the woman herself, at Michilimackinac, in 1833, when she was aged. The feat of Æneas in carrying Anchises, when infirm, on his shoulders through the flames of Troy, has long been celebrated, but is rivalled here by an Algonquin woman. Poetry has embalmed the one act, let history do the same for the other.

(*c.*) Regard for lunatics, or the demented members of the human race, is a universal trait among the American tribes. It is even found among the Indians of Oregon, who have been often, perhaps not erroneously, supposed to be inferior in their mental endowments, to the tribes of the Atlantic slope, and of the Mississippi valley. At an encampment on the Kooskooskie river among the Shoshonees, two distinguished travellers, in 1806,[1] were visited by a great number of Indian men and women who evinced the greatest gaiety and good-humour.

(*d.*) Among other exhibitions, was that of an Oregon female who appeared to be demented. She sang in a wild, incoherent manner, and would offer to the spectators all the little articles she possessed, scarifying herself in a horrid manner, if any one refused to accept her presents. She seemed to be an object of pity among the Indians, who suffered her to do as she pleased without interruption; respect for her lunacy being considered by the Indians as a perfect exemption from all responsibility.

(*e*) But what are we to say of human sacrifices? It is painful to turn to the dark aspects of humanity which present a reverse to the foregoing humane trait.

Flowers and fruits, or, at most, a ram, in the early season, were the peaceful offerings which Greece and Rome presented to Ceres for the abundance of the earth. The Egyptians had rendered similar tribute to her, under the name of Isis. It remained for the barbaric tribes of the banks of the Missouri, between whom, and the Greeks and Romans, not the slightest connexion exists in any way, to offer human blood—the life-blood of a young virgin captured in war, to propitiate the deities of a dark imagination.

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[1] Lewis and Clark, p. 406, Vol. I.

The evidences of the following barbarity are well authenticated. They came to me from the banks of the Upper Missouri, about ten years ago. In the fierce wars carried on between the Sioux and Pawnees, the latter took prisoner Haxtí, a Sioux girl of fourteen. This incident happened in the month of February, 1837. The season of corn-planting in these latitudes is, usually, from the middle of March to the middle of April. They treated her with every usual mark of favor during her captivity. They supplied her, indeed, with abundance of the choicest food, as if they had designed to fatten their victim to the utmost. Of this purpose, and of her ultimate fate, she was kept in profound ignorance. They refused a ransom offered for her by some traders who had got knowledge of the affair.

In a council of eighty warriors, two days before the tragedy to be narrated, it was determined, while they gratified the spirit of revenge against their enemies, the Dacotahs, to offer her, as a sacrifice to the spirit of fecundity in a new corn-crop, which they were prepared to plant. At the breaking up of the council, she was brought out, accompanied by the whole body of counsellors, who accompanied her from wigwam to wigwam around the whole encampment. Each one presented her a small billet of wood and some paint. These symbols of her doom, of which she appeared to be ignorant, she handed to the warrior next to her, and he passed them on, until they had been handled by all, and a little wood and paint been added to the quantity by the inmates of every wigwam.

On the 22d of April she was led out to the sacrifice, but not until she came upon the ground did she conjecture her fate. They had chosen the place of her suffering between two trees, which stood about five feet apart. Three bars of wood were tied across from tree to tree, at a convenient height above the ground. A fire was kindled below them, the blaze of which was so graduated as just to reach her feet. She was directed to mount the middle bar. Two warriors, at the same moment, mounted the other bars, and taking hold of her at each side, held fire under her arm-pits until she was nearly dead. The warriors formed a wide circle around. At a given signal, each one drew his arrow, and letting fly at the same moment, filled every part of her body literally with the missiles; these stood so thick, that scarce a pin's-head could be placed between them. The arrows were immediately removed, and the flesh, in small pieces, completely cut from her bones. This flesh, of which the pieces were not larger than a half-dollar, was put into baskets. All this was done while the flesh was still quivering, and before the life was quite out of it.

These baskets of human flesh were then taken to the field for planting corn. The principal chief took a piece of the flesh and squeezed a drop of blood out of it upon the planted corn. His example was immediately followed, till every piece of the flesh had been thus appropriated.

This horrible event took place about one hundred and sixty miles above Council Bluffs, and is vouched by creditable witnesses, who have given publicity to the same. Thus far, this incident stands single and unparalleled for its atrocity, and invests with unusual interest the name of Haxti.

(*f.*) The ordinary sacrifice of prisoners captured in war by the forest tribes, is a trait so well known, and has been so often described, that it is sufficient here to allude to it. The last known and prominent instance of this barbarity, is believed to have been that of Colonel Crawford, in 1782.[1] These sacrifices were made to appease the spirit of vengeance in war, and not as a religious rite, or offering to any Indian deity. There have been, however, some isolated cases of offerings to an offended deity, or spirit, as when, on a certain occasion, a Dacotah Indian was so alarmed by the sharp and repeated strokes of lightning which fell around him, that deeming the Thunder God incensed at him, he seized his gun and shot down his own son, in a moment of alarm, as an offering to appease him.[2]

2. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

The ensuing observations respecting the manners and customs of the Winnebago tribe, from Mr. Fletcher, derive value from his residence, for several years, in an official capacity among them, as well as from the authentic light which they cast on their history and character.

(A.) War—Enlistments—Rendezvous—Subsistence.

198.[3] "The Winnebagoes were once a warlike people, but for several years past they have been at peace with the neighboring tribes, and are, at the present time, disinclined to war. Their military or war system is very simple, and is here given on the authority of Taw-nee-nuk-kaw, the head war-chief of the tribe.

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[1] Metcalf's Indian Narratives, Lexington, Kentucky, 1821. 1 Vol., 270 pp., 12mo.

[2] St. Peters, January 26, 1852.

Sir:—I mentioned an instance of human sacrifice amongst the Sioux, but I did not know for what cause at the time, but since, I have found out the cause of the sacrifice. There came up a terrible thunder-storm—the lightning was flashing and falling in every direction about the Indian's lodge, and the Indian thought the lightning or thunder was angry with him, and was about to kill him; so the Indian took his gun and shot his own son, and offered him as a sacrifice to the thunder, to save his own life.

As ever, Your Obedient Servant and Friend,
P. Prescott.

[3] These figures refer to Inquiries, in Appendix, Part I.

Nothing but the taking of life is considered just cause of war. When an Indian has had a relative killed by Indians of another tribe, and wishes to raise a war-party to avenge him; in case the enemy is not in the immediate neighborhood, and instant action for self-defence is not required, he in the first place fasts until he has a favorable dream; if, perchance, he has had a bad dream, he gets up and eats, and commences his fast again, and continues until his dream is favorable to his purpose; he then makes a feast, invites his friends, relates his dream, and asks them to go with him on a war path. The war-chief is usually invited to take command of the party.

All who join the party, volunteer; none are compelled to serve, and those who volunteer do not obligate themselves to serve during the war, or for any fixed time. If a warrior turns back after starting on a war-path he is laughed at, perhaps, but not punished for deserting. The man who gets up the party, and his friends, furnish a feast at starting; after that, each warrior takes care of and supports himself. The Indian goes to war on his own "charges;" no munitions of war, subsistence, or transportation are furnished at the public expense; each warrior furnishes himself with arms and ammunition. To these facts the peculiar character of Indian warfare is to be attributed; having no commissary department, they cannot subsist an army; and when, under a general and strong excitement, several hundred warriors start together on a war-path, they are, from necessity, obliged in a short time to separate in search of subsistence.

The Indian who raises a war-party furnishes a horse and as much wampum as he is able; the war-chief also furnishes something. The warrior who takes the first scalp[1] receives the property furnished by the man who got up the party; and the warrior who takes the second scalp receives the property furnished by the war-chief.

199. Warriors start for the first place of rendezvous, singly, or in squads, as may be most convenient. No order is observed. After they are assembled, and before starting on the war-path, they dance, and sacrifice dogs and deer-skins dressed white. Each warrior carries a bag made of skins or rushes, in which is carried a root. Before going into battle they chew this root, swallow some of its juice, and put some of it on their bodies to make them brave and keep them from being hurt. This medicine does not have the effect to deaden pain. After the ceremony of the dance is concluded, the party start in single file, the war-chief at their head. When they arrive in the neighborhood of their enemy, they have a vanguard when marching, and sentinels stationed when encamped at night. Neither priests nor jugglers are consulted respecting the result of a campaign; the dream of the warrior who raises a war-party is relied on.

200. The war-chief directs the movements of the party, and commands in battle; he plans the attack, issues orders to his braves and assigns them their post. They

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[1] For a representation of this act, see Plate 10, Part II.

sometimes fight in line when they happen to meet an enemy in the open field by day. In such case, they commence firing as soon as they come within range, and then advance, the object of each party being to drive the other from the field. When one party breaks and retreats, the other pursues, killing with the knife and war-club. The wounded retire to the rear.

201. The usual plan adopted by the party making the attack is, first, to ascertain by reconnoitring, the exact position of the enemy, then start upon him in the night, and at a given signal attack him promiscuously. The war-whoop is not used as an order or signal after commencing an attack, but, like the shout of the white soldier in battle, is intended to defy the enemy, and exult in success.

202. Sometimes a war-party agree to take one or two prisoners. If a warrior wants a prisoner for the purpose of adopting him into his family, he is allowed to take one. No important ceremony is observed in adopting a prisoner. Without a previous arrangement, male prisoners are seldom taken in battle. Quarter is neither given nor asked; the Indian, when outnumbered and surrounded so that he cannot retreat, knows that it is useless to surrender, and fights to the last.

When, as it sometimes happens, a warrior is taken in battle, and his captor does not wish to adopt him, and the war-chief is not present to decide his fate, he is bound and taken to the village where that chief resides. The prisoner is then made to go about in the village, and if he enters the lodge of the war-chief, he is condemned to die, but if the war-chief shuts his lodge against him, his life is safe. The war-chief has the power of life and death in the case. They do not bury their dead who fall in the field of battle, neither do they strip them of their ornaments, but leave them as they fall. They kill and scalp the wounded of their enemy. Sometimes Indians, after being scalped and left for dead on the field of battle, recover and get back to their tribe. There are individuals now living, who have recovered under such circumstances.

203. They do not make slaves of their prisoners if their lives are spared. They generally marry, and are treated as members of the tribe.

204. The Winnebago warriors say that chastity is, by their tribe, uniformly respected in war. They say that the Great Spirit has told them not to abuse the women.

205. The warriors start on the war-path attired in their usual dress, but go into battle divested of most of their clothing. They paint their faces and bodies so as to appear as hideous as possible. They use vermilion and most of the pigments employed by painters, and when these cannot be obtained they besmear their bodies with clay. The feather of the war-eagle is worn by those warriors who have taken a scalp in battle.[1]

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[1] See this question examined in Part II., p. 57. Plate 13.

206. Some wear frontlets, and this ornament is constructed of various materials, and in various shapes and patterns. They wear a small portion of the hair on the top and back part of the head long, and braided in two or three braids; the balance of their hair is generally cut similar to the fashion of the whites. They do not show any part of the head. Their ornaments are worn in battle; these consist chiefly of necklaces of animals' claws, bracelets, and rings.

207. Since the introduction of fire-arms among them, those who can obtain the gun and rifle prefer to use them, instead of the bow and arrow. The war-club, tomahawk, and knife, are still used as weapons. The scalping-knife does not differ from the common knife used by the Indians in hunting.

Death and its Incidents.

211. It is characteristic of an Indian to suffer in silence, and die composedly. When an individual in this tribe dies, the relatives, if able, procure a new suit of clothes, in which they dress the corpse; then, if practicable, procure a coffin, and bury the dead as soon as the necessary preparations can be made. They do not address the dead as if living, or capable of hearing.[1] They usually bury a pipe and some tobacco with a male adult, and sometimes deposit a war-club in the grave of a warrior.

212. Graves are usually made in dry ground, and dug from two to four feet in depth. No tumulus or barrow has been erected by this tribe to the memory of their chiefs, in modern times. Indian graves are usually excavated imperfectly, always shallow, and sometimes not deep enough to prevent effluvia from the body, and to protect it from wild beasts. They usually place some protection around graves, by setting boards or poles in the ground, meeting at the top over the grave. In addition to this, the graves of chiefs and distinguished men are sometimes enclosed with pickets.

213. Graves are dug east and west, and the dead buried with the head towards the east; the reason given for this is, "That they may look towards the happy land in the west."

214. The dead are sometimes deposited in a sitting posture. An excavation is made, and the body placed in it, facing the west, with the head and chest above the surface of the ground.

215. This tribe do not embalm the dead. They clothe the corpse in full dress, and when a coffin cannot be obtained, they sometimes substitute bark.

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[1] In this respect differing from the Algonquins.—H. R. S.

216. Sometimes parents scaffold their dead children in order that they may have them in sight. Sometimes the dead are disposed of in this manner, in compliance with their wish expressed while living, and sometimes the dead are scaffolded as a matter of convenience, to avoid the trouble of digging a grave in frozen ground.[1]

217. White flags are frequently placed at the head of graves, and sometimes the United States flag is placed over the graves of chiefs and distinguished persons. These flags are supposed to remain until worn out.

218. It does not appear, from the traditions of this tribe, that they ever collected and re-interred the bones of their dead.

219. It is probable that this tribe never used charnel-houses.

220. Incineration of bodies is never practised by the Winnebagoes.

221. Black is the garb of mourning. They make great lamentation for the dead, but do not scarify themselves in token of mourning. When a family bury a member or relative, they black their faces and bodies, sometimes put on sackcloth, and do not wash or comb their hair until they make a sacrifice. This is done by procuring goods, and hanging them over the grave of the deceased, when their friends are invited to meet. After singing and dancing about the grave, the party is divided, and the goods in some way gambled for, either by a game of ball, moccasin, or cards. It is customary to visit the grave of a relative four times. Mothers carry images or bundles of clothes to represent a child lost by death. Men do not suffer their beards to grow long, in token of mourning for the dead.

222. Fires are kindled at the graves of the dead, and continued four nights; the object is to light the spirit on its journey to the spirit-land.

223. Grass and rubbish are cleared away, and the surface of the ground around a new-made grave is swept in a circle from six to twenty feet in diameter. This is done to prevent evil spirits from creeping up to the grave. A roof constructed of bark, boards, or some other material of wood, is made over the grave, and sometimes a post some six or eight inches in diameter, and three feet in height, is set at the head of the grave. On these posts they paint hieroglyphics, representing, not the epitaph of the dead, but the achievements of the warriors who dance at the grave and relate their exploits while the record is being made.[2]

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[1] For a representation of scaffolding the dead, see Plate 3, Part I., and Plate 16, Part II.

[2] For descriptions of the grave-posts, or monumental structures and devices used for the dead, see Plate 50, Part I.

(C.) MORAL TRAITS, ARTS, &c.

224. It is not known that any mounds are now being built by Indians in the northwest territory of the United States.

It is believed that some tribes of Indians could have mustered a sufficient number of laborers, including women, to erect the largest artificial mounds found in the west, provided they could have been furnished with subsistence and tools; but the present race of Indians lack the energy necessary to undertake and prosecute works of such magnitude; and, considering their habits and customs, it is difficult to assign a motive for such an undertaking. These mounds may have been erected for national monuments, and sepulchres for the illustrious dead. The old men of this tribe give it as their opinion, that such was their purpose and use; but the traditions of the tribe make no mention of the origin or use of these mounds. It is not reasonable to suppose that a tribe of Indians who subsisted by the chase, would erect these works for fortifications, as it would be impossible for them to procure subsistence sufficient to enable them to sustain a siege for any considerable length of time.

225. Orphan children are usually supported by their nearest relatives. When they have no relatives able to support them, they are maintained by individual charity. No provision is made for them at the public expense.

226. Aged and infirm persons sometimes suffer in seasons of scarcity. They receive their share of the annuity of the tribe; and when that is exhausted, and they have no children or near relatives to whom they can apply for aid, they often receive voluntary contributions from their friends and neighbors. The chiefs also interest themselves in behalf of such persons, and request their agent to give them an extra share of the public annuities. The organization of savage society is such, that few, if any, persons can be found, who have not some relatives who are bound by its usages to afford them the last rites of humanity.

227. The bands of this tribe build their winter? summer lodges in villages. These lodges are built by setting posts or poles in the ground, and covering them with bark. Ash, elm, and linn, are used for this purpose. (See Plate 23, Part II.) The shape of the lodge is similar to that of a log cabin, and differing in size according to the number of persons in the family or families who occupy them. Said lodges are from twelve to forty feet in length, and from ten to twenty feet in width, and about fifteen feet in height from the ground to the top of the roof. These lodges are built near the field or fields they cultivate, and are occupied several summers. A lodge forty feet in length, and sixteen in width, will accommodate three families of ten persons each. There are

no windows in these bark lodges. They generally have two doors, and a space through the centre; with benches or berths on each side for sleeping. The fires, one for each family, are made along the space through the centre of the lodge. The smoke escapes through apertures in the roof. These lodges were formerly built by the women; latterly, however, the men assist in building them.

The summer lodge is made of lighter materials, and is portable. When on a hunt, these lodges are frequently removed from place to place. When a family removes to a distant location, the frame of the lodge is left standing, and the covering only is removed. The Winnebagoes use skins, mats made of flags, and bark, for enclosing their winter lodges. The Chippewas cover their lodges with birch bark. The frame of these lodges is made by setting small poles in the ground, and binding the tops together, thus forming an arch high enough for a man to stand erect in the centre.

228. The Winnebagoes use chiefly canoes made of logs, which they excavate and finish with great skill. The axe and an adze, constructed for the purpose, are the tools used. These canoes carry from two to fifteen persons. The Chippewas use the bark canoe; they are the most skilful canoe-builders in this country, and probably the most skilful in the world. The frame of the bark canoe is first made of pine, cedar, or some light wood, and then sheeted with birch bark. The edges of the sheathing are lapped, and sewed with thin filaments of elm bark; the seams are then covered with gum, and thus rendered impervious to water. The log canoe is the most durable. The bark canoe the most convenient when portages are made.

229. This tribe has made considerable advancement in civilization. A portion of them subsist chiefly by agriculture, and have adopted the use of the common farming implements, and a few of the mechanical tools used by the whites.

230. The Winnebagoes have no regular periods for meals; they eat when hungry, provided they have aught to eat. They generally boil their food, and cook it until it is well done. Their skill in boiling fish consists in keeping it heated for a long time over a slow fire. They use brass, iron, and tin vessels in cooking. Before they procured metallic vessels, they sometimes boiled their food in wooden vessels, or troughs, by putting heated stones into the water contained in them. They use but little salt, and do not relish milk.

231. Provisions are usually cured by hanging them in the smoke of their family fires. They preserve fish, and all kinds of meat taken in their hunts, by smoking. The tail of the beaver is parboiled before it is smoked.

232. It is difficult to estimate what proportion of their support those bands in this tribe, which rely on the chase for subsistence, derive from the "spontaneous fruits and productions of the forest." Wild rice is the most important article for food that grows

spontaneously. Whortle-berries, black-berries, rasp-berries, straw-berries, and cranberries, are delicacies which they enjoy in their season. They get but little wild honey, an article of which they are not very fond. They manufacture maple sugar to considerable extent. In a favorable season, they produce some 15,000 pounds of this article, the labor of which is performed chiefly by the women.

233. In seasons of scarcity, they are sometimes straitened for provisions. At such times, they use their resources economically; and if the ground is not frozen or covered with snow, they dig wild potatoes, artichokes, and other nutritious roots. Suffering by famine is seldom known in this tribe; their large annuities, together with the proceeds of their labor and hunts, are sufficient to secure them against extreme want.

(D.) COSTUME.

234. Indians of both sexes consider the Mackinac blanket an essential article of dress at all times. White blankets are preferred in the winter, and colored in the summer. Red is a favorite color with the young, and green with the aged. Three point blankets are worn by men, and two and a half point by women. The calico shirts, cloth leggins, and buck-skin moccasins, worn by both sexes,[1] are similar. In addition to the above articles, the women wear a broad-cloth petticoat, or mantelet, suspended from the hips and extending below the knee. No part of the garments worn by this tribe is made of materials the growth of their own country, except that their leggins and moccasins are sometimes made of deer-skins, dressed by themselves. Blankets and mantelets last about one year. Leggins, moccasins, and shirts, last but a short time. A common dress for a man costs about $12; for a woman, about $15. A holiday dress, with ornaments, costs about $100.

235. The Winnebagoes adapt their dress to varying circumstances, occasions, and seasons. The chiefs wear nothing peculiar to designate their office, except it be medals received from the President of the United States. The habits of the Indians of this tribe, respecting undressing for bed at night, are similar to those of the whites.

236. These Indians attach great value to ornaments. Wampum, ear-bobs, rings, bracelets, and bells, are the most common ornaments worn by them. Head-dresses, ornamented with eagles' feathers, are worn by the warriors on public occasions. Warriors only are allowed to wear the feather of the war eagle. Most of the ornaments worn by the Winnebagoes are procured from their traders.

237. Some of the young men and women of the tribe paint their blankets with a variety of colors and figures. This is usually done with vermilion and other paints,

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[1] This is a mistake, so far as relates to leggins, which are male and female in their cut and shape; the latter being scarcely half the length of the former.

purchased of their traders. Vegetable dyes are used but little by them. They do not tattoo their bodies. A large majority of the young and middle-aged, of both sexes, paint their faces when they dress for a dance, and on all public occasions. Vermilion, prussian blue, and chrome yellow, are generally used for this purpose. The men frequently besmear their bodies with white clay when they join a public dance.

238. They have no badge of office.

239. The Winnebago women wear no curls or false hair; they uniformly, old and young, divide the hair from the forehead to the back of the crown, and wear it collected in a roll from the back of the neck, confined with ribbons and bead-strings. The men and boys wear their hair cut similar to the whites, except that they all wear a small quantity on the back of the crown long and braided, which braids are tied at the end with ribbon. These Indians have but little beard, which is usually plucked by tweezers. Only one or two men in this tribe wear whiskers.

240. The skin of the Indian is thinner than that of the white man, the surface is smoother, and the lines or indentations more regular."

[The fact brought to notice by Mr. Fletcher, in the concluding sentence of the above remarks, is believed to be a general one among the traits of the North American Indians, and commends itself to the attention of physiologists. After this general survey of the manners and customs of the tribes who have so long occupied a position on our frontiers, and filled so prominent a niche in Indian history as the Winnebagoes, it will be appropriate to introduce the manners, customs and opinions of the Sioux or Dacotahs — a cognate, but still more numerous and important tribe.

3. MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND OPINIONS OF THE DACOTAHS.

These remarks on the Dacotahs are from Mr. Philander Prescott — a man who is well acquainted with their oral language and customs, who has had many years of personal observation among these tribes, is intimately acquainted with their opinions, and whose judgment on the scenes passing before him is believed to be at once accurate, and perfectly candid and truthful.]

191.[1] "There are four seasons for hunting. In spring, furs and wild fowl; in summer, deer are hunted; in the fall, furs and deers; in the winter, deers and furs. In spring, muskrats, otters, beavers, minks, martens, fishes. In summer, red skins of deer. In fall, muskrats, coons, otters, beavers, and deers. In winter, the same. Buffalo are hunted mostly on horseback, with guns and the bow. I have heard Indians say that they have shot an arrow clear through a buffalo, and the arrow fell to the ground on the other side.

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[1] Vide Appendix, Part I.

192. Hunting is carried on as a common livelihood, and all join in for the support of their families, when they can be kept sober. Hunger drives many of them out hunting. If a man kills a deer, the one who gets to him first receives the best piece. Sometimes the slayer gets nothing but the hide, for when they are very hungry there is great pulling and hauling for the meat. The chief never interferes. The strongest is the best fellow, and keeps what he gets. They have no secret arts, only their jugglery and the medicine-dance. Any one belonging to the medicine-dance can act as doctor, priest, juggler, or any thing else that he can perform. They steal, get drunk, murder, do all sorts of mischief, and notwithstanding all this are looked upon as great medicine-men. Morning and evening are the most suitable hours for hunting. These Indians do not hunt at night.

193. Bears and wolves are shot with a gun. The antelope is a singular animal, and is easily decoyed by hiding yourself in the grass and sticking something red on a small stick and raising it above the grass a little. The antelope will come to see what it is — they raise the red article every now and then, and let it fall again. The antelope keeps approaching. In this way they decoy them close enough to be shot. The Indians use baits for beaver of different kinds. An Indian who can kill a large number of beavers thinks himself a great medicine-man. The Indians pretend to say there is a great art in setting traps for beaver, to be successful. They pretend to charm some kind of animals by mimicking them, and sometimes succeed in killing game in this way.

194. The drying or curing skins is done by the women mostly, unless he men should be on a hunt alone; then, of course, they have to cure the skins themselves. After the hide is taken from the animal, it is brought home, and the women take the flesh off with a bone, carried with them for that purpose, sharp at one end. This meat, when taken off, is about as thick as the skin itself, and is generally roasted by the women, and eaten, after the hair is shaven off with a very sharp knife. Then small holes are cut all round the skin; strings run all round, which are lashed to the poles of the lodge inside; the fire dries it in one night; in the morning, it is taken down and folded to the size of the pack, convenient for travelling; say one foot by eighteen inches long. When they dress them, they take the grease off, as tanners do; then dip them into water wherein are brains of deer; boil and stretch them on four square poles tied, and pushed into the ground. They then commence scraping with a scraper made either of bone, horn, or iron. A fire is kept up to dry slowly. The women

scrape until dry; then dip the skin in the brain-water, and scrape dry again; then dip in the water a third time; and every time the water is wrung out before the skin is stretched. If, after all this working, the skin is hairy or stiff, it is drawn over a cord as large as the finger, for some time, as hard as they can pull, which softens it much: sometimes this is the last process, except smoking. This is done by digging a hole in the ground about a foot deep, putting in a little fire and some rotten wood, when the skin is sewed into a bag and hung over the smoke: in ten minutes the skin is ready for use. An Indian may bring in a deer in the morning, and before bed-time his wife will have some moccasins made of the skin. The skins killed out of season are of a dark color; and the hair scanty, short, and thin.

195. They spear fish,[1] and also take them by hook and line. They spear them under the ice in the winter by cutting a hole about six inches across and covering themselves over with a robe;[2] then they can see the bottom. They make a small fish of wood and tie a string to it, and fasten it to a little stick, giving it a slight jerk now and then. They cause this wooden counterfeit to play about, and the fish will dart at it, when, at that moment, the spear is thrown and strikes the fish. Some Indians make fish-weirs. Little boys shoot the small sun-fish with a bow and an arrow, with a little spear fastened to it.[3] A string is fastened to the middle of the bow, and this to the arrow, so that when the fish is speared it can be pulled up. This is done in the same way as above, through the ice. The Indians dry the fish to cure them, and they keep good for a long time cured in this way.

196. Children are taught, when young, to use the bow and arrow, shoot, spear, and hunt. They commence hunting at about twelve years; that is, large game. Widows are often supported, as far as the chase will support them, by their sons. I have not known the Sioux women to make use of fire-arms for hunting.

197. The Indians of the Mississippi have abandoned the use of the bow in the chase, but carry it about as a weapon of defence. On the Upper St. Peter's river, the bow and arrow are much used in hunting buffalo. The common shot-gun is employed for deer and buffalo. A few use the rifle for shooting deer. The Indians, for the fall-hunt, are supplied mostly by the traders with ammunition: from one pound to twelve is about the amount each Indian gets for his fall-hunt, according to the character and capacity of the man. In the spring about the same amount is furnished. The price is about one dollar a pound. The traders furnish all that are willing to hunt and are the most inclined to be honest. They get from five to thirty traps, and some from the annuities also, but they lose and waste a great many. Many of the Indians do not

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[1] Vide Plate 8, Part II.

[2] Vide Plate 6, Part II.

[3] Vide Plate 7, Part II.

kill in the course of the year as much in amount as they receive from government in annuities.

198. War-parties are raised by any person who feels aggrieved, or has had a relative killed. If he cannot carry out his designs, he will employ some one else whom he thinks is able to make a successful trip. The head of the party must be a great medicine-man, a prophet, or in some other way distinguished. The war-chief makes a dance every three or four nights, for two or three weeks before the party marches. This is in the lodge. All join who choose, and any one can return, if he so please, after they have started. They have nothing like enlistment. Every man acts much as he pleases. On these excursions the war-chief makes laws after they get started, which, if any one breaks, he gets his gun broke, and blanket cut, by five or six warriors who are appointed for that purpose by the war-chief. They dance when they come in the neighborhood of the enemy's country. Every man furnishes his own provisions. There is no public arrangement for these war-parties. Every man acts for himself.

199. The order of the march is made by the war-chief. He tells the party where they will camp, what they will kill, and what they will see during the day. The war-chief makes his dances, which is all the ceremony before the march. They move as suits themselves — in Indian file, generally. They have no rules for that purpose. They have very good roots, which they apply to wounds. They have many roots they use for food. In these war excursions, they pretend the medicine in their war sacks will give them courage and success, without eating of it. Great precaution is used on the march. Three or four are always sent ahead of the party as spies, who stop two or three times in a day, and let the party come up, and tell what they have seen and heard; and then there is a little council on the subject.

200. The chiefs have very little command or control of a village, or in the war; and chiefs do not often go to war. In battle there is no order. After the battle commences, there is no concert nor calmness. Every thing is irregular. If they retreat, each one makes the best of his way home he can.

201. The plan of attack is made known to the party by the war-chief, if possible. The spies reconnoitre the enemy's camp, and the plan of the battle is then fixed. When they are near enough they have a whistle to blow, at which sound they all fire; then the war-whoop comes, and they charge on the enemy. There is no order of retreat. No rallying-place named. When the worsted party flies, their antagonists follow in irregular pursuit.

202. Prisoners have their hands tied behind them, and have to walk with the war-party. We hear of no persons having been burnt in modern times. Captive children

are adopted into families willing to receive them, and are treated in the same way as their own children.

203. There is no such thing as slavery or involuntary servitude among the Indians, the condition of equality being universally recognised among them.

204. They generally treat female captives with respect. We hear of no violation of chastity in their war-parties. During their absence, the cause of their being chaste on these excursions, they say, is that they may not bring vengeance down upon their own heads; that is, displease the spirits of the deceased and the war-medicine, as they would be made to suffer for their incontinency. They must keep themselves from women all the time they are out at war. Superstition has a controlling influence over them, in this, as in other respects.

205. A common dress is used in war, with frontlets of honor on the head. When they are about to make the attack, they then put on all their finery. Red and black paint are the most used. Sometimes one side of the face is painted red, the other black; some are streaked, some spotted, &c. Eagle feathers are worn. The tail of the bird is the part used.

206. The hair is braided. If they kill an enemy, they unbraid the hair, and black themselves all over, and wear a small knot of swan's-down on the top of the head. They dress as mourners, yet rejoice. The head is not shaved. Some few of them have necklaces of bears' claws. They have many ornaments for the ears, arms, legs, and feet, together with little belts.

207. Fire-arms are principally used in war at present. War-clubs, bows and arrows, as well as knives, are carried; all of which are used after an enemy is shot. The same knife is used for all purposes.

208. The war-dance is danced by males alone, before they go to war. The scalp-dance is danced by the women.[1] The men sing and beat the drum. The women sing also. The dance of the braves is performed by the men. They dance to the thunder. The great medicine-dance is danced by men and women. The round-dance is also danced by both sexes. This dance is designed to appease the thunder that they suppose is or may be displeased with them. The dance to the sun is performed by two young men, with several men beating on raw hides. They dance for two days and nights. The dance to the moon is danced by the men; they dance all night, and at daylight they

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[1] Vide Plate , Part II.

fear the dawning light, and stop. The dance of the giant is danced by both men and women; they move round a large kettle of boiling meat, and as they dance round, they thrust their arms in, and pull out pieces of meat, and eat, without burning themselves. They say the children learn all the choruses by hearing the parents sing them. They enter the ring of dances at the age of five years; some of them, somewhat older. They have a fish-dance, at which they eat raw fish.

269. Ball plays are played by both men and women, and heavy bets depend on the issue.[1] I believe there is but one kind of ball playing. One village plays against another. The boundaries are near a half mile. The ball is started from the middle. Each party strives to get the ball over the respective boundaries; for instance, the boundaries are east and west; one party, or village, will try to carry the ball west, and the other east. If a village or party gets the ball over the eastern boundary, they change sides, and the next time they have to try and get it over the western boundary; so, if the same party propels it over the western boundary, they win one game, and another bet is played for. The ball is carved, and thrown in a stick about two or three feet long, with a little circle at the end to assist in picking it up. This hoop has some buckskin cords across to keep the ball in. I have known an Indian to throw the ball over the boundaries in three throws. When it is seen flying through the air, there is a great shout and hurra by the spectators. They sometimes pick up the ball, and run over the lines, without being overtaken by any of the opposite party. Then a great shout is raised again, to urge on the players. Horses, guns, kettles, blankets, wampum, calico, beads, &c., are bet. This game is very laborious, and occasionally the players receive some hard blows, either from the club or ball. I once saw a man almost killed with the ball; he stood in front of the player that was going to throw the ball, who threw with great force and aimed too low. The ball struck the other in the side, and knocked him senseless for some time. As to the effects, I do not perceive that any serious evil results, if we except the gambling. Ball is generally played in May and June, and in winter. They do not race much.

210. They play with a dish and use plum-stones figured and marked. Seven is the game. Sometimes they throw the whole count; at others they throw two or three times, but frequently miss, and the next one takes the dish. The dish which they play in is round, and will hold about two quarts. Women play this game more than the men, and often lose all their trinkets at it. The play of moccasins is practised by the men, and large bets are made. In this game they take sides; one party playing against the other. One side will sing, whilst one man of the other party hides the ball in a moccasin. There are three moccasins used for the purpose. The

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[1] For this scene, vide Part II., Plates 19 and 20.

man takes the ball or stick between his thumb and forefinger, and slips it from one moccasin to another several times, and leaves it in one of them and then stops, something like thimble-play. The party that have been singing have to guess in which moccasin the ball is; for which purpose one man is chosen. If he guesses where the ball is the first time, he loses. Should the ball not be in the moccasin that he guesses the first time, he can try again. He has now two moccasins for a choice. He has now to guess which one the ball is in. If he is successful, he wins: if not, he loses. So they have only one chance in two of winning. When one side loses, the other side give up the moccasins to the other party to try their luck awhile at hiding the ball. They have no high numbers in the games. They now play cards mostly for bets and amusement. Some play away every thing they possess, except their wives and children. I never heard of their having gambled them away.

211. When an Indian dies, he is wrapped up in the clothes he died in, and is laid upon a scaffold. If his friends think enough of him to cover him decently, they do so by throwing new blankets, white, scarlet, &c., over him. Calico is also thrown over the dead body in some instances. As many as two blankets are thrown over a corpse, but these do not remain. When the corpse is abandoned, these are all taken off but one. The rest are kept to make a great medicine-dance with, for the repose of the spirits. A few words are addressed to the spirit of the departed, and all present burst into a flood of tears and wailing. The character of the address is for the spirit to remain in his own place, and not disturb his friends and relatives: and promises are made on the part of the mourners to be faithful in keeping their laws and customs in making feasts for the departed spirits. The practice of burying implements with the dead is not practised by the Indians, except it is by particular request. This is done for the spirit to make use of the implements the same as in this life — to make a living by them. Implements of note have never been dug up in this country.

212. Graves are generally made on the highest land they can find. Sometimes these are situated on lowlands. The corpse is put in, sometimes with all the limbs drawn up, sometimes extended. The wood and earth are put over the grave, the pickets lying slanting both ways until they meet at the top. These pickets are put all around, about two rods square. This is about all that is done, except that a flag is sometimes put up at a grave, and remains there until worn out.

213. The corpse is placed in any direction and position, as the Indians are not mathematicians, nor precise in any of their works. It is natural to suppose their burying-grounds would be very irregular.

214. The Sioux do not bury in a sitting posture, except when they have been to

war, and one of them has been killed; in which case they set him up and dress him in all the finery they can obtain.

215. The dead are wrapped in the dress they die in, and sometimes there are other fine dresses put on over that.

216. Some are put in barks, some in boxes, and others are only wrapped in skins or blankets. Beasts of prey seldom ever touch them. The little red squirrel they say sometimes devours the corpse, and therefore the Indians will not eat that animal.

217. Flags are hung up over chiefs and warriors. For other Indians, a piece of white cotton is used instead. This custom is ancient.

218. The custom of the Sioux or Dacotahs is, to gather the bones of the dead about one year after they have been put up in a scaffold, and mourn over them for the last time as the final honors for the remains of the body. The ceremony is public wailing, and much grief is displayed.[1]

219. The Sioux have no charnel-houses.

220. Incineration of bodies is not practised.

221. They scarify themselves, and cut their long hair off to about half its original length. The men black their faces and bodies, wear old clothes, and go barefoot. When they possibly can, the women cut their hair, scarify, wear old clothes, go barefoot and bare-legged, and tear the borders off their petticoats. The dead are lamented by wailing to the height of their voices. They can be heard two or three miles in a calm evening. For one year they visit the place of the dead, and carry food,[2] and make a feast for the dead, to feed the spirit of the departed. The Sioux do not carry images of the departed, but the Chippewas do. The Indians have no beard.

222. When a person first dies and is put upon a scaffold, they sometimes light a fire somewhere near. The rubbish is all cleared away from under the scaffold, and every thing is kept clean around the place.

223. They make no mounds. Sometimes they put up grave-posts, and paint characters on them, denoting the number of enemies killed, prisoners taken, &c.

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[1] This custom Mr. Fletcher did not observe among the Winnebagoes.

[2] Vide Plate 3, Part I.

224. There are several long mounds, or mound-like eminences, in the Sioux country, on the St. Croix, St. Peter's, and Mississippi rivers, most of which are supposed to be natural. Some are fifty feet high. I think the Sioux have not energy enough to build such mounds.

225. The orphans go to some of the nearest relations. Very seldom does the chief look after any but his own, and he is generally so poor that he cannot take care even of his own children as he should do.

226. The children take care of their aged parents: if none, the next of kin take care of them, and they are buried by the same persons.

227. The lodges are from eight to fifteen feet in diameter, about ten to fifteen feet high, and made of buffalo-skins tanned. Elk-skins are used for this purpose also. The summer-house is built of wood, or perches set upright, twenty or thirty feet long, by fifteen or twenty wide. The perches are set in the ground about one foot, and are about six feet out of ground. Over this is put a roof of elm bark. They are very comfortable for summer use. The lodge of skin lasts three or four years: the lodge of wood seven or eight years. The skin lodge they carry about on their backs and on horses through all their winter hunts. It is made in the shape of a funnel. This accommodates from five to ten persons always. In some lodges, the Sioux of the plains say they have feasted fifty warriors with ease. About four feet is what one person would occupy. The women construct and remove the lodges.

228. Canoes are made of wood dug out of large trees by the men and women. The Sioux build but few bark canoes, and even these are poor and ill-constructed. The wood canoes run light, and carry from one to fifteen persons. They are from eight to twenty feet long.

229. They are no mechanics. They would like to have every thing the whites have, but do not wish to work for it. They say it is a shame for a man to go to hard work, and would rather spend all their lives in ignorance and misery than adopt the white people's plan of living by hard work. Very few mechanical tools are in play by the Indians, still they like to have them. A saw, drawing-knife, auger, gimlet, adze, and large axe, are about all they care about. Files and wood-rasps are called for often.

230. The women do the cooking. Raw meat is seldom eaten, only in some particular dances. The meat is cooked done and often roasted. I believe they can boil the fish full as well as the whites. Some kinds of fish they boil whole. Salt is used, but not a large amount. Milk they do not relish. I never heard of their using bark or wood to boil in. Tin, sheet-iron, copper, and brass, are the kind of kettles now in use. The clay pots have disappeared altogether. They have no regular time for meals.

231. The meat, in curing it, is cut into thin slices, some a foot, some two feet square, and laid on a frame, over a gentle fire, until it is dry. They use no salt. Everything is dried. The meat of all kinds of animals is dried. The beaver-tails are boiled, then dried. Fish are cut thin and laid over a fire and dried. The Chippewas hang the white-fish and toulabe, a species of white-fish, up by the tail. They run a sharp stick through the tail, and put ten on a stick. This is in the fall. The fish keep all winter in this way, fresh and good.

232. Very little reliance is put on the spontaneous products of the forests of the country. Roots are much used and serve them for food, and are of great benefit to them in many instances. Plums, whortleberries, cranberries, hazlenuts, tipsinah,[1] and psinchah,[2] are found in abundance in the ponds, and are used for food. Tipsinah is found in the prairies, and used for food also. Wild-honey is found of late years in this country. When I first came into the country, in 1819, there were no bees to be seen. The Indians are remarkably fond of honey, but make bad use of it. They put a quantity of it, comb and all, dirt, too, into a kettle, and boil it, and make a feast of the hot honey, dirt, comb, and water. The consequence is, that they are not able to retain it on their stomachs. Sugar-making is carried on to some extent amongst the Sioux, but they are so fond of sweet things they do not sell much. The children eat it almost as fast as they make it. The children get fat on it. Rice is gathered in small quantities, by some of the Sioux, from the lakes.

233. The bark of the wood-bean and butternut is used on these occasions. They do collect old bones if they have the least appearance of marrow or fat in them, and boil them to get the fat out of them. Moss is not eaten by the Sioux. The facts are, the Indians are unaccustomed to agriculture, and do not plant sufficient for a year's supply. The men are indolent. The game is getting scarcer every year, and of course the Indians must suffer. The laws of God teach us, if we will not work we shall not eat, which we see carried out amongst the Indians. Were the men as industrious as the women, they would be much better.

234. The dress of the men is a blanket, a shirt, breech-cloth, leggins, and moccasins. The women, a blanket, mantlet, petticoat of blue cloth, leggins, and moccasins; all white people's manufacturing, except the moccasins. These dresses last from four to six months. They require about two suits per annum. They wear out more clothes than white people do. The cost of the dress is about from twelve to fifteen dollars for the males, and about ten to thirteen for the women, without ornaments, &c.

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[1] *Ti″-psin-na*, the Dacotah turnip, grows on the dry prairies. It is very nutritive. They also call our turnip by the same name.

[2] *P-sin′-ca*, a bulbous esculent root, which grows in marshes. It is about the size of a hen's egg. It is known as the Dacotah potato. Large quantities of it grow in Minnesota.

235. They have but one kind of dress, that is cloth and blankets, on days of plays and dances. They wear costly dresses, many of them. Their frontlets and trophies of war are all displayed by the men on these occasions. The civil-chiefs and war-chiefs are distinguished from the rest by their poverty. They generally are poorer clad than any of the rest. The men take their shirt and leggins off at night, most generally. The women take their leggins off only. The moccasins are taken off of all and hung up in the smoke to dry. The woman keeps her blanket, mantlet, and petticoat on. The man keeps his blanket and breech-cloth on.

236. Ornaments are used and highly valued by all, both great and small. Silver and wampum, brooches and ear-bobs, otter-skins, polecats, bear's claws, crows, red-birds, ermine, are about all the skins used. Shells are not often used; if they use any, they are imported. The war-eagle's feather is highly valued, and an Indian thinks as much of them as an officer would of his epaulettes. The ornaments furnished by the fur-trader are all of American manufacture.

237. Dyes are made from flowers mostly, and roots and barks of trees. They dye red, purple, blue, black, green, yellow. The red dye is made from the top of the sumach and a small root found in the ground, by boiling. Yellow is from flowers by boiling. Black is from maple-bark, butternut, and black mud taken from the bottom of the rivers. Vermilion is still sold them in considerable quantities; red clay, blue, and yellow, are also used by the men to paint their faces and bodies. Oxide of iron is found, and makes paint very much like Spanish brown, and is much used by all the Sioux. They sometimes puncture the skin for ornament, as well as their arms and breast, forehead or lips, but not often. The men make many imprints on their blankets with paint, as marks of bravery, &c.

238. None.[1]

239. The hair of both sexes is worn long, and tied, or braided. They have no beards. The hair is cultured, and they all like long heads of hair. They sometimes part the hair from superstitious motives, and sometimes for ornament.

240. The skin of the Indian is fully as thin as that of the white person, and as fair and as soft, also.[2] It is of a copper-color, some dark, some approaching to white, some yellowish. I never examined any one of them by a magnifier (the instrument is wanting).

241. The capacity of the Indian is limited in one sense, but in another it is not. For their own way of livelihood they have considerable capacity. Their minds run

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[1] Badges of office.

[2] This agrees with the observation of Mr. Fletcher, vide ante, p. 59.

upon their wars and family jars, and an Indian's mind is how to get something to eat. They have many moments of pleasure, telling stories, and have many grave councils. Their men are generally grave and sober looking. Education is yet to be tried. Education without Christian principles will not increase the affections much. An Indian appears to reflect much. In some, the moral properties prevail; in others, they do not.

242. None. (Physician, linguist, or moralist).

243. They repeat traditions to the family, with maxims, and tell their children they must live up to them. They must have powers of invention, for they tell some most singular fictions.

244. In their speeches they use many metaphors and parables. Some of them are quite eloquent, but they use many repetitions.

245. Picture-writing is very limited among the Sioux. The most they use is by the warriors denoting facts of bravery. Wounds, prisoners, and killed are about all the picture-writing they have.[1] They cannot record songs nor stories, and, in fact, they have no songs of note. Four or five syllables is about all the song I ever heard among the Sioux.

246. The missionaries have introduced new sounds to our alphabet, which the Indians pronounce readily, and learn to read very easily. Some of these sounds will not agree with those of other nations.

247. The Indians tell many tales about the departed spirits troubling them. They say one person has four souls; one goes to the land of spirits, one goes in the air, one remains about the corpse, and one stays in the village. Stories of giants are often told, and of all kinds of dreams, and hunting, war, &c. These tales do not give much, if any, insight to a future state, but they agree with the present manners and customs very well.

248. These stories give the accounts of transformations and the powers of sorcery and jugglery. Fairies, ghosts, spirits, and all kinds of evil ones are seen and told of, as well as interviews with the Great Spirit.

249. Some of them convey moral ideas and some immoral. They suppose the Great Spirit made animate and inanimate forms, and never go into any discussions, or pry into futurity any further. The tales are long and tedious to translate, and therefore I leave

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[1] For an example of its further use, see Plate 48, Part I.

them for the present; but if you still wish it, I will, at some future time, endeavor to translate and furnish some of the most remarkable.

250. Indian music is very simple. It consists of about four notes. The choruses are many and very regular, and are sung in the highest strains of the voice. The Indian flute is made of two pieces of cedar, half round, then hollowed out quite thin, with four holes in it, and glued together. They blow it at the end. The upper hole has a regulator, a small roll of buckskin, a little below the hole. It is raised or lowered, and the power of the note is affected by so doing. They have two kinds of drums. One is made like a tambourine, with a skin drawn over a keg. The rattle is a gourd-shell with beads in it. Sometimes they make them of birch bark. They make rattles of the claws of the deer. Of these they take two or three hundred, and bore small holes in the narrow end, and tie them to a short stick, jerking them up and down to make them rattle.

251. There is no rhyme or character in the Indian song. The words are not collected so as to observe laws or quantity. There are no Indian poets in this country.

252. We have none amongst the Sioux.[1] (Music boards.)

253. Choruses are about all the Indians sing. They have probably four or five words, then the chorus. "They have brought us a fat dog;" then the chorus goes on for half a minute; then a repetition again of the above words, "They have brought us a fat dog." Thus the song in a scalp-dance, "Many a large fat enemy has been brought in," (wahkin) is used in the choruses; meaning some foreign power, but not the Great Spirit. Tukensha, a rock or grandfather, is often appealed to in choruses for aid.

254. Every person aggrieved makes his own complaint, and it is pitiful to see a married person commence wailing and singing "kitchina tukah!" then wailing again, "*kitchina*"—men's friend. These are all the words. The same way in other deaths the deceased is bewailed. "Your death has left my son-in-law miserable or poor," as the case may be, these are about all the words used in mourning.

255. The Indians have a chorus to every kind of worship and dance; but as I am not acquainted and cannot read music, I cannot give the airs. In some of the choruses some foreign power is kept in view that they sing to, or try to charm. The Aurora Borealis is one of the principal objects the war-chief prays to, in going to war. They collect the old women. Many objects are appealed to in all their worship, such as the rocks, (to konsh,)[2] and the earth, (ochishee.)[2]

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[1] This relates solely to tabular hieroglyphics on wood. Their pictographs are on bark.

[2] The Sun and the Great Spirit.

256. They have a worship of them, but I never saw them worshipping the Great Spirit. Their choruses are solemn, and conducted with much decorum.

257. Cradle songs, I know of none. The child is sung to, by the women humming or making a whistle through the teeth. I do not know that I ever heard a father sing to a child to put it asleep, or to stop its crying. I have heard the father sing to them to make them dance, which is about all the singing accorded to children. All the sculpturing we see is on some of the war implements and cradles, and some of them are quite fanciful."

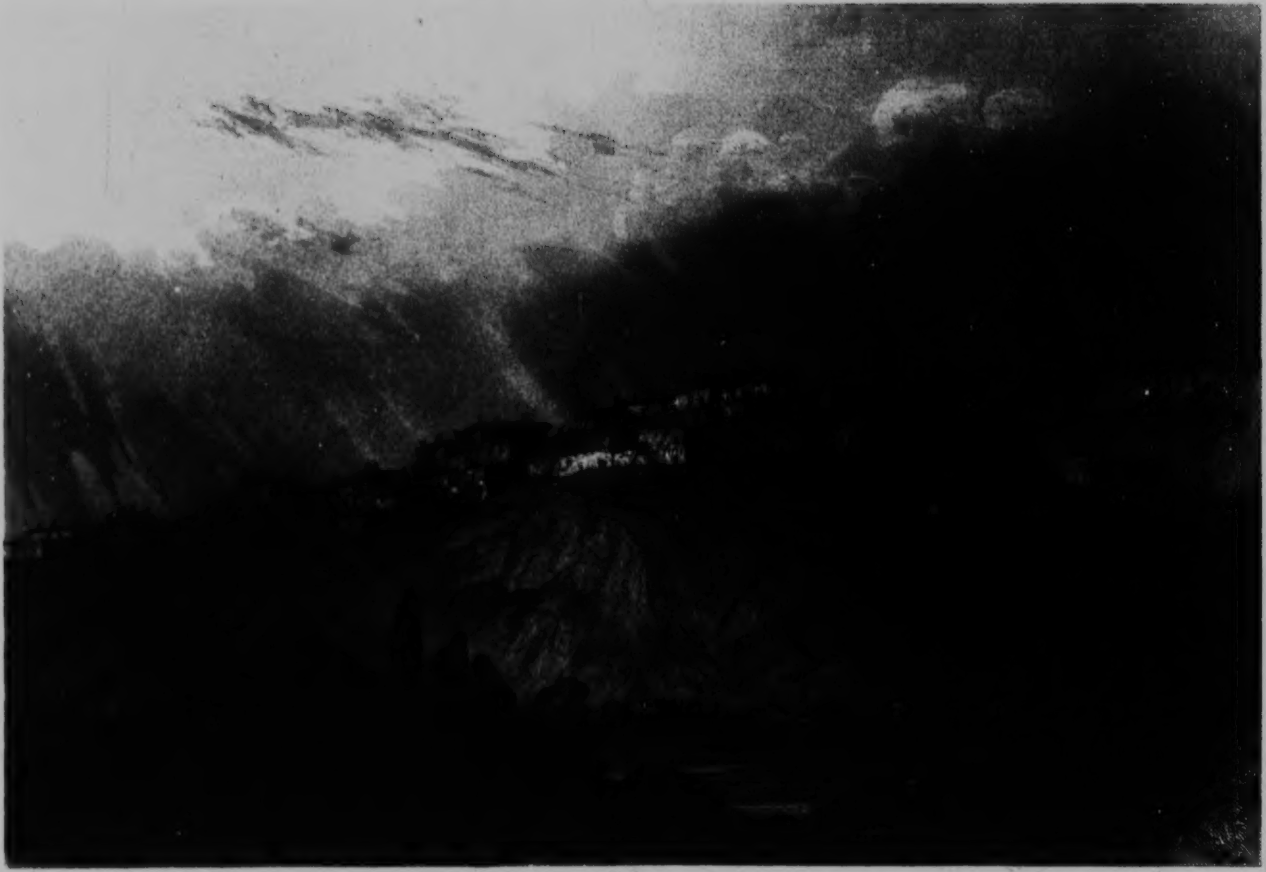
4. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE MOQUI AND NAVAJO TRIBES OF NEW MEXICO.

Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, Assistant Surgeon in the United States' Army, while stationed at the most advanced posts in New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande, in 1851 and 1852, performed several excursions into the more remote towns and villages of the Moqui and Navajo tribes. Five or six months were occupied in these excursions, in which he became deeply interested in their manners and customs, which he recorded in his journal on the spot, while the impressions created on his mind were fresh and full. He has, at my request, furnished the following extracts from his journal. They present these tribes, of whom many false reports have been circulated, in a new and interesting light. Their idiosyncracies are, in many respects, remarkable.

The several bands of the Moqui tribe, of whom we have had the last information, are shown to be cultivators of the soil, and to raise large flocks of sheep, from whose wool a very compact and beautiful species of blanket is woven. Yet these sheep are never shorn until after death. The Indians possess no process of dressing them, which is not simply an aboriginal art; nor of tanning any species of skin, or converting it into leather. They are a semi-agricultural and pacific people, not engaging in wars and predatory excursions, like the more fierce and military Navajoes near them. They dwell, indeed, within the territorial area of the latter, with whom their language denotes an affinity.

These new views of the low domestic condition and arts of these tribes, tend to take away from the overcharged accounts of Coronado and his contemporaries, which we promulgated in his expedition to Cibola, in 1542 — an era, indeed, of extravagant excitement and description. (Pueblo of Laguna: Plate V.)

"*Dec.* 25*th*, 1851.—I attended church to-day, and witnessed a curious spectacle. The church is quite a large building of stone, laid up in mud, and is surmounted by a wooden cross. It is long and narrow, and the walls are whitewashed in much the



Drawn by Captⁿ S. Eastman U.S.A. from a sketch by R.H. Kern

Pl. 5

Engᵈ by J.C. McRae

PUEBLO OF LAGUNA, NEW MEXICO

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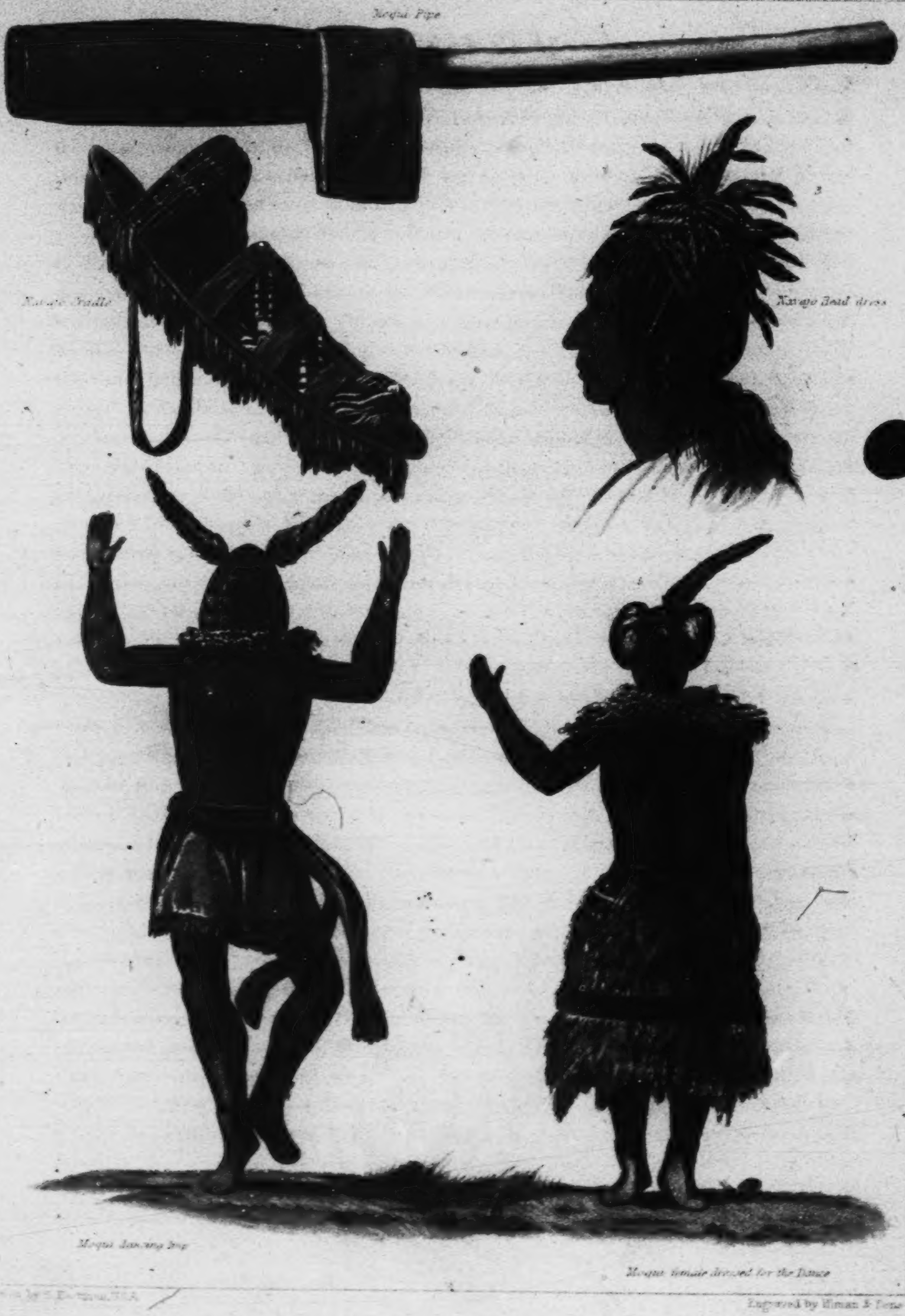
same style that the Indians paint their earthen-ware. The front is continued about ten feet above the roof, the whole overtopped by the cross, and in this wall are three arches, containing as many sized bells, whose tones are by no means orphean, and which are tolled by Indians standing on the roof and pulling cords attached to the different clappers.

The Indians appear greatly delighted in jingling these bells upon all occasions; but this morning they commenced very early, and made, if possible, more noise than usual. After breakfast I entered the church, (we — officers and men — are all quartered in the priest's house, which is directly adjoining the church,) and found the people assembling for worship, the men in their best blankets, buckskin breeches, and moccasins, and the squaws in their gayest tilmas. Many of the latter wore blankets of red cloth, thrown over the ordinary colored tilma or manta. Candles were lighted at the altar, within the limits of which were two old men performing some kind of mystic ceremony. Soon an old ragged dirty-looking Mexican commenced reciting the rosary of the Virgin Mary, and all who understood Spanish joined in the responses. When the rosary was finished, this same old fellow sang a long song in praise of Montezuma, which he afterwards told me was written by himself, the burden of which was "Cuando! cuando! nabro otis Montezuma cuando!" This being ended, some other ceremonies which I did not understand were gone through with by the Indians; speeches were made by the governor and some of the old men, and the congregation then quietly dispersed to prepare themselves for the pastimes of the afternoon. As they were passing out, I noticed that a great many of them carried in their hands little baskets containing images; some of sheep and goats, others of horses and cows and other domestic animals, and others again of deer and beasts of the chase, quite ingeniously wrought in mud or dough. Inquiring the reason of this, I was told that it was their custom from time immemorial that those who had been successful with herds, in agriculture, in the chase, or any other way, to carry images, (each of that in which he had been blessed during the past year,) to the altar, there to lay them at the feet of the Great Spirit. But I have deferred until the last, what was to me by far the most curious and interesting in this singular Christmas service. I mean the orchestra. Just over the entrance door there was a small gallery, and no sooner had the Mexican commenced his rosary, than there issued from this a sound like the warbling of a multitude of birds, and it was kept up until he had ceased. There it went; through the whole house, bounding from side to side, echoing from the very rafters — fine, tiny warblings, and deep-toned, thrilling sounds. The note of the wood-thrush and the trillings of the canary bird, were particularly distinct. What could it mean? I determined to find out, and having worked my way up into the gallery, I there found fifteen or twenty young boys lying prone upon the floor, each with a small basin two-thirds full of water in front of him, and one or more short reeds, perforated and split in a peculiar manner. Placing one end in the water, and blowing through the other, they imitated the notes of different birds most wonderfully. It was a curious sight, and taken altogether, the quaintly painted church; the altar, with its lighted [illegible] the kneeling Indians in their picturesque garbs, and above all, the sounds sent down by the bird orchestra—formed a scene not easily forgotten. I believe I was more pleased with this simple and natural music, than I have ever been with the swelling organs and opera singers who adorn the galleries of our churches at home. About four o'clock this afternoon, a party of seven men and as many squaws appeared in the yard in front of the church, accompanied by an old man bearing a *tombe*, and commenced one of their dances. The *tombe* is a peculiar drum, used by all the Indians in this country at their festivals. It is made of a hollow log, about two and a half feet long, and fifteen inches in diameter. A dried hide, from which the hair has been removed, is stretched over either end, and to one side a short pole is lashed to support the instrument when played upon, (See Plate 7). A drumstick, like those used for the bass drum but with a longer handle, is employed in playing; and with this they pound away with great energy, producing a dull roar which is audible at a considerable distance, and is almost deafening to one unaccustomed to it, if approached too near. The dancers were accompanied by a band of elderly men, who immediately commenced singing in time with the bum-bum of the tombe. All the dancers appeared in their best attire; the men and squaws wearing large sashes most fancifully worked and dyed, and also eagle and turkey feathers in their hair, and hanging down their backs; and from the waist of each was suspended a skin of the silver-grey fox. The men's legs were naked from the knee down, and painted red.

Their hair hung loose upon their shoulders, and both men and women had their hands painted with white clay, in such a way as to resemble open-work gloves. The women had on beautifully-worked mantas, and were bare-footed, with the exception of a little piece [illegible] the heel, which looked like that part of an embroidered slipper. They all wore their hair combed over their faces, in a manner that rendered it utterly impossible to recognize any of them. Every man carried in his hand a gourd, partly filled with little pebbles, which he shook in exact time with the music. They dance with a kind of hop-step, and the figure is something like a country-dance; the couple leading up towards the church, and then turning, filed back again. The squaws each carried in their hands a square-cut piece of corn husk, which is held between the thumb, at its base, and the root of the fore-finger. They keep their elbows close to their sides, and their heels pressed firmly together, and do not raise the feet, but shuffle along with a kind of rolling motion, moving their arms, from the elbows down, with time to the step. At times, each man dances around his squaw, while she turns herself about, as if her heels formed a pivot on which she moved. Dancers, tombi, and singers, keep most excellent time; and there is no discord among the gourds. After dancing a short time in front of the church, they went into the Plaza, and continued till dark, when they separated.


Moqui Pipe
1
2
Navajo Cradle
3
Navajo Head dress
4
5
Moqui dancing boy
Moqui female dressed for the Dance

Drawn by S. Eastman, U.S.A.

Engraved by Illman & Sons

MOQUI DANCERS, MOQUI PIPE; NAVAJO CRADLE AND HEAD DRESS.

PUBLISHED BY LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO & CO PHILADA

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Dec. 26*th.*—The dancing began at an early hour this morning, and was continued till dark. There were two or three parties dancing, each having its own tombi and singers; and at times the din was almost deafening. The whole population of the town was out, all dressed in their best, as well as many from the neighboring pueblos; and every one seemed to be enjoying himself to the utmost. Old Jose Maria, the governor, would every now and then stop singing, and come over to me, to ask me if it was not delightful. What a simple, happy people they seem to be! But much I fear that ere long civilization will break in upon them, and, opening their eyes to a thousand wants of which they at present know nothing, will render them discontented and unhappy. The dancers to-day, as yesterday, are decked out in their gala costume, and go through the same dance as last evening, which is very similar to our quadrilles. I spent nearly the whole day in the Plaza, and never saw a people enter into anything with so much spirit. Many of the dancers were on the "light fantastic toe" nearly all the time, from morning till night; but did not show any symptoms of fatigue. The old tombi chap would sometimes break down, but found no difficulty in getting some one "to spell him awhile."

Dec. 27*th.*—Dancing again commenced in the Plaza, the same as yesterday.

Dec. 28*th.*—The dances are still continued, with unrelaxing vigor.

Dec. 30*th.*—To-day I saw an Indian funeral. The grave was dug in the church-yard, just under our windows; the church-bells were tolled, and the corpse, sewed up in a coarse blanket, was lowered into its narrow house at the last stroke of the bell. When it was placed in the grave, each friend of the deceased threw in a handful of earth; and then the females of the family approached in a mournful procession (while the males stood around in solemn silence), each one bearing on her head a tinaja, or water-jar, filled with water, which she emptied into the grave, and whilst doing so commenced the death-cry. They came singly and emptied their jars, and each one joined successively in the death-cry; till the sad lament, growing louder and louder, swelled through the whole place. Out of the yard they passed in Indian file, and down the street, sending forth their doleful cries; and long after I had lost sight of them, I could hear their plaintive moans. Never in my life have I heard any sound so touchingly sad and plaintive; and this same death-lament of these Indian women is ringing in my ears still, and will for weeks to come.

As the women left, the men commenced filling up the grave; and in a few minutes all was over, and I saw but the soldiers playing foot-ball in the street below.

Dec. 31*st.*—Nothing of interest has occurred to-day, and I might as well pass the time by giving a sketch of the pueblo and its inhabitants. Laguina (Plate 5) is situated 45 miles west of Albuquerque and the Rio Grande, and is inhabited by Pueblo Indians, a race which holds an intermediate place between the civilized man and the wild tribes. They live in fixed abodes, and cultivate the soil; and many of them have embraced the Catholic faith, but still retain a tinge of their ancient superstition, preserve the sacred fire, &c.

The town is built upon a slight rocky eminence, near the base of which runs a small stream, that supplies them with water. Their lands are in the valley to the north. The population is about 900. Their houses are built of stone laid in mud, and like all the other pueblos, consist of several stories built up in a terrace form; and as they have no doors opening upon the ground, one must mount to the roof by means of a ladder, and then descend through a trap-door in order to gain admittance. The government consists of a governor, elected annually by the people, who has the entire management of the affairs of the pueblo, and is the referee in disputes, &c. He has a council of old men, called caciques. Under the Mexican government, they had an alcalde, but the office has been abolished. They have a kind of underground room, called the Estufa (Plate 6), which is like our city halls, and is their general assembly room, where all their councils are held, and propositions for feasts, dances, &c., made. In another place the sacred fire, which is attended by the oldest men, and never allowed to go out, is kept burning. They have also a war-captain, who is chosen from their most distinguished braves. No man or woman is allowed to marry out of the pueblo, without the consent of all; nor is a person allowed to sell anything, without previously obtaining the assent of the town. In weaving and spinning they use a spindle, very like a tee-to-tum, and a single upright loom. The men all knit their own stockings. They use mill-stones similar to those employed by the Mexicans; and upon these they grind a very fine flour from corn, which is made into paste, and baked on a flat stone in sheets not thicker than letter-paper, and of an interminable length. This bread is called gugave. They all make earthen-ware, some of which is beautifully painted. Their costume is very singular. The men wear no head-dress, except it be a handkerchief folded and tied around the head. The dress of the men is a small blanket or tilma, which reaches to the waist, and has a hole for the head to pass through, and instead of which some wear a buckskin hunting-shirt; buckskin knee-breeches, dyed a deep red, and buttoned up at the side with brass buttons; long blue stockings, tied at the knee; leggins of buckskin, and moccasins of the same material, with hide soles. A blanket, thrown over the shoulders, completes their dress. Their hair is parted transversely across the head, from the front of each ear; and the front hair is combed over the forehead, and cut square off on a line with the eyebrows. The back hair is allowed to grow ad libitum; and being carefully braided, is doubled up in a bunch four inches long, and bound round with a broad red band. When dancing, they untie their hair, and let it fall over the shoulders; and I have seen amongst them the finest heads of hair I ever beheld. The boys, until eight or ten years old, wear their back hair cropped short, to encourage its growth, while that in front is allowed to grow.

The dress of the women is a claret-colored manta, having an aperture to receive the head, and reaching below, and behind to a little below the knees, and is bound around the waist by a colored scarf; also a pretty little buckskin moccasin, to which are attached leggins of the same material, wound around the legs as high as the knees, causing them to appear preposterously large, while the feet seem proportionably small. When out of doors, they have a tilma, or square blanket (about four feet square), of the same material and color as the manta over the top of the head; and it hangs gracefully adown the shoulders and back, somewhat in the manner of a rebosa. In fact, a young Pueblo squaw, with her embroidered manta, tilma, and buckskin leggins, balancing her gaily-painted water-jar upon her head, as she waddles (they do waddle, that's a fact!), is not so hideous a looking creature as one might suppose. Some of them are very pretty.

For state occasions, their mantas and tilmas are prettily embroidered in borders. Many of their habiliments are really beautiful. The women wear their hair like the men, except that the front part is long enough to reach to the chin. When dancing, they loose the hair, and comb the front completely over the face.

The women, at a dance, wear huge pasteboard coiffures (Fig. 5, Plate 7), like turrets, which are painted symbolically, and adorned with feathers. These head-dresses are similar to those used by the ancient Aztecs, from whom the Pueblo Indians are supposed to be derived. They are honest and virtuous people, I believe; and certainly their reputation is superior to the Mexicans in this respect. They have a church, and had a padre among them, but have none now, and say they do not wish for one; and in truth, the example set them by the priests they have had of late years, has been anything but beneficial. There is no priest in any of the neighboring pueblos, either. Ten miles from here, on the road to Cebolleta, is a small pueblo called Pohanti; and twelve miles south-west is a large one called Acoma, which is built on a rock rising out of the plain; and its inhabitants are more warlike than those of Layma. [Vide Title I.]

Jan. 1st, 1852.—Last night I was awakened at midnight by the Indians dancing and singing about town, with one of those accursed *tombes*, to which gongs are nothing in comparison. There has been no drumming to-day. I believe I have said nothing yet, of the old Indian who lives a few doors below us, and seems to have such an exalted idea of his own oratorical powers. He comes out on the rock in front of his house often, twenty times a day, and harangues away at the top of his voice, for a longer or shorter period. His being out a moment ago occasioned my writing this. I wish very much to know what he has been saying. There are several such characters about town, and it is to be supposed they speak when the spirit moves them. When the governor requires anything done, he sends one or two old fellows around who act as town-criers, and shout out their message at the foot of each ladder. These Indians are capital runners. They travel with ease forty or fifty miles between sun and sun.

Jan. 2d.—Nothing new to-day; no dancing, or anything of that sort. I may as well spend my time in jotting down what I have learned of the customs of this singular people. I have spoken of their burials. The great men are all buried in the church, and none of their bodies are allowed to remain long in the grave; but, after a certain time, are disinterred, and the bones placed in store-houses built for the purpose. One of these, on the east side of the church, has fallen down, and discloses an immense pile of skulls and cross-bones. This Pueblo is very old, as the deep-worn trails in the solid rock testify. There are Spanish papers which go back over two hundred years; and speaking of dead men, reminds me of their feast of the dead. They believe that on a certain day (in August, I think) the dead rise from their graves and flit about the neighboring hills, and on that day, all who have lost friends, carry out quantities of corn, bread, meat, and such other good things of this life as they can obtain, and place them in the haunts frequented by the dead, in order that the departed spirits may once more enjoy the comforts of this nether world. They have been encouraged in this belief by the priests, who were in the habit of sending out and appropriating to themselves all these things, and then making the poor simple Indians believe, that the dead had eaten them. About the first of September they have the rabbit feast—a religious ceremonial of which I was unable to ascertain the nature. On the appointed day, nearly all the inhabitants of the village, male and female, sally out on horseback, and repair to some spot where rabbits and hares are known to abound. The men, with the women just behind them, form a large circle, and then gradually close in. Each is armed with a curved stick, somewhat resembling a scimitar in shape, which they throw with surprising accuracy. When a rabbit or hare starts up, the nearest man pursues, and when about fifteen yards from it, throws his stick. Should he miss, he is laughed and jeered at; but if he kills the rabbit, it is picked up by the nearest woman (he riding on) who does not fail to remember who killed it, and at the end of the hunt, gives each of the hunters the animal he has slain.

This sport is continued until nightfall, when they return to the village. The game is then cooked, and feasting and dancing are kept up till morning.

When a war-party has been out from the village, it halts, on its return, at the outskirts, and sends in a messenger to announce its arrival. Should they have been unsuccessful, and have lost any of their number, they are met by a deputation of men and women, the latter chaunting the death-cry, and conducted sorrowfully to their homes. On the contrary, if they have succeeded and bring scalps with them, the men and women rush tumultuously out to lead them home in triumph. The women are arrayed in red tilmas, and the wives of the fortunate braves who took the scalps, seize the gory tokens and bear them in exultation to the village, while the old men march at their sides, singing the war-song. Arrived at the village, the scalps are placed upon a pole, and borne about the pueblo; the scalp-feast and dance are kept up for several days and nights. They have also an annual scalp-feast, when they dance over the scalps last taken.

Jan. 8th.—At sunrise this morning, all the men of the pueblo, preceded by one of their abominable tombes, marched through town, singing the war-song. They went along in two files, and every man was dressed in his best bib and tucker; while between the files were the warriors, and most grim-looking beings they were. Their hair was well greased, and a circle of fine white feathers, which looked like down, was pasted around their heads. Their bodies were entirely naked, with the exception of a kind of petticoat made of deer-skin, painted symbolically, which reached from the waist to a little below the hip-joint. This was fringed on the bottom with the teeth and hoofs of deer, which made a clattering noise when they moved. They had on also their moccasins, and necklaces made of the claws of the grizzly bear. Their faces and bodies to the knees, were painted a deep black, relieved on the shoulders and chest with crosses and marks to indicate the ribs. About the middle of the arm was a band of leather painted white, and the band on the wrist was of the same color. The legs, from the knee down, were painted a bright red. Each carried a bow and two or three arrows in his hand. As they passed through town, the women in red tilmas rushed down from the houses and joined the procession, dancing sideways on the outside of the files, and holding their tilmas as a lady does her dress in a dance. The procession would march a short distance, chanting the war-song, and then suddenly stop and dance awhile. When they had thus made the whole circuit of the town, they all retired to the Estufa.

From the Estufa there soon issues one of the warriors, accompanied by a band of his particular friends—a tombe—and the malinchi. The malinchi is a young virgin, who is attired in the most beautiful mantas. She has a skin of the silver-grey fox hanging from her right wrist, and bells, which jingle at every motion, are fixed to the end of her embroidered scarf. She dances among the singers for a time, and concludes with the fleeka or arrow-dance, of which I will speak in its proper place. I should wish very much to give a correct description of her dress, which was really very beautiful, and of which a vivid idea can be conveyed only by a painting. They entered the plaza by the south entrance, shouting the war-whoop, while the grim warrior followed, silent as death itself. Having assumed a position near the south side of the square, the tombe strikes up, and the friends commence a song, in which they commemorate the deeds of their ancestors, and highly eulogize the feats of this particular brave, who, silent and grim, is keeping up a most monotonous sort of dance some four paces in the rear, to which his necklace and fringe lend a clattering kind of dry bone accompaniment, whilst the malinchi, with her jingling bells, goes gliding in and out among the crowd. When they have sung a short time, a delegation of females from the family of the brave, makes its appearance, carrying baskets filled with guavas, wheat-bread, roasted corn, piñones, dried fruit, cooked meat, &c., which they at once proceed to throw amid the crowd, when a general scramble ensues. This is a great time for the boys, who manage to get their bellies well filled. After they have emptied their baskets, the women retire, unless the mother of the brave should chance to be with them, for it is her privilege to take her place at the side of her son; and with elbows fixed to her side, and body and arms (from the elbows down) moving, she keeps time to the music. After dancing and singing fifteen or twenty minutes, the sound of another tombe is heard, and another brave, with a malinchi, and his friends shouting and whooping, enter on the north side, and ranging themselves opposite to the first party, commence the same kind of performance. The tombe of the first party then ceases, and one of the men going out, leads the brave up in front of his friends, who are drawn up in two ranks. Here he is placed upon one knee, and his bow and arrow still in his hand, when the malinchi commences the fleeka or arrow-dance. This is really beautiful. At first, she dances along the line in front of him, and by her gestures shows that she is describing the "war-path." Slowly and steadily she pursues, and suddenly her step quickens — she has come in sight of the enemy. The brave follows her with his eye, and by the motion of his head implies that she is right. She dances faster and faster — suddenly she seizes an arrow from him, and now by frantic gestures it is plain that the fight has commenced in right earnest. She points with the arrow — shows how it wings its course — how the scalp was taken and Laguna victorious. As she concludes the dance and returns the arrow to the brave, fire-arms are discharged, and the whole party wend their way to the Estufa, to make room for another warrior and his friends; and thus the dance was maintained—warrior succeeding warrior until dark.

The governor took me down into the Estufa, and showed me the scalps (three) which were taken from some Navajoes, in October last. They came into the valley above, and stole some stock belonging to the Pueblo, but were pursued, and one taken by the warriors, who recovered the property and seized these scalps. I saw the warriors sitting bolt upright upon a bench placed on a kind of dais. The governor informed me that they are not allowed to speak during the two days the dances continue. I have spent the whole day in the plaza, looking at the dances.

Jan. 9th. — To-day, the performances of yesterday have been repeated, with the exceptions, that one of the warriors appeared clothed in a lion's skin, and that in the arrow-dance one of the warriors got up and performed a kind of shuffling interlude with the malinchi, which I did not consider an improvement.

Jan. 15th. — We stay at Zuñi (see Plate 2) to-day. This Pueblo is built in the middle of a large plain, which is cultivated by the people. It is much larger than Laguna, and contains some 4000 inhabitants. The houses are larger, higher, and better constructed. This people have been much harassed by the Navajoes, with whom they wage constant war, and to defend themselves against whom they have placed around all the trails leading to the town, pits, ten feet deep, and just large enough to receive a horse, at the bottom of which long and sharp-pointed stakes are planted upright, and which are covered over with earth and bushes, in so artful a manner that no one would suspect their existence. When Colonel Sumner was encamped near here last summer, his command lost several horses and mules by falling into these pits. The Zuñians have flocks and herds, and they weave, spin, and knit, like the Lagunians, but their painted earthenware is far prettier. Their language is different from that of any of the other Pueblos. They are supposed by some to be descended from the band of Welsh, which Prince Madoc took with him on a voyage of discovery, in the twelfth century; and it is said that they weave peculiarly and in the same manner as the people of Wales.

There are among them some albino-looking Indians, with perfectly white hair, light blue eyes, and a dead white complexion which exposure to the sun does not darken. Their features are generally Indian. I saw here two eagles in cages; also a number of fine turkeys, the first I have seen in New Mexico.

March 31*st*, 1852.—Between eleven and twelve to-day we arrived at the first towns of Magui. All the inhabitants turned out, crowding the streets and house-tops to have a view of the white men. All the old men pressed forward to shake hands with us, and we were most hospitably received and conducted to the governor's house, where we were at once feasted upon guavas and a leg of mutton broiled upon the coals. After the feast we smoked with them, and they then said that we should move our camp in, and that they would give us a room and plenty of wood for the men, and sell us corn for the animals. Accordingly a Magui Indian was despatched with a note to the sergeant, ordering him to break up camp and move into town. The Indian left on foot at half past twelve P. M., and although it took an hour to catch the mules and pack up, the men arrived and were in their quarters by six P. M. The camp was about eight and a half miles from the village. He could not have been more than an hour in going there, but they are accustomed to running from their infancy, and have great bottom. This evening we bought sufficient corn for the mules at $5.00 per faneja, (two and a half bushels,) paying in bayjeta or red cloth, and they are now enjoying their first hearty meal for many days. The three villages here are situated on a strong bluff, about 300 feet high, and from 30 to 150 feet wide, which is approached by a trail passable for horses at only one point. This is very steep, and an hour's work in throwing down the stones with which it is in many places built up, could render it utterly inaccessible to horsemen. At all other points they have constructed footpaths, steps, &c., by which they pass up and down. The side of the rock is not perfectly perpendicular, but after a sheer descent of sixty or seventy feet there are ledges from five to eight yards wide, on which they have established their sheep-folds. The bluff is about 800 yards long, and the towns are some 150 yards apart. That upon the southern point contains fully as many inhabitants as both the others, and the houses are larger and higher: horses cannot reach it, as the rock is much broken up between it and the second town.

The houses are built of stone, laid in mud, (which must have been brought from the plain below, as there is not a particle of soil upon the rock), and in the same form as those of the other Pueblos. They are, however, by far the poorest I have seen. The stories are but little over six feet high, and scarcely any of the houses can boast of doors or windows. The rafters are small poles of piñon, seven feet with centre-pole, and supporting posts running lengthways through the building. Over these, and at right angles with smaller ones, poles covered with rushes are placed, and a coating of mud over all forms the roof. They are whitewashed inside with white clay. Hanging by strings from the rafters, I saw some curious and rather horrible little Aztec images made of wood or clay, and decorated with paint and feathers, which the guide told me were "saints;" but I have seen the children playing with them in the most irreverent manner. The houses are entered by means of ladders, as in the other Pueblos. The bluff runs nearly north and south, inclining a very little to the north-west. When a quarter of a mile from its foot, it is impossible for a stranger to distinguish the town, as, from the little wood used, there is no smoke perceptible, and the houses look exactly like the piles of rocks to be seen on any of the neighboring misas; and I did not know where the Moqui was until fairly on the top of the ridge and just entering Harro, the first town, which is situated on the north end. We are stopping in the middle town. The Moquis say that one week ago, three Mexicans and two Americans passed through here, who stated that they had been travelling with the Coyoteros, who attacked them and killed five Americans of the party; and that just after, other Americans came up, killed three Coyoteros, and ran off with much stock. This party, on leaving here, took the trail for the Cañon de Chilly. There is a mountain, in the plain south-west from Moqui, which is covered with perpetual snow, and called by the Navajoes, Cierra Natary — the chief mountain.

They say that by riding very fast, one can go from here to the river in a day, or in two, by easy marches. The Navajoes say that a large party of Americans have been living all winter on the river near this mountain, one day's easy ride from here. When there is great drought in the valley, the Moquis go in procession to a large spring in the mountain for water, and they affirm that after doing so, they always have plenty of rain. I saw three Payoche Indians to-day. They live on a triangular piece of land, formed by the junction of the San Juan and Colorado of the West, and, I believe, never come into the settlements to trade. There is no running stream near here, and they obtain all their water from a small spring near the eastern base of the mountain, or rather bluff. They do not irrigate, nor do they plough, as they have no cattle, and I have not seen ten horses or mules about the place. The valley is most miserably poor, but there are thousands of acres in it. They plant in the sand.

April 1*st*.— I was quite sick last night with a most awful headache, and had a chill in the evening. I was awakened at midnight by the Indians, who were singing and dancing in the Plaza for some hours, doubtless in preparation for to-day. I have been trading to-day with Moquis, Navajoes, and Payoches, and going now and then to look at the dancing in the Plaza just behind us, which, they tell me, is a religious ceremony to bring on rain.

The weather to-day has been very disagreeable, with a cold wind from the south. As I have been under the weather, we have not yet had our grand talk with the Moquis, but I hope will have it to-morrow.

The dance to-day has been a most singular one, and differs from any I have ever seen among the other Pueblo Indians; the dresses of the performers being more quaint and rich. There were twenty men and as many women, ranged in two files. The dresses of the men were similar to those I have described at Laguna during the Christmas holydays, except that they wear on their heads large pasteboard towers painted typically, and curiously decorated with feathers; and each man has his face entirely covered by a vizor made of small willows with the bark peeled off, and dyed a deep brown. They all carry in their hands gourds filled with small pebbles, which are rattled to keep time with the dancing. The women all have their hair put up in the manner peculiar to virgins; and immediately in the centre, where the hair is parted, a long, straight eagle's feather is fixed, (Plate 7, Fig. 5). They are also adorned with turkey and eagle's feathers, in much the same way as the malinchi of the Lagunians. But by far the most beautiful part of their dress is a tilma of some three and a half feet square, which is thrown over the shoulders, fastened in front, and, hanging down behind, reaches half-way below the knee. This tilma is pure white. Its materials I should suppose to be cotton or wool. Its texture is very fine, and it has one or more wide borders of beautiful colors, exceedingly well wrought in, and of curious patterns. The women also wear vizors of willow sticks, which are colored a bright yellow, and arranged in parallel rows, like Pandean pipes. On each side of the files is placed a small boy, who dances or canters up and down the line, and is most accurately modelled after the popular representation of his Satanic majesty's imps, (Plate 7, Fig. 4). With the exception of a very short-fringed tunic, reaching just below the hip joint, and a broad sash fastened around the waist, the boy is entirely naked. On his head he wears a thing like a sugar-loaf painted black, which passes over the whole head, and rests upon his shoulders. Around the bottom of this, encircling his neck, is a wreath made of twigs from the spruce-tree, and on the top are fixed two long feathers which much resemble horns, and are kept in their places by a connecting string. The whole body is painted black, relieved by white rings placed at regular intervals over the whole person. The appearance of these little imps, as they gambolled along the line of dancers, was most amusing. They had neither a tombe accompaniment, nor a band of singers; but the dancers furnished their own music, and a most strange sound it was, resembling very much the noise, on a large scale, of a swarm of blue-bottle flies in an empty hogshead.

Each one was rolling out an aw, aw, aw, aw, in a deep base tone; and the sound, coming through a hollow vizor, produced the effect described. The dance was a most monotonous one, the dancers remaining in the same place, and alternately lifting their feet, in time to the song and gourds. The only change of position was an occasional "about face." When the first came in, two old men, who acted as masters of ceremonies, went along the whole line, and with a powder held between the thumb and fore-finger, anointed each dancer on the shoulder. After dancing awhile in the mode above described, the ranks were opened, and rugs and blankets being brought and spread upon the ground, the virgins squatted on them, while the men kept up a kind of mumming dance in front. Every third or fourth female had at this time a large hollow gourd placed before her, on which rested a grooved piece of wood, shaped like an old-fashioned washboard; and by drawing the dry shoulder-blade of a sheep rapidly across this, a sound was produced similar to that of a watchman's rattle. After performing the same dance on each side of the Plaza, they left, to return again in about fifteen minutes; and thus they kept it up from sun-rise till dark, when the dancing ceased.

As appendages to the feast, they had clowns who served as messengers and waiters, and also to amuse the spectators while the dancers were away. The first batch consisted of six or eight young men, in breech-clouts, having some comical daubs of paint on their faces and persons, with wigs made of black sheep-skins. Some wore rams' horns on their heads, and were amusing themselves by attempts at dancing, singing, and running races, when they were attacked by a huge grizzly bear (or rather a fellow in the skin of one), which, after a long pursuit, and many hard fights, they brought to bay and killed. They then immediately opened him, and took from out of his body a quantity of guavas, green corn, &c.; which his bearship had undoubtedly appropriated from the refreshments provided for the clowns. But no sooner had they disposed of Bruin, than a new trouble came upon them in the shape of two ugly little imps, who, prowling about, took every opportunity to annoy them; and when, by dint of great perseverance, they succeeded in freeing themselves from these misshapen brats, in rushed eight or ten most horrible-looking figures (in masks), all armed with whips, which they did not for a moment hesitate to apply most liberally, to any of the poor clowns who were so unlucky as to fall into their clutches. They even tied some hand and foot, and laid them out in the Plaza.

It seemed they were of the same race as the imps, and came to avenge the treatment they had received at the hands of the clowns; for the "limbs of Satan" returned almost immediately, and took an active part in their capture, and in superintending the flagellating operations. Such horrible masks I never saw before—noses six inches long, mouths from ear to ear, and great goggle eyes, as big as half a hen's egg, hanging by a string partly out of the socket. They came and vanished like a dream, and only staying long enough to inflict a signal chastisement on the unfortunate clowns; who, however, soon regained their wonted spirits, after their tormentors left; and for the rest of the day had the field to themselves.

The simple Indians appeared highly delighted by these performances; and I must avow having had many a hearty laugh at their whimsicalities.

While the dances were going on, large baskets, filled with guavas of different forms and colors, roasted ears of corn, bread, meat, and other eatables, were brought in, and distributed by the virgins among all the spectators. The old governor tells me, this evening, that it is contrary to their usages to permit the females to dance; and that those whom I supposed to be young virgins, were in fact young men, dressed in female apparel for the occasion. This is a custom peculiar to the Moquis, I think, for in all the other Pueblos I visited, the women dance.

April 2d.—Snow fell last night, and it has continued all the forenoon. The weather is very cold and disagreeable, with a strong south wind blowing. We hired a Navajo Indian to take our horses over to the other side of the mountain (about six miles) to graze them; and as the weather would not allow us to visit the other four towns, we seated ourselves down with the governor, and other principal men; smoked, and had our "big talk," obtaining from them as much information as possible, relative to their history, customs, origin, religion, crops, &c.

The principal ruler was present.

This government is hereditary, but does not necessarily descend to the sons of the incumbent; for if the people prefer any other blood-relation, he is chosen.

The population of the seven villages, I should estimate at 8000, of which one-half is found in the first three. They say that of late years, wars and disease have greatly decreased their numbers. They spoke of fevers and disease, which I suppose to be phthisic and pertussis. They observe no particular burial-rites. They believe in the existence of a great Father, who lives where the sun rises, and a great Mother, who lives where the sun sets. The first is the author of all the evils that befall them—as war, pestilence, famine, &c.; and the great Mother is the very reverse of this, and from her are derived the blessings they enjoy—fertilizing showers, &c. In the course of the "talk," the principal governor made a speech, in which he said,—"Now we all know that it is good the Americans have come among us; for our great father, who lives where the sun rises, is pacified, and our great mother, who lives where the sun sets, is smiling; and in token of her approbation, sends fertilizing showers (it was snowing at the time), which will enrich our fields, and enable us to raise the harvest whereby we subsist." They say it generally rains this time of the year. Of their origin, they give the following account.

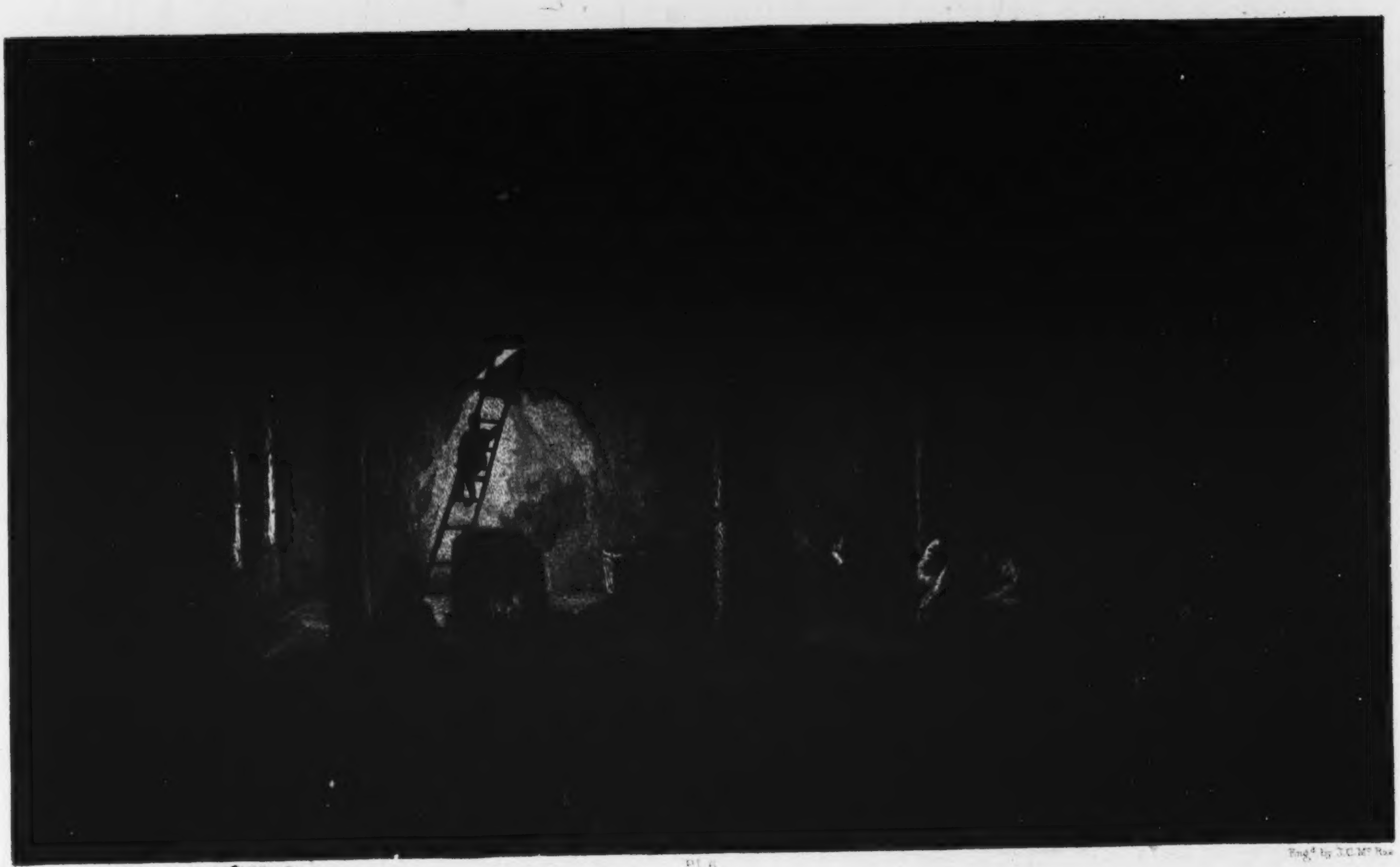
Many, many years ago, their great Mother brought from her home in the west nine races of men, in the following forms: First, the deer race; Second, the sand race; Third, the water race; Fourth, the bear race; Fifth, the hare race; Sixth, the prairie-wolf race; Seventh, the rattlesnake race; Eighth, the tobacco-plant race; Ninth, the reed-grass race. Having placed them on the spot where their villages now stand, she transformed them into men, who built the present Pueblos, and the distinction of races is still kept up. One told me he was of the sand race; another the deer, &c. They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and say that when they die, they will resolve into their original forms, and become bears, deer, &c., again.

The chief governor is of the deer race. [Here is the totemic element.—S.]

Shortly after the Pueblos were built, the great mother came in person, and brought them all the domestic animals they now have; which are principally sheep and goats, and a few very large donkeys. They have scarcely any horses and mules, as there is no grass nearer than six miles from the rock; and their frequent wars with the Navajoes render it almost impossible to keep them. The sacred fire is kept constantly burning by the old men; and all I could glean from them was, that some great misfortune would befall their people, if they allowed it to be extinguished. They know nothing of Montezuma, and have never had any Spanish or other missionaries among them. All the seeds they possess were brought from where the morning-star rises. They plant in May or June, and harvest in October and November. They do not plough or irrigate, but put their seeds in the sand, and depend upon the rains for water. They raise corn, melons, pumpkins, beans, and onions; also a cotton, of which I procured a specimen, and a species of mongrel tobacco.

They have also a few peach-trees, and are the only Pueblo Indians who raise cotton. They have no small grain of any kind. They say they have known the Spaniards ever since they can remember. About twenty years ago, a party of about fifteen Americans, the first they ever saw, came over the mountains and took the Zuñi trail. Six years afterwards, another party, with four females, passed through. Their crop last year was very small, and sometimes fails them entirely on account of the drought. For this reason they hoard up their corn, and that sold us was four years old. Roasting-ears, hanging around the room, are of the same age.

Their mode of marriage might well be introduced into the United States, with the Bloomer costume. Here, instead of the swain asking the hand of the fair one, she selects the young man who is to her fancy, and then her father proposes the match to the sire of the lucky youth. This proposition is never refused. The preliminaries being arranged, the young man on his part furnishes two pair of moccasins, two fine blankets, two mattrasses, and two of the sashes used at the feast—while the maiden, for her share, provides an abundance of eatables, when the marriage is celebrated by



Drawn by Capt^n S. Eastman from a sketch by R. H. Kern Esq.

Engd by J. C. McRae

Pl. 6.

INTERIOR OF AN ESTUFA _ NEW MEXICO

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feasting and dancing. Polygamy is unknown among them; but at any time, if either of the parties become dissatisfied, they can divorce themselves and marry with others, if they please. In case there are children, they are taken care of by their respective grandparents. They are a simple, happy, and most hospitable people. The vice of intoxication is unknown among them, as they have no kind of fermented liquors. When a stranger visits one of their houses, the first act is to set food before him, and nothing is done "till he has eaten." In every village are one or more edifices under ground, and you descend a ladder to get into them. (Plate 6.) They answer to our village groceries, being a place of general resort for the male population. I went into one of them—it was stifling hot, and all the light and air came through the scuttle above. In the centre was a small square box of stone, in which was a fire of guava bushes, and around this a few old men were smoking. All around the room were Indians naked to the "breech-clout;" some were engaged in sewing, and others spinning and knitting. On a bench in the back-ground sat a warrior, most extravagantly painted, who was undoubtedly undergoing some ordeal—as I was not allowed to approach him. They knit, weave, and spin, as in the other Pueblos, and besides make fabrics of cotton.

The chief men have pipes made of smooth polished stone, and of a peculiar shape, which have been handed down from generation to generation. (Fig. I, Plate 7.) They say their pipes were found centuries ago, by their forefathers, at the bottom of the water, in a very deep ravine in a mountain to the west, and that they were found already made in their present form.

Their year is reckoned by twelve lunar months. They wear necklaces of a very small sea-shell, ground flat (doubtless procured from California), which, they say, was brought to them by other Indians who lived over the mountains to the west, and say they obtain them from three old men who never die. Several Navajoes, who were present at the conversation, appeared perfectly friendly. I saw, to-day, a Navajo chief, named Cavallada, who has a paper from Governor Calhoun, making him a chief.

The villages of the Moquis are seven in number, (Plate 7), and more nearly correspond to the seven cities of Cibola,[1] (spoken of by Mr. Gallatin in his letter to Lieutenant Emory, U. S. A., T. I.), than any which have yet been discovered. They are situated in the same valley: they are upon the bluff. Oraivaz, called Musquins by the Mexicans, is almost due west from the bluff, and about thirty miles distant. There is another town at twenty miles W. by S., and two more about S. S. W., and some eight or ten miles distant from the first three. Of these, the two at the southern extremity of the bluff are the largest, containing probably 2000 inhabitants; Oraivaz is the second in size. They all speak the same language except Harno, the most northern town of the three, which has a different language and some customs peculiar to itself. It is, however, considered one of the towns of the confederation, and joins in all the feasts. It seems a very singular fact that, being within 150 yards of the middle town, Harno should have preserved for so long a period its own language and customs. The other Moquis say the inhabitants of this town have a great advantage over them, as they perfectly understand the common language, and none but the people of Harno understand their dialect. It is the smallest town of the three. The dress of the men, when abroad, is similar to that of the other Pueblos. When at home, they have a great fancy for going in "puris naturalibus," meaning nothing but the breech-clout and moccasins. If they slip out for a moment, they perhaps throw a blanket over their shoulders. They dress their hair like the Lagunians. I was much amused with one fellow who had a kind of full dress on, which he had obtained from the Eutaws of the Great Salt Lake, who were here last fall. (The governor showed me a letter signed by one Day, an Indian agent, and Brigham Young, the Mormon governor, which the Eutaws had with them. This was their first visit, but they are to return next fall). This coat was made of alternate pieces of red and blue cloth, with large bright buttons, shoulder-knots and tops of horse-hair; and with it buttoned up to the chin, and naught else on, he would strut about with as much self-satisfaction as any Broadway dandy. The women are the prettiest squaws I have yet seen, and are very industrious. Their manner of dressing the hair is very pretty. While virgins, it is done up on each side of the head in two inverse rolls, which bear some resemblance to the horns of the mountain-sheep. After marriage they wear it in two large knots or braids on each side of the face. In the northern town they dress their hair differently—the unmarried wearing all the hair long and in two large knots on each side of the face; and after marriage parting it transversely from ear to ear, and cutting off the front hair in a line with the eyebrows. These people make the same kind of pottery as the Zuñians and Lagunians.

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[1] Not so. Vide Mr. Kern's map, ante p. 32.

April 3d.—The frost seems to have had the desired effect, for it snowed again last night, and has been alternately snowing and clearing off all day; and while the sun was clouded, we had very cold and disagreeable weather.

We started at 9 A. M., and were truly an hour getting down the trail, so slippery was it from the melting snow. We have had a very fair sample of the hospitality of these kind people to-day. It being known that we were to depart this morning, woman after woman came to the house where we were stopping, each bringing either a basket of corn, meal, or guavas to give us, that we might not suffer for food while on the road home. The governor killed a sheep, and presented it to us. When we were fairly started, and passing through the towns, the women stood at the tops of the ladders, with little baskets of corn-meal, urging us to take them.

April 5th.—Myths of the Aborigines of New Mexico.—Old Santiago, our guide and interpreter, is a Navajo Indian, who was for some time a prisoner among the

Mexicans, and speaks Spanish tolerably well. He is well versed in the lore and legends of his race, and while on the march, I have had many interesting talks with him. His history (the Navajo creed) of the origin of man is so curious, that I cannot refrain from writing it out; but first I will premise a little, and as I have heretofore said nothing of the Navajoes, give a slight sketch of this tribe.

The Navajoes are, to all intents and purposes, a nomadic race, although not as entirely so as the other wild tribes. They live more as did the olden patriarchs, moving from place to place with their flocks and herds, and stopping and building small log shanties wherever they find the best pastures. They plant corn, beans, and wheat, and weave blankets and mantas for clothing. Their government is also purely patriarchal, there being no chiefs; but each wealthy man has his own band of retainers and servants, who are called his family. I should think they were very similar to the Scottish Highland clans in this respect. Polygamy is very extensively practised among them. The following is their belief of the origin of man. Many years ago the Navajoes, Pueblos, Coyoteras, and the Americans all lived under ground, in the centre of the Cerra Naztarny, (one of the four before-mentioned mountains,) on the Rio San Juan. Here they subsisted on meat alone, for all the birds of the air were there, and the only light was a kind of daybreak, which lasted but for a few hours out of the twenty-four. Among the Navajoes were two dumb men, who played the Indian flute, (an instrument resembling the flageolet), and one of these accidentally touching one day the top of the cave, there was heard a hollow sound, and immediately the old men conceived the idea of boring through to see what was inside. The flute being placed against the top of the cavern, the raccoon first ascended through it and attempted to dig his way out, but did not succeed. Coming down, the moth-worm took his place, and, boring a hole through the roof, found himself upon the inside of the mountain, and surrounded by water. Having thrown up a little mound, he sat himself down and began to look around, when he discovered four great white swans, placed at the four cardinal points, each carrying an arrow under either wing. The swan from the north first rushed upon him, and having thrust an arrow through the body of the poor worm on either side, he withdrew them, and examining them attentively, exclaimed, "He is of my race," and retired to his station. This was repeated by the other three, and when the ordeal was gone through with, and each had resumed his former place, four great arroyas were formed, to the north, south, east, and west, which drained off all the water, and left in its place a mass of soft mud. The worm now descended, and the raccoon passed up; but the first jump he made he went mid-leg deep in the black mud, by which his paws and legs were stained so black that the marks have remained to this day. The raccoon having gone down, the wind ascended and dried up the mud. After this, the men and animals began to come up, and their passage occupied several days. First came the Navajoes, who had no sooner got up than they commenced playing patole, of which they are to this day most passionately fond. Then came the

Pueblos and other Indians, who cut their hair, and who at once commenced to build houses; and lastly came the Americans, who started off towards the point where the sun rises, and have not been heard from until within a few years past. When under the ground, all spoke the same language; but when they came out, an instantaneous change of dialect took place. As the beasts and birds issued forth, they betook themselves at once to the woods and plains; but none of the domestic animals went with them while below the ground. These were all given to them by their great Mother, shortly after they came up. The earth was at first very small, and there was no heaven; neither had they sun, moon, nor stars, and were blessed with the few hours of dawn only which they had enjoyed below. A council of the old and wise men being held, it was determined to make a sun, moon, and stars. Building a very large house, the old men of the Navajoes commenced the manufacture of the sun; while to the old men of the other tribes was confided the making of the moon, heaven, and stars. The sun and moon, when finished, were given in charge to the two dumb fluters, who have been carrying them ever since. The world being very small, the first day that the dumb man started with the sun, he brought it too near the face of the earth, and came very near burning it up. Then the old men puffed the smoke of their pipes towards it and it retired, and since it first started has been moved back four times, to keep pace with the growing world. When the heavens were made, the people commenced broidering the stars upon it in a beautiful manner, so as to represent bears, fishes, &c.; but while thus employed, a prairie-wolf rushed in and exclaimed, "Why are you taking so much trouble in making all this embroidery? just stick the stars about any where;" and suiting the action to the word, he scattered the pile of stars all over the heavens. Thus we have only a few constellations, and the impudence of the prairie-wolf has given us the stars so singularly scattered over the firmament, instead of the beautiful images which the Navajoes had intended embroidering. The springs of water, being made to fit the world when small, as it increased in size were correspondingly stretched apart, and this is the reason why we find them so few and so distant from each other. When all was completed, and the sun and moon set well a-going, the old men made two tinages or water-jars; one of which was most gorgeously painted on the outside, and very beautiful to the eye, but contained worthless trash; while the other was of plain brown earthenware and had no paint to render it beautiful, but contained flocks, herds, and other things of great value. Calling up the Navajoes and Pueblos, they gave the first choice (having the tops of the jars covered) to the Navajoes, who immediately seized upon the beautiful but worthless jar, while the other, so rich, fell to the lot of the Pueblos. Then the old men said: "Thus it will always be with the two nations. You, Navajoes, will be a poor and wandering race; destitute of the comforts of life, and ever greedy for things on account of their outward show rather than their intrinsic value; while the Pueblos will enjoy an abundance of the good things of this life, will occupy houses, and have plenty of flocks, herds, &c." To this day the two nations have these distinguishing traits. If a Navajo sees a thing that pleases him, he will make any sacrifice to obtain possession of it, whether he need it or not; but a Pueblo will buy nothing which is not of some use and which he does not actually want. About this time there rose up a man among the Navajoes who was a most inveterate and successful gambler, and who went through the whole nation, winning all they possessed, even to their persons. When he had won the whole tribe, he was taken by one of the old men, and being placed like an arrow on a bow-string, was shot up into heaven. After a short absence he returned, bringing with him fire-arms and the Spaniards. Soon after his return he left his people and went into Mexico, where he now is — for the old men say he can never die. The Spaniards went to the Rio Grande, where they formed settlements. Four days after the Navajoes came up out of the mountain one of them died, and the body was laid on one side; but four days after, when sought for, it had disappeared. One of the old men then went down into the mountain to look for the dead man, and found him there combing his hair. Since then he has several times been heard to cry out, " All who die will come down here to live with me in our first home," and for this reason the dead are put in the ground. The old men say that the world is, as it were, suspended; and that when the sun disappears at evening, he passes under and lights up our former place of abode, until he again reappears at morning in the east.

Hitherto the people, having no grain of any kind, had subsisted solely upon the flesh of animals, and such roots and herbs as the country afforded. One day a turkey-hen came flying from where the morning star rises, and alighted in the midst of a circle of the wise men of the Navajoes, and when shaking her feathers an ear of blue corn fell to the ground. This was immediately divided into four equal parts. The point was given to the Coyoteros, who to this day raise small corn; the next portion to the Navajoes, whose corn is somewhat larger; the next to the Pueblos, whose corn is much better, and the but-end to the Mexicans, who have very large, fine corn. At a subsequent visit the turkey-hen brought white corn, and afterwards wheat, &c. In fine, all the seeds they possess were brought by this benevolent turkey.

When smoking, they always puff the smoke upwards, which they say brings rain. The old men say that having come out from below with them, the Americans are necessarily of the same stock, and therefore we should remain at peace with each other, and that it is evident the Great Mother is well pleased to see us living in friendship, as she is now sending plenty of water from the sky to give them a good crop.

While talking upon these matters, an Indian asked me with the greatest gravity how long our men said it was since we first came up out of the mountain.

Asking Santiago what ideas his people had of the Americans — their number and place of abode — he answered that the old men told them that when we went towards where the sun rises, we had settled in a little corner of the earth; but having been very prosperous and our tribes increasing greatly, we had filled up this little corner to running over, and finding no abiding place in our own land, had been forced out, and thus some of us returned to our original country."

5. HUNTING THE BUFFALO ON THE WESTERN PRAIRIES.

THE BISON—ITS GEOGRAPHICAL RANGES, AND THE MANNER OF ITS CAPTURE.

(*a*). HUNTING, next to war, is the most prominent field of Indian triumph. There is nothing, indeed, in which his strength and agility are more fully displayed, than in hunting the bison, or buffalo.

De Soto found this animal after he had crossed the Mississippi, and entered deeply into the present area of Arkansas and Missouri.

It was not found east of the Mississippi, in the same latitudes. Florida, which is quoted by authors as its range, was then (300 years ago) a term embracing the greatest part of North America; but there is no evidence that this animal ever inhabited the present limits of Florida. We are not informed that its bones have been discovered in its sands or alluvions; while its tertiary beds, along with those of Alabama, have yielded to naturalists the osseous remains of stranded whales, ichthiosaurii, and other extinct species.

The term vaca, applied to it by De Soto, and the word boef, subsequently employed by the French, who found it plentiful in Illinois, were merely indicative of its identity with the Bos family, and were confined to that signification.[1] Linnæus found it a peculiar species, to which he applied the term Bison, as contradistinguished from the Asiatic buffalo. The term buffalo appears to have been early applied to it; and it is so generally in vogue in America, that it would be wholly impracticable now to alter its use, were it attempted.

The bison is an animal common to temperate latitudes, and capable of enduring cold, rather than hot climates. It was found in early days to have crossed the Mississippi above the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio; and at certain times, thronged the present area of Kentucky. It not only ranged over the prairies of Illinois and Indiana, but spread to southern Michigan, and the western skirts of Ohio. Tradition says that it was sometimes seen on the borders of Lake Erie.[2] It was also common to the southern parts of Wisconsin, and crossed the Mississippi into Minnesota above St. Anthony's Falls, for the last time, it is believed, in 1820.[3]

Seen in its native haunts, it is a fierce and formidable object of hunter prowess; and when wounded, will turn on its enemy. It has a thick mane, which covers the whole neck and breast, and is prominent on the hump. The horns are black, turned upwards slightly, and stout and large at the base. Its eyes are red and fiery, and

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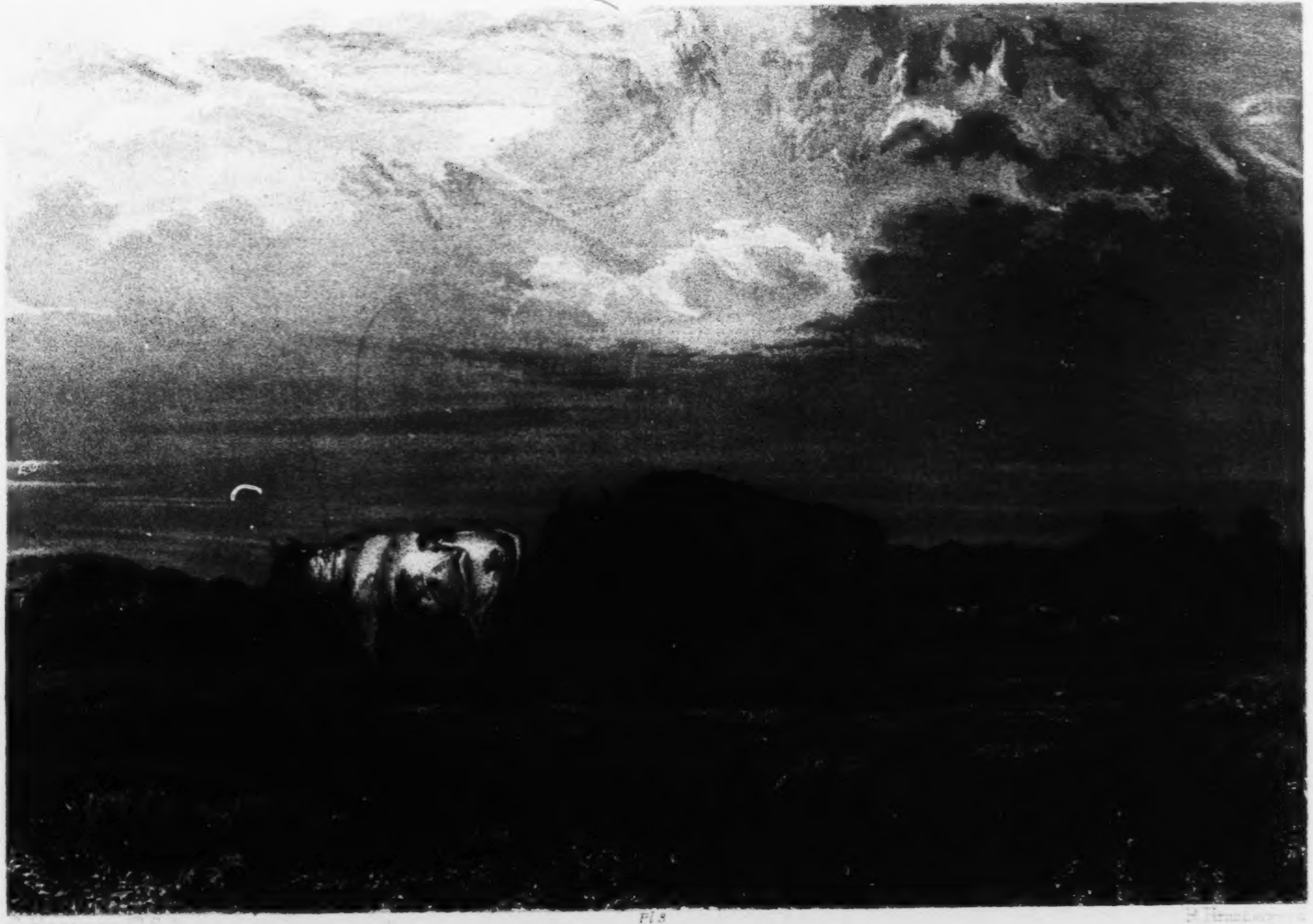
[1] The Algonquins, who called the bison Beeshike, applied the same term to the cow when it was introduced.

[2] The name of the city of Buffalo perpetuates this tradition.

[3] Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels to the Source of the Mississippi, 1820.



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DOMESTIC COW AND BUFFALO

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its whole aspect furious. The annexed figures, Plate 8, of the common and buffalo cow, in a partial state of domestication, were taken with the daguerreotype, at Fort Snelling; and will give an exact idea of their relative size and comparative weight.

This species was first seen in a single individual observed by Cortez and his followers, in 1521, in the kind of menagerie, or zoological collection of Montezuma, in Mexico. To this place the animal had been brought from the north, by Indians, to whom the collection of rare birds and quadrupeds had been committed by the native monarch. It was not, however, till the expedition of Coronado north of the Gila, in 1542, that its natural ranges were penetrated. It was not found at all in the high lands of New Mexico. The Spanish adventurers had passed the Rio del Norte, and entered the region of the great southern fork of the Arkansas, before they encountered the immense herds of it which they describe. So headlong were the droves of these animals following each other, that they sometimes pitched into and filled up entire gulfs and defiles lying in their track.[1]

The numbers of this animal seen on the western prairies, at favorable points, is amazing. Lewis and Clark, in descending the Missouri, in July, 1806, on passing the environs on White river, estimate that they beheld twenty thousand on the prairies at one time.[2] At another place, they remark, that such was the multitude of these animals in crossing the river, that for a mile in length the herd stretched as thick as they could swim, from bank to bank, and the travellers were stopped in their descent till the herd passed.[3]

One of the modes of taking these animals, at the period of the passage of these adventurers through the Missouri valley, where it presented rocky banks, is described thus. An active young man is selected as a decoy, by disguising his body in the skin of the animal, and putting it on, with the head, ears and horns. Thus disguised, he fixes himself at a point between a herd of bison, and the cliffs of the river. Meantime, his companions get in the rear, and on the sides of the herd, and press them onward. Taking the Indian decoy for a real animal, they follow him to the brink, and then stop; and the decoy concealing himself in some previously selected crevice, while the herds in the rear, rushing headlong forwards, push the foremost over the precipice, down which they are dashed, and killed. A hundred carcasses, or more, were found in a single locality on the shores of the Missouri. They are often captured by the Indians early in the spring, while crossing the Missouri in search of fresh grass. It is customary for the natives to fire the prairies, in the spring, which leaves a smooth scorched surface. The animal is thus driven, in hordes, to cross the river on the ice, in search of new grass; and as the ice breaks under their weight, numbers of them are left floating on isolated cakes of ice, sometimes of but a few feet surface; from which they tumble into the water, and are easily captured by the Indians in their ice-boats. This procedure was witnessed by the travellers above named, in March, 1805, while encamped at Fort Mandan.[1]

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[1] Casteñada's Narrative of an Expedition to Cibola, &c., p. 34, MSS.

[2] Lewis and Clark, Vol. II., p. 420.

[3] Ibid, p. 395.

The mode of chasing this animal on the prairies, is replete with peril and enterprise. These sports are described in the following pages, by the Hon. Henry H. Sibley, of Minnesota.

Sport of Buffalo-Hunting on the Open Plains of Pembina.

By Hon. H. H. Sibley, M. C.

1. There is too much reason to fear that the buffalo, or American bison, which is the subject of this paper, will soon become extinct as a denizen of the wilds of the North American Continent. To what extent this animal roamed over the Atlantic slope of the Alleghany mountains in ages past, is uncertain, but there are men yet living who have seen large herds upon the Ohio, and its tributary streams. Two individuals were killed in 1832, by the Dacotah or Sioux Indians, upon the "Trempe a l'Eau" river, in Upper Wisconsin, and they are believed to have been the last specimens of the noble bison, which trod, or will ever again tread, the soil of the region lying east of the Mississippi river.

2. The multitudes of these animals, which have hitherto darkened the surface of the great prairies on the west of the "Father of Waters," are fast wasting away under the fierce assaults made upon them by the white man as well as the savage. From data, which, although not mathematically correct, are sufficiently so to enable us to arrive at conclusions approximating the truth, it has been estimated that for each buffalo-robe transported from the Indian country, at least five animals are destroyed. If it be borne in mind that very few robes are manufactured of the hides of buffalo, except of such as, in hunter's parlance, are killed when they are in season; that is, during the months of November, December, and January, and that even of these, a large proportion are not used for that purpose, and also that the skins of the cows are principally converted into robes, those of the males being too thick and heavy to be easily reduced by the ordinary process of scraping; together with the fact, that many thousands are annually destroyed through sheer wantonness by civilized as well as savage men, it will be found that the foregoing estimate is a moderate one. From the Missouri region, the number of robes received, varies from 40,000 to 100,000 per annum, so that from a quarter to half a million of buffalo are destroyed in the period of each twelve months. So enormous a drain must soon result in the extermination of the whole race; and it may be asserted, with much certainty, that in twenty years from

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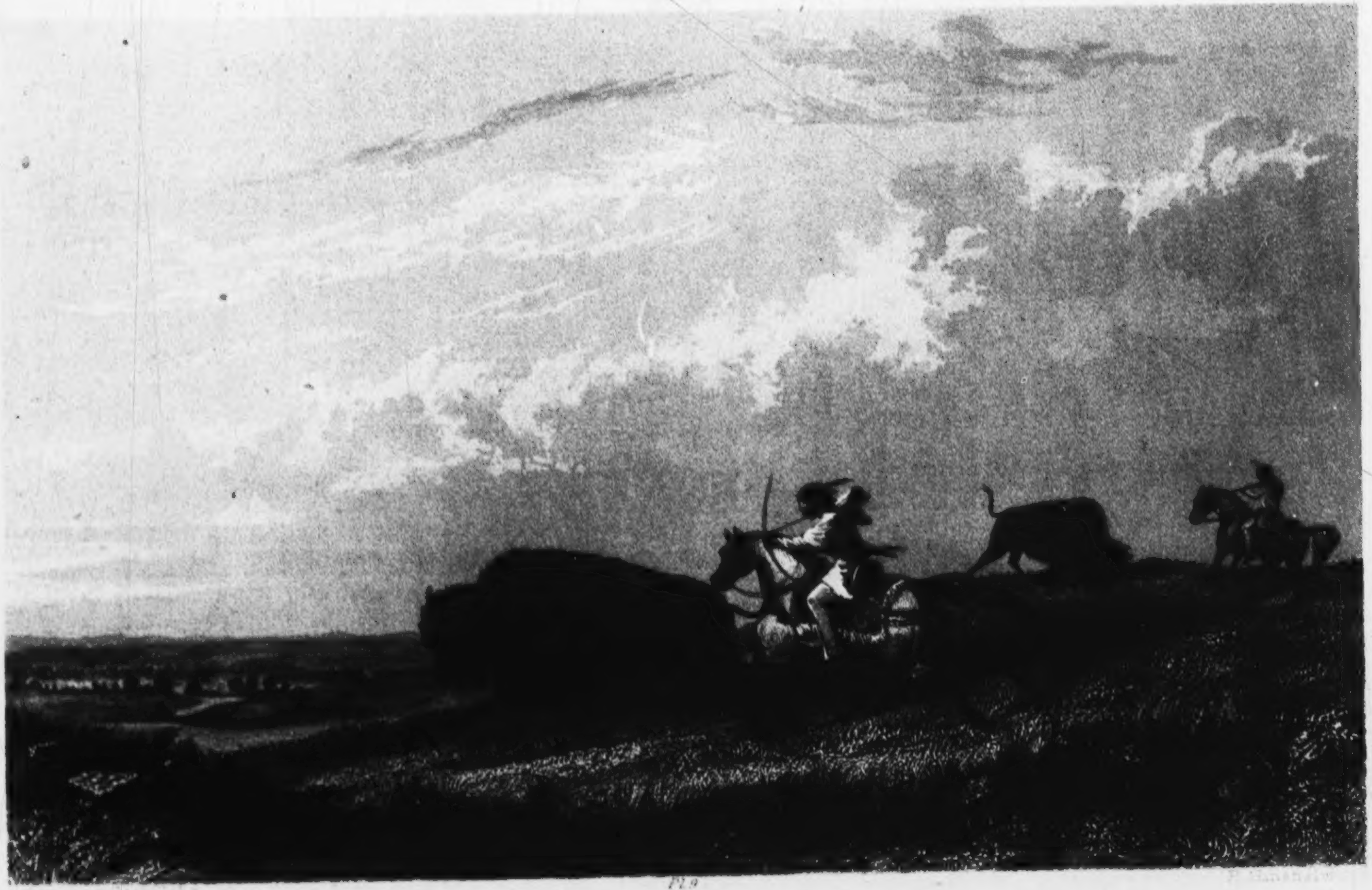
[1] Lewis and Clark, Vol. I., p. 175.



Pl. 9

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this time, the buffalo, if existing at all, will be only found in the wildest recesses of the Rocky Mountains. The savage bands of the West, whose progenitors have, from time immemorial, depended mainly upon the buffalo, must, with them, disappear from the earth, unless they resort to other means of subsistence, under the fostering care of the General Government.

3. The chase of the buffalo on horseback, (Plate 9), is highly exciting, and by no no means unattended with danger. The instinct of that animal leads him, when pursued, to select the most broken and difficult ground over which to direct his flight; so that many accidents occur to horse and rider, from falls, which result in the death or dislocation of the limbs of one or both. When wounded, or too closely pressed, the buffalo will turn upon his antagonist, and not unfrequently the latter becomes the victim in the conflict, meeting his death upon the sharp horns of an infuriated bull.

4. In common with the moose, the elk, and others of the same family, nature has furnished the buffalo with exquisite powers of scent, upon which he principally relies for warning against danger. The inexperienced voyager will often be surprised to perceive the dense masses of these cattle urging their rapid flight across the prairie, at a distance of two or three miles, without any apparent cause of alarm; unaware, as he is, of the fact, that the tainted breeze has betrayed to them his presence, while still far away. In approaching the quarry, whether on foot or horseback, the hunter must take the precaution to keep well to leeward. The man walks by the side, and as much as possible under cover of his horse, until within a distance, nearer than which it would be impolitic to attempt to advance. The buffalo gaze, meanwhile, at their approaching enemy, uncertain whether to maintain their ground or take to flight. The hunter vaults into his saddle and speeds towards his hesitating prey, and then commences the race which to the latter is one of life or death.

5. The bow and arrow in experienced hands constitute quite as effective a weapon in the chase of the buffalo, (Plate 9), as the fire-arm, from the greater rapidity with which the discharges are made, and the almost equal certainty of execution. The arrow, which is less than a yard long, is feathered, pointed with iron, and with small grooves along it, to allow of the more rapid effusion of blood when fixed in the animal. The force with which an arrow is propelled from a bow, wielded by an Indian of far less than the ordinary physical strength of white men, is amazing. It is generally imbedded to the feather, in the buffalo, and sometimes even protrudes on the opposite side. It is reported among the Dacotahs or Sioux Indians, and generally credited by them, that one of their chiefs, Wah-na-tah by name, who was remarkable, up to the close of his life, for strength and activity of frame, and who was equally renowned as a hunter and a warrior, on one occasion discharged an arrow with sufficient force

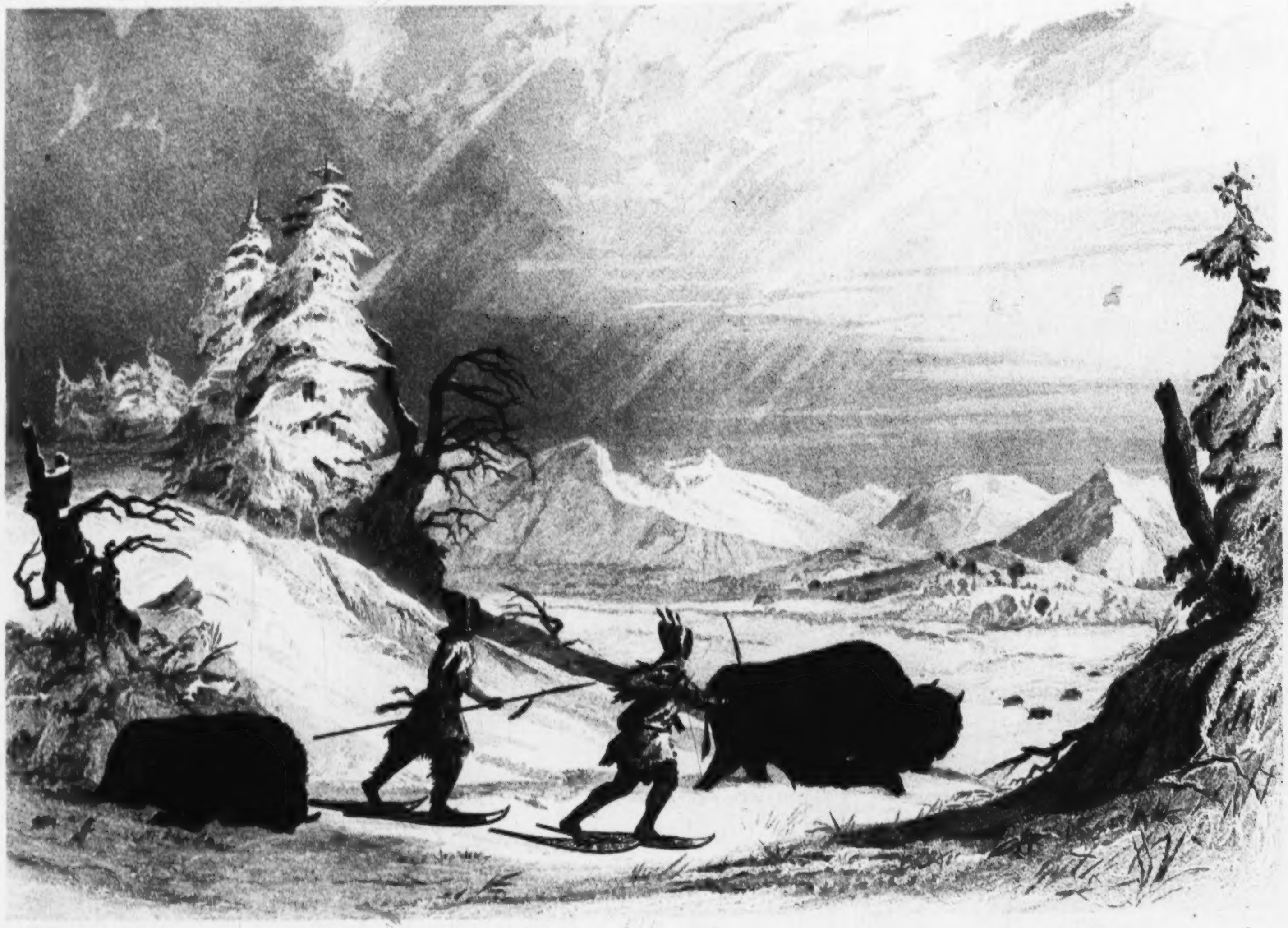
entirely to traverse the body of a female buffalo, and to kill the calf by her side. For the accuracy of this statement I do not, of course, pretend to vouch. The arrow is launched from the bow while the body of the victim is elongated in making his forward spring, and the ribs being then separated from each other as far as possible, allow an easy entrance to the missile between them.

6. The same instant is taken advantage of by such of the western Indians as make use of long lances wherewith to destroy the buffalo. Approaching sufficiently near to the particular cow he has selected for his prey, the hunter allows the weapon to descend and rest upon her back, which causes her at first to make violent efforts to dislodge it. After a few trials, the poor beast becomes accustomed to the touch and ceases further to notice it in her great anxiety to escape from her pursuer, who then, by a dexterous and powerful thrust, sheathes the long and sharp blade in her vitals, and withdraws it before the animal falls to the ground. This mode of slaughter is successful only with those who have fleet and well-trained horses, and who have perfect reliance upon their own coolness and skill.

7. When the alternate thawing and freezing during the winter months have formed a thick crust upon the deep snows of the far north-west, the buffalo falls an easy victim to the Indian, who glides rapidly over the surface upon his snow-shoes, while the former finds his powers of locomotion almost paralyzed by the breaking of the icy crust beneath his ponderous weight. He can then be approached with absolute impunity, and despatched with the gun, the arrow, or the lance. (Plate 10.)

8. It sometimes happens that a whole herd is surrounded and driven upon the clear ice of a lake, in which case they spread out and fall powerless, to be mercilessly massacred by their savage pursuers. It is a well-known fact, that several years since nearly a hundred buffaloes attempted to cross Lacqui Parle, in Minnesota, upon the ice, which not being sufficiently strong to bear so enormous a pressure, gave way, and the whole number miserably perished. The meat furnished a supply of food for many weeks to the people at the neighboring trading-post, as well as to the Indians and to the wolves and foxes.

By these various methods, and by others which might be designated, are the buffalo circumvented to their destruction. The Indians are notoriously improvident and cruelly wanton in the disposition they indulge to destroy game of any and every kind, even when not impelled by necessity; and I regret to repeat that their white brethren are not behind them in this particular. I have seen buffalo and elk slaughtered for no other purpose than to obtain the tongues and marrow-bones, the remainder of the carcase being left uncared for and untouched.



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9. The accompanying Plate, 8, affords a life-like view of a female buffalo and domestic cow. It will be perceived that the former is considerably the tallest; but there is in reality not much difference in the weight of the two, inasmuch as the latter is of thicker and more compact form. The same remark is applicable to the males of the two species. Occasionally there are found, as in the case of our domestic cattle, enormous specimens of the buffalo of both sexes, but as a general thing there is not much disparity in the size of these two branches of the same great family.

10. The hunting party was composed of nine men, including myself. Continuing our course south-westwardly, we reached Lac Blanc, a fine sheet of water, which bore upon its surface swans, geese, and ducks in great numbers, which we did not disturb, as there were fresh "signs" of elk and traces of buffalo. From this point we followed a small stream which ran through very swampy ground, and which was literally covered with wild fowl. These poor creatures were not at all shy, giving evidence of their utter ignorance of the arts of the great destroyer, man. In fact, geese and wild ducks were innumerable, and I doubt not that either of the good shots of the party might have destroyed a thousand in a day. But we were in search of nobler game, and not a single discharge of a gun was permitted.

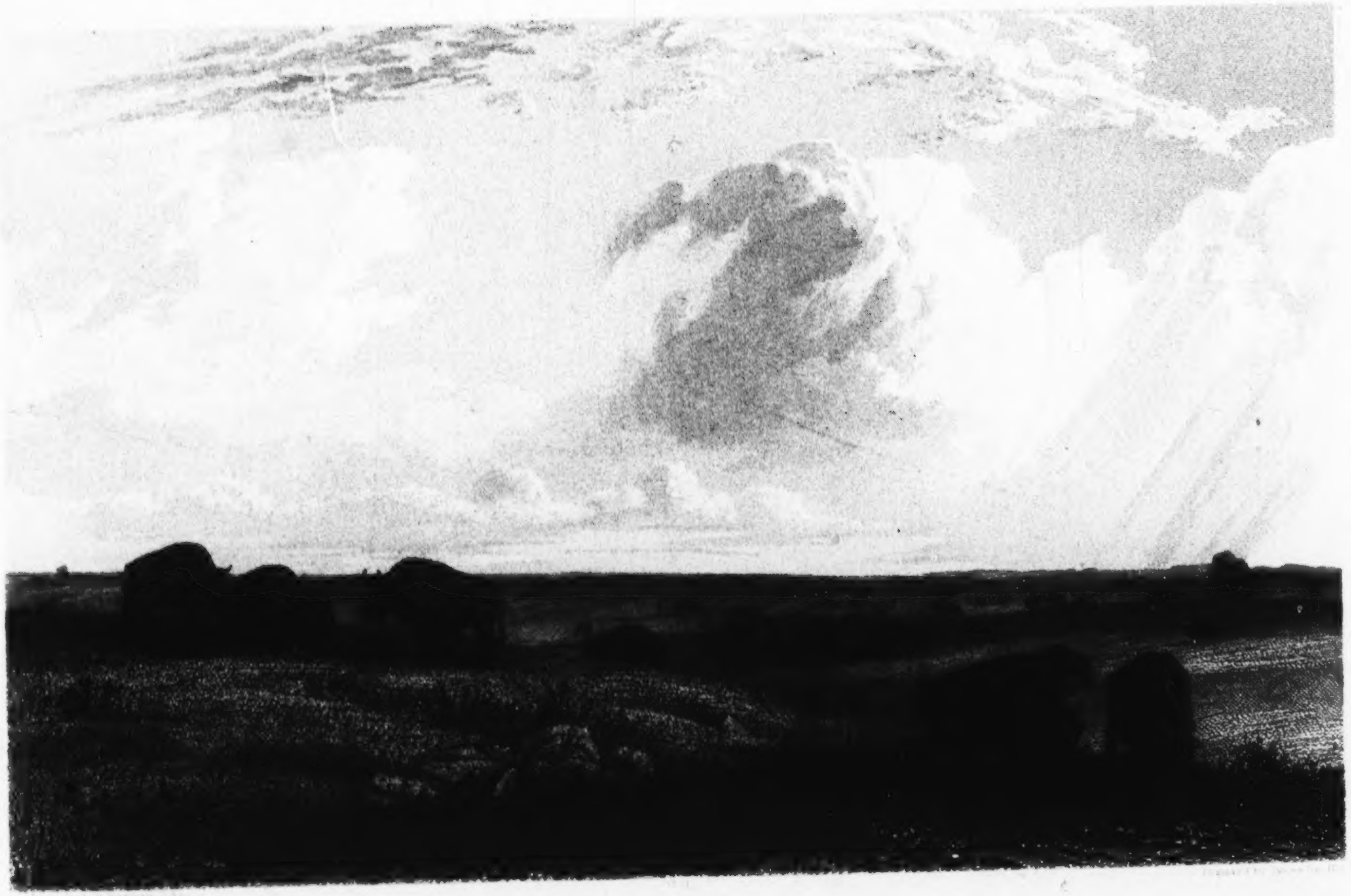
11. During the day, the gun of one of the men went off by accident, and caused me to lose a shot at three buffaloes. They had been quietly feeding along the stream, when, hearing the report, they dashed off into the open prairie. After holding a *counseil de guerre*, we concluded not to follow them until next morning, as the day was already far spent. Selecting a favorable spot, we encamped, and the arms of the party were put in order for the expected sport. A large buck came out of the woods at the opposite side of the rivulet without perceiving us, but we would not allow him to be shot at. The next morning Jack Frazer was despatched with the most active of the Canadians to reconnoitre. In a short time they returned, and reported that three buffaloes were lying down in one of the low places in the prairie. Two men were placed in charge of the carts, with directions to proceed slowly along at an angle slightly deviating from the line to the buffaloes, while the rest of us, seven in number, mounted our horses and prepared for the chase.

12. Approaching the bulls within three hundred yards without being discovered, we charged down the hill upon them at full speed. The first flight of the buffalo is comparatively slow; but when pressed by the huntsman, the rapidity with which these apparently unwieldy animals get over the ground is surprising. Alex. F. and myself having the best horses, each of us singled out a victim; leaving the third to be dealt with by the remainder. We were shortly alongside, and our double-barrels told with deadly effect, the huge beasts rolling on the ground in death within a hundred yards

of each other. The other horsemen followed the remaining bull, but notwithstanding each man positively asserted that they had surrounded him, the animal escaped, and his pursuers were brought to a sudden halt by the sight of a large herd of buffaloes, (Plate 11), which they were unwilling to disturb until we joined them. Meanwhile, the prairie had been fired by some Indians to the windward of us, and as the wind blew violently, the flames approached us with so much rapidity that we had not time to secure the meat of the two buffaloes we had slain. It was decided to attempt a passage through the flaming barrier, leaving the men with the carts to gain a shelter before the fire should overtake them. Five times did we approach the raging element, and as many times were we repulsed scorched and almost suffocated, until, by a desperate use of whip and spur we leaped our horses across the line of fire, looking, as we emerged from the cloud of smoke, more like individuals from the lower regions than inhabitants of this earth.

13. It required some minutes to recover from the exhaustion attendant upon this enterprise; when being fully prepared at all points, we went off in search of the herd. We shortly discovered them on the top of a hill, which was bare of grass, and to which the fire had driven them. Alexander F. and myself gained their rear, while the rest of the party placing themselves out of view, waited for our charge. While we were yet half a mile distant, the dense mass set itself in motion, and the several hundreds of buffalo composing it took to flight. We were soon among them, and the discharge of fire-arms from all the horsemen was incessant and well sustained. Alexander F., and myself, had each shot two cows, and others of the party had succeeded in bringing down an animal or two, when we all bore down *en masse* upon the ranks of the affrighted buffalo. Jack Frazer's horse stumbled over a calf, fell, and threw his rider headlong from the saddle. Merely casting a glance to satisfy ourselves that Jack's neck was not broken, away we sped, until horse after horse gave out, and in a short time I found myself alone with the herd, the nearest of my companions being a quarter of a mile in the rear.

14. There was a very fine, fat cow in the centre of the band, which I made several attempts to separate from the others, but without effect. She kept herself close by the side of an old bull, which, from his enormous size, appeared to be the patriarch of the tribe. Resolved to get rid of this encumbrance, I shot the old fellow behind the shoulder. The wound was mortal, and the bull left the herd, at a slow gallop, in a different direction. As soon as I had discharged my gun, I slackened the speed of my horse to enable me to reload, determined to pursue the retiring mass, and trusting to find the wounded animal on my return. Unfortunately, I changed my mind, and rode after the bull to give him the *coup de grace*. I rode carelessly along with but one barrel of my piece loaded, when, upon approaching the buffalo, he turned as quick as



HERD OF BUFFALO.

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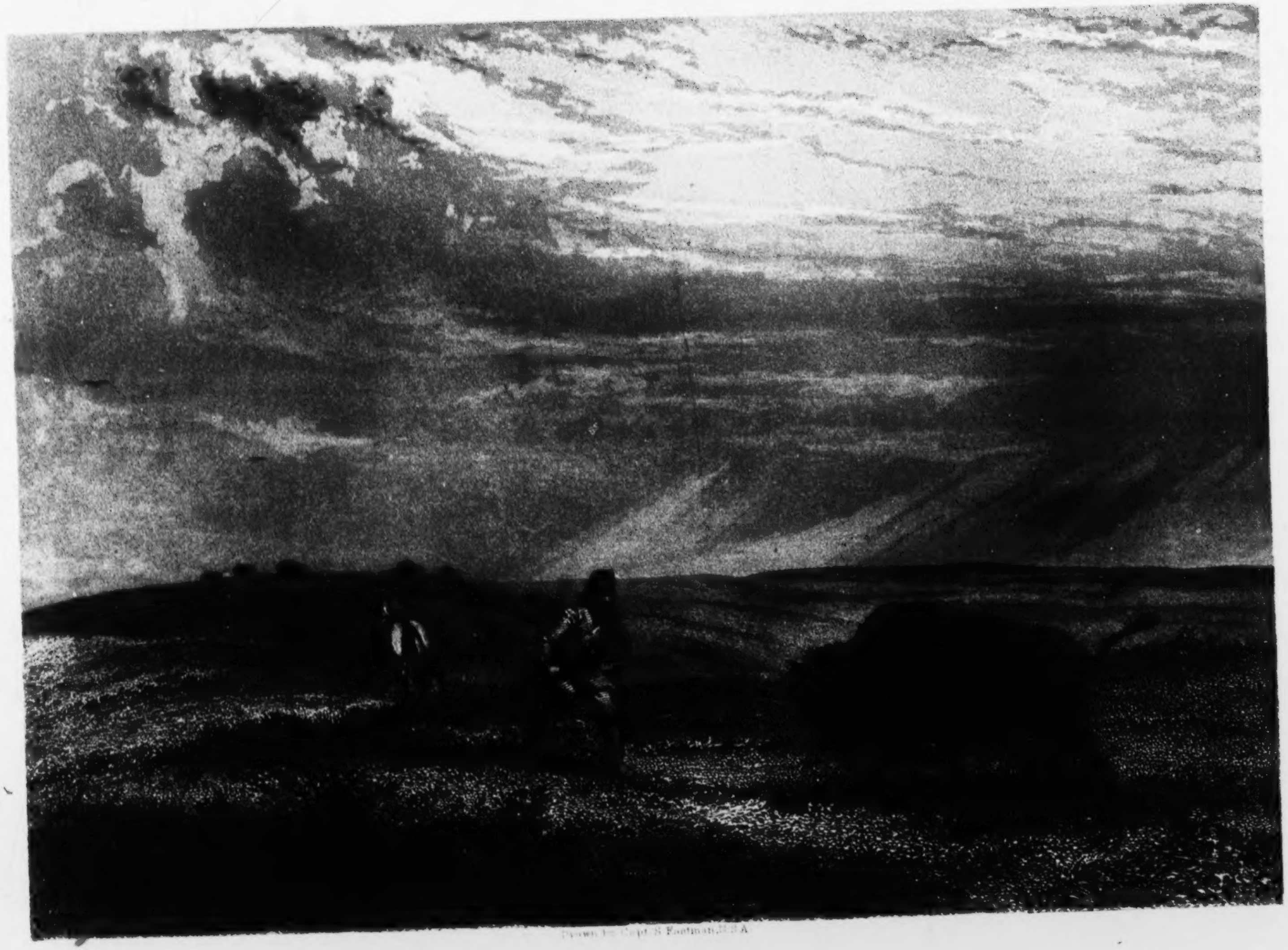

Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S.A.

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lightning, in order to charge. At this critical instant I had released my hold of the bridle-rein, and risen in my stirrups. When the buffalo turned, my horse, frightened out of his propriety, made a tremendous bound sidewise, and, alas, that I should tell it, threw me out of the saddle and within ten feet of the enraged monster! (Plate 12). Here was a predicament! I was face to face with the brute, whose eyes glared through the long hair which garnished his frontlet like coals of fire—the blood streaming from his nostrils. In this desperate situation, I made up my mind that my only hope of escape was to look my adversary in the eye; as any attempt to fly would only invite attack. Holding my gun ready cocked to fire if he attempted a rush, I stood firmly, although, I must confess, I thought my last hour had come! How long he stood there pawing and roaring, I have not now the least idea, but he was certainly slow in deciding what he should do. At length, he moved away, and I gave him a parting salute that let out the little blood remaining in his body. He walked a short distance and fell dead.

I did not fail to render due homage to that Almighty Being who had so wonderfully preserved my life. The frequenter of Nature's vast solitudes may be a wild and reckless, but he cannot be essentially an irreligious man. The solemn silence of forest and prairie—the unseen dangers which are incident to this mode of life—and the consciousness that Providence alone can avert them—all these have the effect to lead even the thoughtless man, occasionally, to reflection.

15. The only one of my party within view now came up. I was so near the buffalo when dismounted, that he believed I had struck him with the barrels of my gun. I despatched my comrade in search of my horse, which, as is usual in similar cases, had followed the herd of buffalo at full speed. I now felt much pain in one of my feet, which had received a serious blow when I fell. I had to use my hunting-knife to free me from sock and moccasin; and in ten minutes I was unable to walk, or even stand, without support. Knowing the man who had gone after my horse to be a mere tyro in woodcraft, I feared he would not be able to find his way back to me; and being ten miles from camp, with no fuel to light a fire, and clad in scanty Indian costume, the prospect of spending a cold October night where I was, seemed anything but agreeable. I had no other alternative than to load my gun heavily with powder, and discharge it in quick succession; hoping that some of my comrades would hear the reports, and come to my aid. After a short time spent in this pleasant exercise, I perceived Jack Frazer; who, having recovered his horse, was looking for the rest of the party, when the sounds from my gun attracted his attention. I hurried him away after the missing man, and he soon returned with him and my horse. When I mounted, it was with difficulty I could support myself in the saddle.

16. On our way to camp, we discovered a single buffalo cow feeding. Jack started

off in pursuit; and I had the pleasure of seeing a most beautiful chase, albeit unable to take part in it. The cow made for the height of land opposite; and as he reached the summit, Jack overtook her, when she turned and charged him furiously. I feared it was all over with him, for the animal was within three feet when he discharged his gun. I saw her fall, before the report of the piece sounded in my ears; the ball had broken her neck. Had it taken effect in any other part, Jack must have been seriously injured, if not killed.

When we reached the camp, all the party were assembled. The injury I had received was of too serious a nature to allow of rest. I passed a sleepless night; and being satisfied that it was necessary to have surgical aid as soon as possible, I determined to return home—offering, however, to leave four men with Alexander and Jack if they were disposed to continue the sport. The disappointment was great, but my hunting companions refused to abandon me; and it was arranged that the next day should be employed in securing the meat of the slain buffalo, and the day following we should depart homewards.

17. In the morning, while the men went in search of the meat, we rode over to obtain a view of "Minday Mecoehe Wakkon," or "Lake of the Spirit Land." This beautiful sheet of water has an island in it which the Sioux Indians never venture upon, as they believe it to be the residence of demons. Their traditions relate, that in days of yore, several of that tribe landed upon the island from a canoe, when they were instantly seized and devoured. Hence the name. We saw several otters disporting themselves in the lake, apparently not much afraid of us, or of the island.

18. When all was ready for our departure, I told my two hunting companions that as our progress with the loaded carts would necessarily be slow, they would have time to scour the country on either side of us, and rejoin us at night. This plan suited them well, and they were off bright and early; while we retraced our trail, myself, on horseback, leading the procession. During the day, we fell in with a large herd of elk; but they were too watchful to be circumvented by the bungling voyageurs who were with me, and who attempted to approach them. I was not in a condition to accompany and direct the men in their movements. Alexander F. and Jack rejoined us in the evening, with three buffalo tails pendent at their belts—trophies of the number slain. They had fallen in with several large herds of buffalo, and might have killed many more; but as the meat could not be cured for want of time, they very properly abstained from useless slaughter.

19. We hastened towards the Mississippi as fast as our trammelled condition would allow; occasionally shooting a few wild fowl, wherewith to make a *bouillon* in the evening. We reached our domicils at the mouth of the Minnesota river, after an

absence of twenty-two days, having, in the interval, killed sixteen buffaloes, three elk, eight raccoons, twelve wolves, seven geese, two hundred and forty-four ducks, eighty grouse, and sundry small items not worth mentioning.

20. In the northern part of Minnesota, on both sides of the line dividing the United States from the British possessions, there is to be found a large population, consisting mostly of mixed bloods. These men possess, in an eminent degree, the physical energy and powers of endurance of the white man, combined with the activity, subtlety, and skill in hunting, of the Indian. They are fine horsemen, and remarkably dexterous in the chase of the buffalo. Half farmer and half hunters, they till the ground, and raise fine crops of wheat and other cereals, while semi-annually they repair to the buffalo region to procure meat, which they cure in divers ways, and dispose of to our own citizens and to the Hudson Bay Company for the supply of their remote inland trading-posts. Being numerous and well supplied with horses, oxen, and carts, the number of buffaloes annually slaughtered by them is astounding. I shall conclude this article with an interesting description of the peculiar habits and mode of hunting of these people, furnished by the Rev. Mr. Belcourt, a Catholic priest residing among them in January, 1851. From my own personal acquaintance with many of the half-breeds, as well as with Mr. Belcourt himself, who is justly esteemed as a gentleman of integrity and veracity, I can confidently endorse the general correctness of his statements, as contained in the following pages.

21. I can now state to you understandingly the mode of buffalo hunting practised by the people of our country, having accompanied them in one of their excursions. I should first remark, that the autumnal hunt engages the attention of comparatively few men, for the following reasons. A portion of the half-breeds, who have not the means of passing the winter in the settlements, spread over that part of the country where they can subsist themselves and families during the cold weather by the chase of the elk, the moose, and the bear: others, hoping to reap more profit by trapping the fur-bearing animals, seek the haunts of the marten, the fisher, the otter, and the beaver, in the wooded region and along the water-courses and lakes; so that ordinarily not more than one-third assemble for the fall hunt of the buffalo.

22. The returns of the previous summer expedition had shown but a "beggarly account of empty boxes." After a long march during the warm weather, the half-breeds had made their appearance with carts less than one-quarter laden, and even this scanty supply of meat was in bad order. This was as much owing to the want of union and method on the part of the hunters themselves, as to the scarcity of the buffalo. Now that it was understood that they were to be accompanied by a priest, a general feeling of confidence was restored, as it was expected that he would act as

umpire, if difficulties should occur, and do all in his power to promote harmony in the camp. Preparations for the campaign were, accordingly, made at St. Boniface and the White Horse Plains, and they took up the line of march, one after the other, until the ninth of September, when I myself brought up the rear. The place of rendezvous was designated at a spot on the banks of the Pembina river, not at the site of the old establishment, but about a day's journey above it. I arrived at the point indicated on the third day after my departure from the settlement.

23. From the summit of the hill, which reared its crest about two hundred feet above the surface of the river, I discovered the camp, which was composed of about sixty lodges. These were pitched in the open prairie, and near them grazed tranquilly several hundred head of horses and oxen. In the distance, the younger hunters, having followed the sinuosities of the stream, were returning laden with wild fowl; while in an opposite direction, children could be seen bending under the weight of fish, of which the river furnished a great abundance. Carts traversed the plain on all sides, with fire-wood, spare axles, lodge-poles, and materials for the construction of cart-bodies and lattice-work, whereupon to dry the meat. It became necessary to provide a full supply of all these articles, as we were about to launch forth into an immense prairie, without a single tree to serve as a landmark to the voyagers.

24. On the fourteenth we raised the camp and ascended the opposite hill. From thence we viewed, like the ocean in its vastness, that succession of hill and valley, of constantly-occurring uniformity, which extended to the Missouri river; nay, I might say to the very base of the Rocky Mountains. Here it was necessary to determine the precise direction to be taken. As the Red river hunters had not joined us, we judged it proper not longer to follow the mountain on that side, lest we should do them an injury by *raising the buffalo* before them on the route we expected them to take. On the other hand, we were aware that a certain number of half-breeds had gone to establish their winter quarters near the end of the Turtle mountain, and on Moose river; consequently we could hope for no success if we followed their trail. It was decided at length that we should pursue a middle course; first south of east, until a certain distance had been accomplished, and then change to south-west, so as to visit Thicket lake, Hole Mound, Devil's lake, the Little Fork of the Cheyenne, Basswood lake, and the Dog's lodge. The decision having been publicly announced and the guides appointed, we proceeded on our way. The carts, to the number of two hundred and thirteen, were ranged in three lines, one line being drawn by oxen and the other two by horses. These formed a much longer train than one would imagine, if not aware that to each vehicle lodge-poles, fifteen or eighteen feet in length, were attached.

25. And now the horsemen disperse in every direction, to wend their way only at

night to the point beforehand indicated as the camping-ground. Like veteran mariners, these children of the prairie march during the entire day over hill and dale, offering to the eye of a stranger no distinctive features whereby to shape his course, and yet make their way unerringly, even in the darkness of night, to the camp.

26. At an early hour we halted and arranged matters for passing the night, awaiting meanwhile the report of the scouts with much impatience. The first who appeared was my own hunter. He had seen no buffalo, but he brought back with him two cranes, one of which measured eight feet and three inches between the extremities of the wings. This bird, the flesh of which is not pleasant to the taste, abounds in that part of the country, its food being principally roots, which it digs up with its beak. When wounded it becomes a dangerous antagonist, for raising itself to its full height, it turns upon the hunter and strives to pluck out his eyes. It has happened that young savages have had their bowels pierced and lacerated by this furious bird.

27. About sundown all the hunters had come in with the exception of two, and fresh signs of buffalo had been seen. The following day the number of look-outs was augmented. About ten in the morning, the two young men who had been so long absent, joined us laden with fresh meat, and when the scouts returned in the evening, that article was extremely abundant. But the flesh of the bulls is no delicacy, nor is it easy of digestion; however, I was served to the choicest part, viz., the tongue; "for," it was remarked to me, "you are not accustomed to eat of this meat, and if you partake of any other portion, you may be seized with the buffalo sickness,"—*mal de bœuf.* This ailment, so far as I could divine, is nothing more or less than indigestion. The flesh has the consistency of leather, and as the hunters, flushed with health, are blessed with a fierce appetite, they do not sufficiently masticate this tough food, and often suffer in consequence.

28. At length we had good reason to believe that on the morrow we should fall in with a herd of cows. I accordingly made preparations in the morning for joining the hunters, who were in high glee at the brilliant prospects, and made the prairie to resound with their boisterous mirth. We had hardly rode along for half an hour, when we discovered a herd of bulls. They were distinguished as such from the fact that they do not huddle together in the herd as do the females. We approached them at a slow gait, and they fed tranquilly until we arrived within three or four hundred yards. We then reduced the pace of our horses to a walk, knowing that, by so doing, the buffalo would not take to flight until we were very near them. Still, not being over-anxious to receive a visit from us, they began to manifest signs of ill-humor. Some threw dust in the air with their fore-feet, others rolled upon the ground, and then, with the agility of a hare, sprang up in an instant. Others again, with more gravity of

deportment, looked at us fixedly, uttering, occasionally, a low bellow; the sudden jerk of the tail alone, giving assurance that our presence was no more acceptable to them than to their companions.

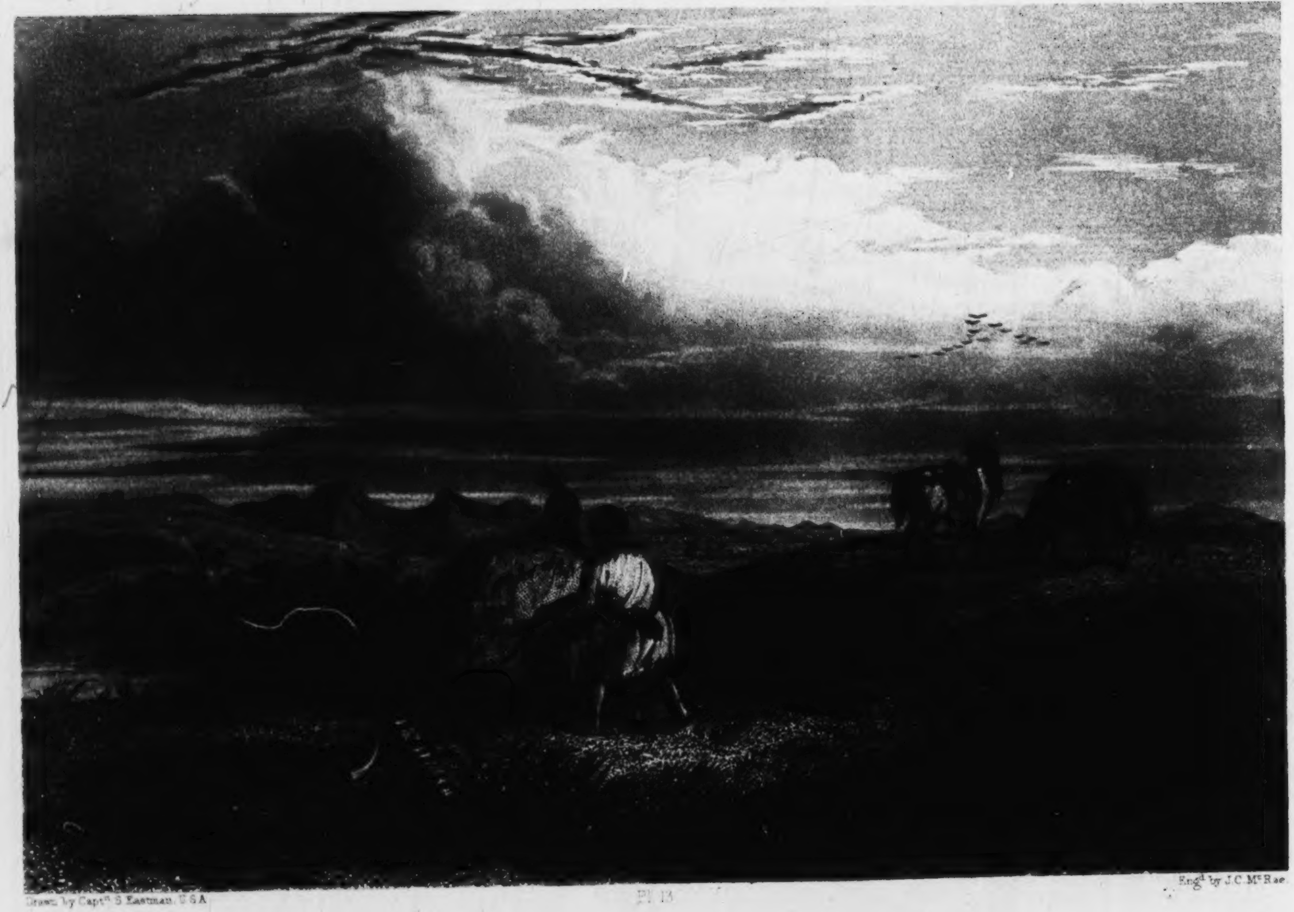
29. When the signal is given we spur our horses towards them, and before us fly with rapidity, the thick and heavy masses. Several are overthrown at the first discharge; others, feeling themselves mortally wounded, stop suddenly, and tear up the earth in their fury, or strike it, like rams, with their fore-feet. Under the shaggy tufts of hair, their eyes sparkle with rage, and warn the most intrepid of the hunters to keep at a respectful distance.

30. This chase, which lasted but a quarter of an hour, was scarcely brought to a close, when a cloud of dust was perceived rising from the top of a hill in the distance. I had no time to ask the cause of this, before each man sprang to his saddle, crying out, cows! cows! (la vache! la vache!) Although a dozen huge bulls lay dead upon the ground, not even a tongue was taken.

31. In a very short time we reached the eminence, where I expected we would find ourselves in close proximity to the animals which had been announced with so much assurance, but, to my surprise, I could perceive none. At length, I was made to remark, several miles away, certain objects, which, as there was a *mirage*, appeared to me to be trees, but even at that distance the keen eyes of the hunters recognised them to be, not trees, nor even bulls, but cows.

32. The men here all assembled to the number of fifty-five. Even the horses seemed to partake of the joy and ardor of their masters. To moderate the fierceness of the steed was difficult, to restrain that of the hunter was much more so. But to ensure success, we must advance together, quietly and warily, until within two gun-shots of the herd. If, on the contrary, as is the case when the half-breeds have no acknowledged leader, those possessed of fleet horses advance at full speed, leaving to the others no chance to secure a portion of the prey, there arise discord, quarrels, hatred, and all their train of evils.

33. The instinct of the buffalo causes them to huddle closely together when pursued. The males, if separated from the cows, then rejoin them; the latter, however, being the swiftest, always keeping in the front ranks. To reach them, therefore, it becomes necessary to pierce the dense phalanx of bulls, which is a dangerous experiment. During the hunt of the previous summer, an Indian, thrown headlong from his horse, which had been overturned by a bull, was made the sport of the latter for several minutes, being tossed into the air repeatedly, and each time received, bleeding and



Drawn by Captⁿ S. Eastman. U.S.A.

Pl. 13

Engᵈ by J.C. McRae.

HUNTING THE BUFFALO.

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lacerated, upon the sharp horns of the infuriated beast. To give an idea of the monstrous strength of these animals, it is sufficient to state, that one of them in traversing the line of carts, struck a vehicle to which a horse was attached, and which was laden at the time with more than a thousand pounds' weight, and hurled it over and over three or four times.

34. Another great danger to which the hunter is exposed, is that of finding himself in the direction of the bull~~s~~ets, which are sped heedlessly on every side, and whistle in a frightful manner, while the whirlwinds of dust prevent any object being seen at a distance of ten yards. Lately, in a chase, one of the men received a bullet in his belly, but, luckily, the wound did not prove to be mortal. On another occasion, the ball traversed the coat, shirt, and flesh of a hunter, and was only arrested by the breast-bone. Providentially, no such accidents occurred to turn our excursion into one of mourning. It can hardly be supposed, that, in view of so many dangers, the horseman can divest himself entirely of a certain apprehension, sufficiently vivid, however, to impress itself upon his countenance.

35. The rapidity with which the half-breeds charge their guns is astonishing, it not being an uncommon occurrence for one of them to shoot down three buffaloes in the space of an acre (*arpent*). Their manner of loading is, not to use wadding after their first shot is discharged. They prime their pieces, then pour powder into the muzzle from the horn, the bullet being taken from the mouth and slipped down on top of the powder, the saliva causes it to adhere sufficiently long for their purpose. The horse, meanwhile, is abandoned to his own guidance, but so admirably are these animals trained, that the mere motion of the body of the master to the one side or the other, is instantly understood and obeyed.

36. After the first day's course, which lasted not more than half an hour, I counted one hundred and sixty-nine cows lying dead upon the plain. The next day one hundred and seventy-seven were killed. The third day, although many of the hunters chose to repose themselves, one hundred and fourteen were destroyed; and on the fourth one hundred and sixty-eight, making, altogether, six hundred and twenty-eight buffalo. It would be supposed that these would suffice for the loading of two hundred and thirteen carts; but such was not the case, many more being needed to complete it. It is true that much of the meat is squandered and lost on account of the careless manner of curing it.

37. The hunt of the day being ended, the quarry is placed upon its knees, and the hind legs are stretched out to their full length, so that the animal is sustained principally upon its belly. (Plate 13.) The small hump is first taken out. This is a protuberance

of flesh about the neck, weighing about three pounds, and is attached to the large hump. The skin is now divided along the back-bone, and is loosened, after which, the operation of slicing and curing is commenced, of which the following are the details, with the technical words used:—

1. *Les depouilles* — are taken from each side of the animal, from the shoulder to the haunches. They are separated from the flesh underneath by a cartilaginous membrane, or thin skin.
2. *Les filets*—are the great muscles, covered with flesh, which connect the shoulder-blades and haunches.
3. *Les bricoles* — two strips of fat, which run from the shoulder to below the neck.
4. *Les petits filets du cou* — small muscles which spring from a point near the end of the gros filets.
5. *Le dessur de croupe* — which begins above the flanks.
6. *Les deux epaules* — the shoulders.
7. *Les dessous d'epaule* — strips of flesh between the sides of the breast-bone and shoulders.
8. *Lepis* — the flat part surrounding and containing the udder.
9. *Le ventre* — the belly.
10. *La panse* — the tripe, esteemed by the half-breeds as a great delicacy.
11. *La grosse basse* — the large hump which has its greatest elevation between the shoulder-blades. It is a mass of flesh covering thin wide bones, which are inclined backwards, like the dorsal fin of a fish. The flesh has a delicious flavor.
12. *Le gras* — the tallow inside the animal.
13. *Les plats cotes* — the ribs.
14. *La croupe* — the rump.
15. *Le brochet* — the breast-bone.
16. *La langue* — the tongue.

28. What remains is left for the wolves. Cutting-up is a labor which brings the sweat from the hunter, but our people display a surprising rapidity and adroitness in performing it. Sometimes, in ten hours' time, as many buffalo have been killed and dissected by one man and his family. The profuse perspiration affects them very much, causing inordinate thirst, so that they take the precaution to supply themselves with a keg of water, which is transported on the cart that *goes to the meat.* When this is neglected, the suffering is almost intolerable, and the means taken in some measure to assuage thirst, is to chew leaves, or even the cartilaginous portion of the nostril of the slain buffalo. If the hunter becomes hungry, he devours the kidneys, which are cooked after a fashion, by immersion in the gall-bladder, or eaten raw.

29. The meat, when taken to the camp, is cut by the women into long strips about a quarter of an inch thick, which are hung upon the lattice-work, prepared for that purpose, to dry. This lattice-work is formed of small pieces of wood placed horizontally, transversely, and equi-distant from each other, not unlike an immense gridiron, and is supported by wooden uprights (trepieds). In a few days the meat is thoroughly desiccated, when it is bent into proper lengths, and tied in bundles of sixty or seventy pounds weight. This is called dried meat (viande seche). Other portions which are destined to be made into *pimikehigan*, or pemican, are exposed to an ardent heat, and thus become brittle, and easily reducible to small particles by the use of a flail; the buffalo-hide answering the purpose of a threshing-floor. The fat, or tallow, being cut up and melted in large kettles of sheet-iron, is poured upon this pounded meat, and the whole mass is worked together with shovels, until it is well amalgamated, when it is pressed, while still warm, into bags made of the buffalo-skin, which are strongly sewed up, and the mixture gradually cools and becomes almost as hard as a rock. If the fat used in this process is that taken from the parts containing the udder, the meat is called *fine pemican*. In some cases, dried fruits, such as the prairie-pear and cherry, are intermixed, which forms what is called *seed pemican*. The lovers of good eating judge the first described to be very palatable; the second, better; the third, excellent. A taureau or pemican weighs from one hundred to one hundred and ten pounds. Some idea may be formed of the immense destruction of buffalo by these people, when it is stated that a whole cow yields one half a bag of pemican, and three-fourths of a bundle of dried meat; so that the most economical calculate that from eight to ten cows are required for the load of a single vehicle.

40. To make the hide into parchment (so called), it is stretched on a frame, and then scraped on the inside with a sharpened bone, and on the outside with a small but sharp-curved iron, proper to remove the hair. This is considered, likewise, the appropriate labor of the women. The men break the bones; which are boiled in water to extract the marrow, to be used for frying, and other culinary purposes. The oil is then poured into the bladder of the animal, which contains, when filled, about twelve pounds; being the yield of the marrow-bones of two buffaloes.

41. In addition to the buffalo, the quadrupeds found in the prairie are the elk, the antelope, the deer, the small prairie-dog, similar to the fox, the badger, the hare (which differs from that found in the woods, being larger and swifter than the latter), the muskrat (remarkable for its fecundity), the wolf (in large numbers, whose interminable howlings during the hours of darkness, prevent those unaccustomed to the wild life of the plains from sleeping), and lastly, the grizzly bear, of which one was seen at Bass-Wood Lake, but escaped from its pursuers.

42. While we coasted along the shore of Devil's Lake, a sheet of water about ten miles long, and two in width, some of the horsemen went off in pursuit of a small herd of cows. One of them fell from his saddle, and was unable to overtake his horse; which continued the chase as if he, of himself, could accomplish great things — so much do these animals become imbued with a passion for this sport!

43. On another occasion, a half-breed left his favorite steed at the camp, to enable him to recruit his strength; enjoining upon his wife the necessity of properly securing the animal, which was not done. Not relishing the idea of being left behind, he started after us, and soon was alongside; and thus he continued to keep pace with the hunters in their pursuit of the buffalo, seeming to await with impatience the fall of some of them to the earth. The chase ended, he came neighing to his master, whom he soon singled out, although the men were dispersed here and there for a distance of miles. When the camp is changed, the lodges are placed in positions so relatively different that the hunter, on his return, is not unfrequently obliged to search a considerable time before he finds his own domicil. Not so with his horse; which, although he may have been left at a considerable distance, comes at a given hour, and without manifesting any signs of uncertainty, marches straight to the proper habitation, and striking the skin door with his fore-foot, demands the measure of barley as the usual and well-earned price of his day's labor.

44. On the 25th we encamped on the Cheyenne, the longest tributary of the Red River of the North. We had here in full view immense herds of buffalo, I myself having counted two hundred and twenty in the area of a single square acre of ground. Both sides of the river were covered with them, as far as the eye could reach. Judge, then, if possible, of the quantity of game upon these prairies. How deplorable that the Hand which distributes daily food from this source to so many people, should not even be known or recognized by the major part of them! For it should be borne in mind that the Christian half-breeds are not to be compared in number with the many nations of savages whose nourishment is constantly and exclusively drawn from the products of the chase.

45. As I almost invariably accompanied the horsemen in their excursions from the camp, I was an eye-witness to a most perilous scene in which they were the actors. They were in close pursuit of a large herd of cows, and at the height of speed, when they arrived *pêle mêle* with the buffalo on the summit of a precipice lined with rocks above and below, man, horse, and chase, falling and rolling over each other in such confusion, that it was difficult to conceive how any escaped instant death, either from the effects of the fall itself, or by being crushed by the ponderous masses. Strange as it may appear, only one man remained senseless upon the ground, and he soon reco-

vered; a couple of horses arose limping, and a few cows had one or more of their legs broken. The hunters who had been dismounted in this frightful melee, arose with yells and shouts, to reassure their companions, regained their saddles, and resumed the pursuit, making their whips to crack, so as to recover their lost ground; for it may well be believed that the herd had not meanwhile awaited their convenience. So soon as I was satisfied that no serious accident had occurred, I spurred forward my steed, and discharged my gun at a cow, which immediately subsided. I arrested my career, although strongly tempted to proceed, for I felt that I would have no excuse in further exposing myself to peril and to blame.

46. One of the half-breeds, in returning from the chase, followed the windings of the stream, and observed signs of beaver along its banks. The day following he caught five of these amphibia in his steel traps. I was led by curiosity to go and examine the dam which they had constructed, and most admirable was the workmanship. Although no wood was to be found save willows of the size of one's finger, yet the dam was so solidly constructed of this apparently frail material, that it served as a bridge for the buffalo. I myself crossed the stream upon it with my horse.

47. The supply of fire-wood which had been brought from Pembina being entirely consumed, our people had to use the dung of the buffalo for fuel. This, when dry, produces an ardent but transient flame, sufficient for cooking our daily food; but it evolves a smoke which, to the nasal organs of a stranger, is far from being agreeable. The want of wood interfered much with the curing of the meat, the sun not having sufficient power to dry it. It became necessary, therefore, to change our locality, and shape our course to the islands of timber in the vicinity of Basswood lake. This spot is most picturesque, and the views from it varied and beautiful. The lake, which is in a basin surrounded with hills, is extremely salt, but the springs which flow into it afford an abundance of pure fresh water. The slopes of the surrounding eminences are well furnished with oak, ash, and bass-wood. From the top of the hills we discover at no great distance the Dog's Lodge, a mound which serves as a look-out place for the Sioux Indians when engaged in war. In another direction are the heights called *Les Grands Coteaux*, which extend to and beyond the Missouri, on a parallel line with the Stony Mountains.

48. Arrived at this point on the second of October, we remained until the sixteenth, being during that time constantly in the midst of the buffalo. On the tenth we had a heavy fall of snow, when the mercury fell to 5° below zero, where it continued for two days, and the lake was frozen over. Six days after, the weather had so much moderated that no snow was left upon the ground. The cold had by no means retarded our labors. On the contrary, each one, fearing a premature winter, worked day and

night, the more indolent usually being now the most untiring, as they had good reason to apprehend that they would be left behind by their more industrious companions.

49. I cannot close my remarks relative to the buffalo without giving you a just idea of their size and conformation. As is the case with others of the animal creation, the male is considerably larger than the female. The horns of the bull scarcely emerge from the dense mass of hair which covers a part of the head and neck, and gives them a startling appearance; while the cow, not being provided with such a profusion of hair, her jutting and more curved horns make her distinguishable from her mate at quite a distance. I measured a bull of middle size, and found that he was eight feet nine inches in girth, nine feet two inches long, twenty inches from the nose to the top of the head, length of tail one foot three inches, and twenty inches between the eyes. The longest rib in the rump, with an inclination of twenty degrees on the back-bone, was twenty inches long.

50. Although the summer hunt is the most favorable for catching and domesticating the calves, I was smitten with the desire to secure one. At my request, a hunter pursued and lassoed a youngster, but it died five or six days after of fatigue, as was asserted; but in my opinion its death was caused by ennui, as it refused nourishment and appeared to pine away. In the spring the calves are easily weaned, and when trained to labor become quite useful. One farmer, who had broken a bull to the plough, performed the whole work of the field with his aid alone.

51. Finally, on the sixteenth of October we resumed our march homewards, having upon our carts the proceeds of 1776 cows, which formed 228 pemican bags, 1213 bales of dried meat, 166 boskoyas or sacks of tallow, each weighing 200 pounds, and 556 bladders of marrow of twelve pounds each. The value of these articles was about £1700, from which deducting £200 for the actual expenses of the trip and the wages of certain hired men, there remained £1500 to compensate fifty-five hunters and their families for two months labor, computing from the day of our departure to that of our return.

III. ANTIQUITIES. D.

[4th Paper, Title III.]

TITLE III.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, ANTIQUITIES.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE III.

TITLE III., LET. A., VOL. I.

General Archæology. Antique Skill in Fortification. Erection of Tumuli. Vestiges of Labor in the Mississippi Valley. Antique Horticultural Beds. State of Arts and Miscellaneous Fabrics. Attempts at Mining and Metallurgy. Ante-Columbian Antiquities. Question of Antique Inscriptions. Dighton Rock—an Example of the Indian Kekeewin.

TITLE III., LET. B., VOL. II.

Evidences of Indian Antiquities, continued. Truncated Mounds, or Platform Residences, of the Florida Indians. Antique Enclosures and small Mounds on Cunningham's Island, Lake Erie. Inscription Rock. Description of Archæological Articles from South Carolina and New York. Embankment and Excavations on an Island at the Source of the Wisconsin and Ontonagon Rivers.

TITLE III., LET. C., VOL. III.

Record of Newly-discovered Antiquities, continued. Pictographic Inscription from the banks of the Hudson. Antique Pottery from the Mounds of Florida and Georgia. Antique Colored Pottery from the banks of the River Gila, New Mexico. Explanation of the Inscription in the Character of the Kekeewin, from Lake Erie. Ancient Metallic Plates exhibited at the Muscogee busks.

TITLE III., LET. D., VOL. IV.

(*a.*) A sketch of the Antiquities of the United States. The true Type of Ancient Semi-Civilization and Aboriginal Art, denoted by Antiquities. Indian Art, Architecture, Fortification, and Agriculture, at the close of the Fifteenth Century. Intrusive Elements of Art. Considerations of the various proofs of Art in the Mississippi Valley. Their Object, Character, and Age. Testimony of General G. R. Clark, and other Western Pioneers and Observers. Summary of Facts. Metallurgy. Pottery. Sculpture. Ancient Cloth from the Mounds. Antique Copper-mining on Lake Superior. Pictographic Inscriptions from the Alleghany River. Fort Hill of Elmira. (*b.*) An Essay on the Congaree Indians of South Carolina. (*c.*) New elementary Facts in the current discovery of American Archæology.

ANTIQUITIES. D.

(A.) A SKETCH OF THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE CHARACTER AND TYPE OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN ART CONSIDERED—THE NUMBER, POSITION, AND CHARACTER OF THE WESTERN TUMULI, AND DEFENSIVE EARTH-WORKS—THE PURE HUNTER STATE ONE OF ANARCHY, FEROCITY, AND DEPOPULATION—THE INTRUSION OF FOREIGN ELEMENTS INTO THE ARTS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY—ROMAN, GRECIAN, ICELANDIC, ERSE, CELTIC, AND TOLTEC ELEMENTS CONSIDERED—RAPID DECLINE OF INDIAN ARTS ON THE DISCOVERY—STATE OF THESE ARTS, AND OF THE INDIAN POWER, AT THAT EPOCH.

ANTIQUITIES are destined to throw some of the strongest lights on Indian history. Philology furnishes, indeed, the true key to unlock the ancient affinities of nations, as revealed by their languages; but we perceive in monuments, and vestiges of art and labor, a species of evidence that, so far as it goes, every one is ready to admit. It speaks a rude symbolic language, in which the alphabet is, ruins and fragments of broken architecture, statuary, tumuli, and earth-works, and other evidences of the by-gone energies of men, which can hardly be mistaken. These vestiges restore the true type of arts, and tell in unmistakeable tones, the story of ancient manners, customs, and employments.

It is from these *membra disjecta* that we must erect the edifice of the ancient civilization of nations. Greece is not less surely known by her temples, architecture, and monuments of the fine arts, than by her literature, history, and poetry; and were the latter swept from existence, her monumental remains alone, would attest her intellectual supremacy. We judge of Egypt in the same manner. Her style of architecture, and her hieroglyphics, disclose a peculiar line of arts. Her literature is, in fact, written in pyramids and architectural ruins; which seem, by their indestructibility, to defy time. Something of the same kind may be said of the yet older wrecks of civilization in exhumed Nineveh and Babylon, as exhibited by the recent researches of Layard.

Devoid of letters as this period was, except the lights we obtain through the pages of the Pentateuch, (Layard's Second Expedition, p. 611), and from the uniform characters deciphered by modern archæologists on blocks of stone and bricks, these remains of the Tigris and Euphrates yet speak of a type of civilization as distinct from that of Egypt, as the latter is from that of Greece or ancient Rome; or as these are from the Gothic and Celtic monuments of the Mediæval ages.

When the lofty models of ancient art come to be compared with the rude scarifications of the surface of the soil, the heaps of earth, and the inartificial ditches, mounds, and earth-works found within the limits of the United States of North America, it is not difficult to perceive that we have wandered very far from the ancient seats of arts and civilization of the old world, and are surrounded by the merest vestiges of barbarism.

Our aborigines have also wandered far from the prototypes of architecture found at the seats of the semi-civilized tribes of Peru and Mexico. The monuments of Palenqué, of Cholulu, and of Cusco, appear, indeed, to bear silent and mysterious witness of the transference of some of the Asiatic models, in a peculiar form, to the New World. But these arts and institutions, if thus derived, did not extend, in their highest state, to the northern latitudes of the continent occupied by the area of the United States, which was filled, not densely, by brave, roving, and predatory tribes of hunters, who pursued their enemies with the rapacity of wolves, and where they were found to be most advanced in the social scale, had not consolidated their institutions.

They could, where the fertility of the soil enabled them in accumulated numbers to dwell together, erect a tumulus, to serve as the apex of a sacrifice, to lift the residence of a ruler above the plain of the village, or, it may be, to constitute his rude mausoleum. They were very apt in occupying acute and isolated geological eminences for the same purposes. They sometimes placed their dead in natural caves in the limestone and sandstone rock. But they were themselves satisfied to live in huts built of temporary materials. They also cultivated limited fields of the zea maize, but their main reliance was the flesh of the wild animals whom they chased through magnificent and almost boundless forests. They adopted their totems or armorial badges for their triumphs in these scenes; and they turned with the ferocity of the tiger and megalonyx on other tribes of hunters of the same generic stocks, who presumed to trench on their hunting-grounds. If they fortified a village, in their warfare, it was some sharp defile or commanding point, or a gorge, or eminences where nature had done nearly all the work. They were natural engineers of this forest-castrementation. Their art and skill were adequate to resist an attack of barbarian tribes, who knew no more, in this line, than themselves. But to dignify these remains by the name of monuments of military science or geometrical art, evinces an entire misconception of the people of this era. It was an era in which savage tribes contended for mastery by such arts and skill as savage tribes knew. The question of boundaries was ever one of vital importance, but it was one that perpetually changed and fluctuated. The area of this field of conflict, estimating it from the mouth to the source of the Mississippi, and from the banks of the Missouri to the Atlantic, reached a thousand miles from south to north, and not less than eighteen hundred from west to east. But while they evinced the ferocity of tigers, wolves, and vultures, they fell under an equal law of the rapacity of species; and their numbers, which, by fixed industry, would have swelled to millions, were continually thinned by war and disease; and hence it is that entire tribes have passed from existence, and their bones are daily turned up by the plough, in every fertile plain and valley between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

We stand in the Mississippi valley, beholding, indeed, immense forests of exuberant fertility, where nature has wrought on a magnificent scale, but where man, in the long centuries which preceded the discovery, has done but little—very little. There are some evidences which remotely connect the tribes of the Mississippi valley at ancient and unknown periods, with the tribes of ancient Central America. Traces of a similar mode of the general expression of ideas in the language of pictographs; traces of the worship of the sun and moon; of a national trait in erecting the residences of their priests and leaders on terraces or teocalli; general agreements in arts and in the physical and moral types; together with a general unity in manners and customs, all bespeak similarity of origin.

These evidences relate primarily to periods either after the culminating of the Toltec and Aztec dynasties, or before they had fully consolidated their power. They are clearly posterior to the era of the semi-civilization of Mexico, Peru, and Yucatan.

A very striking evidence of the commercial element of a more intimate connection of the original masses of tribes and their progression northward, is preserved by the zea maize, a tropical plant, which propagated itself northwardly and eastwardly with the spread of the tribes. The cotton-plant does not appear from De Vaca to have reached much north of the Gila, or east of the Rio Grande. The vast and naked plain of Texas—the co-terminous link between ancient Florida (the present United States) and Mexico—is entirely without aboriginal monuments of any kind, (Vide Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies;) and the ancient line of Mexican semi-civilization cannot be extended beyond the latitude of Cicuyé, on the sources of the River Pecos of New Mexico, N. lat. 36°, and long. 104°, a point visited by Coronado in 1542, (Vide Kern, *anté*, Gen. History.)

The tobacco-plant supplies a similar species of historical proof. This plant, at the earliest dates, was confined to the latitudes of the area of the Southern States, whence it was an article of traffic with the more northern tribes. It had not reached and become an article of cultivation as far as the southern borders of the Great Lakes, at the breaking out of the war of 1812, at which time the supplies of it, required by Tecumseh for his negotiations, were obtained through the traders from Virginia and Kentucky. (Vide Fletcher on the Winnebagoes, Title II., *anté*.)

ANCIENT EPOCH OF INDIAN ARTS.

IN contemplating the evidences of occupancy in the present area of the United States prior to 1492, the epoch of acknowledged history, we are compelled either to discriminate, making distinct periods of the actual vestiges of the several elements of population, or to admit the proof of such elements as existing prior to, and contemporaneously with, the Spanish and the aboriginal or Indian period. It is undeniable that by doing this, confusion of the particular arts of races is avoided, and the Indian type of occupancy left more clear and fixed.

We may dismiss entirely from this consideration all such vague traditions and speculations of reproduced Grecian and Roman imaginations, and of pseudo-ethnology of modern date, (Vide London Ethnological Journal), as regards the Mediterranean Sea as the inceptive area of commercial energies here. That the Grecians or Romans, by any sober probabilities, reached the American continent, and left monuments here at any time or place before the close of the fifteenth century, is by no means probable, and the observations made before the Amer. Ethno. Society, on the supposed discovery of a Grecian inscription in the Mississippi valley, by a writer who has entered the lists as an ardent advocate for a higher civilization in the ancient inhabitants of that valley than its monuments denote, proves the caution which is required in discussions of this kind.[1]

The proofs which have been produced of the claim of the Scandinavians to have visited and discovered the north Atlantic coasts of America, reaching from Newfoundland to about 41° 30′, rest on entirely different grounds. And the archæologist is under obligations to admit and acknowledge the vestiges of this epoch of discovery, whenever they occur. The periods of these visits, landings, and settlements, temporary or permanent, admitting the Copenhagen record, (see Antiquitates Americana), extends from A. D. 1000 to 1347, in which latter year the records of the sagas notice the last voyage from Greenland to Markland (Nova Scotia). It is not affirmed by the historians and scholars of the north that a settlement, continuous for years, existed during all this period of more than three hundred years, if for any considerable part of it; but that this was the general era, during which, the inhabitants of the coasts of Greenland and America were cognizant of each other, and during which these seas remained open to Iceland voyagers and adventurers. Nor do these evidences make the Northmen the discoverers of the tropical latitudes of the United States. They hint, however, an earlier period of discovery and settlement by the Erse or Celts of Iceland, on the coasts lying between Virginia and Florida, a region known under the Icelandic name of *Huitramannaland*, i. e., the land of white men; (Humboldt's Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 607).

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[1] AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY.—Mr. Ephraim G. Squier, who is referred to in this allusion, abruptly entered the field of American archæology, by a paper for the Smithsonian Institution, published in its contributions for 1838, which created high expectations of future promise. These are not sustained by his work on the Serpent Symbol, which there is no possibility of considering a contribution to American archæology. That the New Orleans Picayune hoax of a recently-found Grecian inscription in the Mississippi valley, should have impressed itself on one who had been an observer in the field of Indian antiquities, would indicate that this archæologist had entertained theories of a far higher antique civilization in that quarter than are inferable from even his own testimonies of the "Monuments."

The testimony of the Icelandic sagas rests on proofs which are admitted by historians, although but lately introduced into the field. But there is a species of proof brought forward in this connection, which is of a wholly different character. We allude to the use which has been made of the Dighton Rock inscription, and the very modern structure which has been denominated "Newport Ruin." These are conceived to be fallacious as histrionic proofs. The former (Part I., and Part IV., Title III.) is a well-characterized pictographic inscription, due to the Indians; the latter, an economical structure, built, probably, after the landing of the Pilgrims, or in the reign of Charles II. (Vide Letters of Dr. Webb, herewith.)

There is a single written Indian tradition, put on record in 1825, by David Cusic, an educated Tuscarora, of the Ante-Columbian wreck of a ship from Europe on the North Carolina or southern coasts, and of the origin of a colony of white men, from the survivors of that wreck. "These survivors," he remarks, "obtained some implements, and after many years the foreign people became numerous, and extended their settlements;" but they were, in the end, destroyed. (Sketches of the History of the Six Nations, Lewistown, Niagara County, New York, 1825, p. 8.)

M. Charlevoix supposes (Journal of a Voyage to North America, Vol. I., p. 316) that he recognized a Grecian element in the sounds of the sonorous Iroquois language — a remark which is explicable on that principle of vague analogy in listening to strange and barbarous languages, which is adverted to by the philologist, W. Von Humboldt. (Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 609.)

The same idea of a Greek element in the Iroquois has been advanced in modern times, but wholly, it is conceived, without logical or admissible proofs.[1] If the Iroquois language is to be compared with the Greek, there should be shown some analogies in its grammatical construction, and not alone disjointed examples given in the lexicography. I found, in 1845, a dual in the Oneida and Onondaga dialects, which is the greatest refinement I have found to exist in any American Indian language. The nearest approach, in delicacy of thought, to this grammatical trait, I observed among the Chippewa family of the Algonquins at St. Mary's Falls, at the foot of Lake Superior, in 1822. That family possess an *inclusive* and an *exclusive* plural pronoun, in the first person. (Vide Title IX., Part. I.)

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[1] The late Mr. Gallatin speaks of a middle voice, in the Indian language, resembling the Greek. (Am. Eth. Trans., Vol. I.) In 1836, Giles F. Yates, Esq., read a paper before the New York Historical Society, in which an ingenious and strenuous use was made of this analogy of sounds in the Greek and Iroquois.

CELTIC TRADITION.

Assertions of a Celtic element in the Indian languages of the ancient Huitramannaland, (Virginia), have frequently been made. These first originated in America, in 1782, in certain accounts given by Isaac Stuart, of South Carolina, an early Western trader. They have been repeated in various forms, at successive periods, by Davey, Sutton, Hicks, Lewis, Beaty, Rogers, and Filson. The last notices of the subject are given by Mr. G. Catlin. (Vide Letters and Notes). The discovery of a Welsh element in the Indian languages is wholly without proof of a philological character; nor can it ever be determined, without full and accurate vocabularies of the several Indian languages involved. Hasty observers may have been easily mistaken by accidental analogies of sound, in hearing languages which are so strange to European ears as the Indian; and we feel assured that, in the present state of the knowledge of the principles of the Indian languages in the United States, there has not been the slightest discovery of that Welsh, or any other form of the Celtic. In 1847, I published a vocabulary of three hundred Tuscarora words obtained from William Chew, an approved interpreter in that nation, at their residence in Niagara County, N. Y., which proves it to be a marked idiom of the Iroquois. It is entirely free from the peculiar consonantal sounds of the Welsh, in *ll* and *th*, and without lexicographical resemblances. (Notes on the Iroquois, p. 393).

Some inscriptive testimony has been referred to in this discussion. An inscription in, apparently, some form of the Celtic character, came to light in the Ohio valley, in 1838. This relic occurred in one of the principal tumuli of western Virginia (the ancient Huitramannaland). It purports to be of an apparently early period, namely, 1328. (Trans. Amer. Ethn. Soc., Vol. I., p. 380.) It is in the Celtiberic character, but has not been deciphered.[1] Its archæology appears corroborative of the Cimbrian and the Tuscarora traditions respecting a white race in Ante-Columbian periods, in this part of America. This fact was announced to the Royal Geographical Society of London, in 1842. (Vide its Journal.) A more full account of it is given in the Transactions of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. I., p. 269. A perfect copy of the inscription, taken from the stone in sealing-wax, with full details of its geographical position, is given in an anterior page of this work (Part I., p. 120). M. Jomard, on receiving a copy of this inscription from Mr. Vail, deems it to be of Lybian origin. This comprises the Celtic testimony, so far as it has been revealed or recorded.[2]

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[1] C. C. Rafn. Vide Mémoires de la Société Royal des Antiquaires du Nord, Copenhagen, 1840—1843.

[2] That the Welsh language should have sunk itself in the Toltec and Aztec, is an idea of philological interest. The *l* and *ll* abounded in both these languages. The Aztecs asserted the origin of the reigning family and the descent of Quétzalcoatl from the East; and the period of their founding the empire in the valley of Mexico corresponds so generally with the time of the disappearance of Madoc from Britain, sailing westwardly, that it has served the purposes of Southey, in his once-celebrated poem of MADOC.

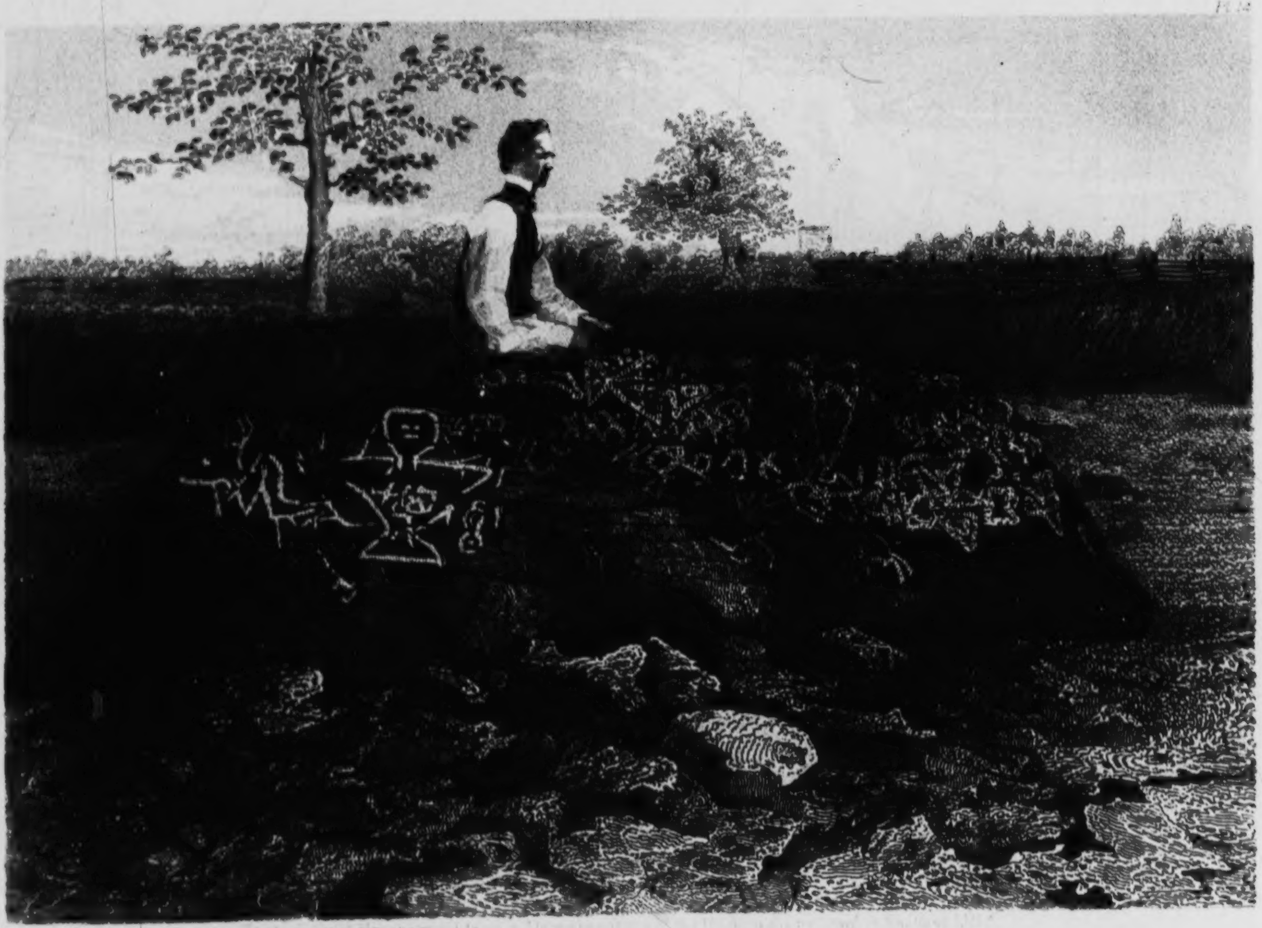
SCANDINAVIAN CLAIMS.

The evidences of the Scandinavian element of occupancy are contained in the body of Icelandic Sagas and Eddas of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have been published in 1837, in the Antiquates Americanes. These evidences embrace the maritime, historical, and literary record of the ages quoted; and it has been exhibited with such references to the state of ancient geographical and astronomical science, during the mediæval ages, as secures respect. Most stress is laid, by the Danish historians, on the narrations of Eric the Red, Thorfinn Harlsefne, and Snorre Thorbrandsson, which are ascribed to the twelfth century. These data are considered with the exactitude of the ancient system of Icelandic genealogical tables. (Vide Rafn. Anti. Amer.) A Runic inscription was discovered in the autumn of 1824, on the summit of the island of Kingiktorsoah, in Baffin's Bay, in the latitude of 72° 55′, which yielded the date of A. D. 1135. Other monuments of a similar character, bearing inscriptions, have been found at Igalikko and Egregrit, in latitude 60° 51′. Ruins of buildings at Upernavik, in latitude 72° 50′, further indicate that these northern seas and gulfs were well known to, and freely visited by the Greenland fishermen and adventurers, during the era of of these American discoveries. (Cosmos, Vol. II., p. 605.)

The area of Massachusetts and Rhode Island has been in vain appealed to for equally satisfactory monuments of Scandinavian occupancy. It is quite admissible, however, that these coasts should have been visited in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The ancient inscription on a boulder of greenstone rock lying in the margin of the Assonet, or Taunton river, in the area of ancient Vinland, was noticed by the New England colonists so early as 1680, when Dr. Danforth made a drawing of it. This outline, together with several subsequent copies of it, at different eras, reaching to 1830, all differing considerably in their details, but preserving a certain general resemblance, is presented in the Antiquates Americanes (Tab. XI., XII.), and referred to the same era of Scandinavian discovery. The imperfections of the drawings (including that executed under the auspices of the Rhode Island Historical Society, in 1830, Tab. XII.), and the recognition of some characters bearing more or less resemblance to antique Roman letters and figures, may be considered to have misled Mr. Magnusen in his interpretation of it. From whatever cause, nothing could, it would seem, have been wider from the purport and true interpretation of it. It is of purely Indian origin, and is executed in the peculiar symbolic character of the Kekeewin. (Vol. I., Title VI.) Having examined the mode of communicating ideas by symbolic figures, practised by the Indians of the West, there could be no hesitation, judging by the Copenhagen plates, that this inscription was of that character. I furnished a paper, in 1839, for the Biblical Repository, conducted at New York by Dr. Absalom Peters, expressing this view, and taking the distinct ground that the inscription could not be regarded as a specimen of any known form of the Runic, of any age, however remote or eccentric. Having visited the locality of the Dighton Rock, and examined the inscription, in 1847, its true character, as an example of the ideographic system of the Indians, was clearly revealed to my mind. I had no hesitation in adopting an interpretation of it made in 1837 by an Algonquin pictographist, called Chingwauk, in which he determined it to be the memorial of an ancient Indian battle. The details of this are given in Part I., p. 114. It was perceived that no exact representation of it had ever been made, and no new attempt to make one was then attempted, being without proper apparatus; certain discrepancies were pointed out in Part I., Plate 36, of this work. These, after a lapse of six years, are indicated in a daguerreotyped view of the inscription, taken during the summer of the present season (1853). By this process of transferring the original inscription from the rock, it is shown to be a uniform piece of Indian pictography. A professed daguerreotypist from Taunton attended the artist (Capt. E.) on this occasion. On the uniform dark surface of the rock, no incidence of light could be obtained, after the most careful cleansing of the surface, sufficient in power to reflect the lines of the inscription. These lines are deeply sunk, as if by rubbing with a hard substance; and appear, when carefully studied, of nearly uniform breadth. As the solar rays are, however, reflected with great perfectness from a white surface, the lines were traced with chalk, with great care and labor, preserving their original width. On applying the instrument to the surface, the impression herewith presented (Plate 14) was given. It presents a unity of original drawing, corresponding to the Indian system, which cannot fail to strike the observer. It is entirely Indian, and is executed in the symbolic character which the Algonquins call Kekeewin,—i. e., teachings. The fancied resemblances to old forms of the Roman letters or figures, which appear on the Copenhagen copies, wholly disappear. The only apparent exception to this remark, is the upright rhomboidal figure, resembling some forms of the ancient ◊, but which appears to be an accidental resemblance. No trace appears, or could be found by the several searches, of the assumed Runic letter Thor, which holds a place on former copies. Rock inscriptions of a similar character have, within a few years, been found in other parts of the country; which denotes the prevalence of this system among the aboriginal tribes, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It is more peculiarly an Algonquin trait, and the inscriptions are called by them Muzzinábiks, or rock-teachings; while the elements of the system itself are called, as above stated, Kekeewin and Kekeenowin. Nor does this discovery militate against the general body of Scandinavian testimony respecting the Ante-Columbian discoveries in America. That testimony remains undisputed, even in more southerly latitudes of the United States. These comprise the notices of the Scandinavian monuments of the United States, so far as they have been recognized.

It may be proper, in closing this summary of monumental proofs of the Scandi-

Pl. 14



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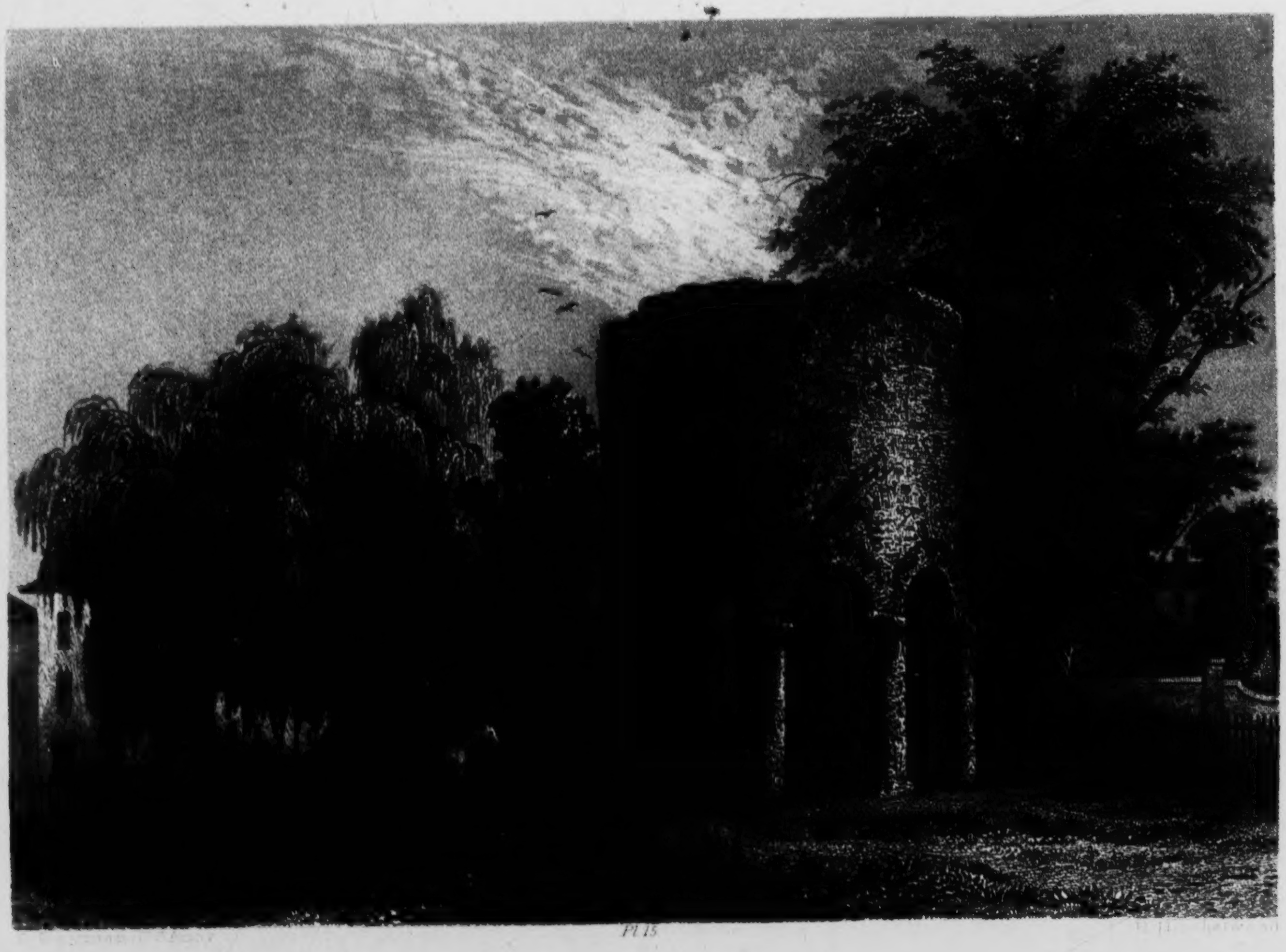

Pl. 15

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navian era in the United States, to advert to the so-called "Newport Ruin," of which a correct engraving, identifying the style of architecture, taken by Captain S. Eastman for this work, is given (Plate 15). The details brought forward by the Rev. Edward Petersen (vide Hist. Rhode Island, pp. 168, 171, 175), denote that this structure did not exist on the first settlement of Newport, and that it cannot be traced back to the origin of the Rhode Island colony, in 1638. Evidence is produced that it was erected for the simple purposes of a windmill, by Benedict Arnold, the first governor of that colony, after an approved plan of construction first introduced into England, as we elsewhere learn, by the noted architect Inigo Jones.

This subject, having been originally commented on by Dr. Thomas H. Webb, at the request of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians at Copenhagen, has been referred to that gentleman for his maturer remarks on a rather anomalous question in American archæology; at least one that was misunderstood in the earlier period of our antiquities. His observations are hereto appended, together with a new and carefully-drawn view of the structure, which is now, at least, standing at one of our most celebrated watering-places, a curiosity as well as an architectural "ruin," if shorn of a higher character. (Vide sequel.)

INDIAN PERIOD OF ART.

THESE details of a portion of the proofs of the ante-Columbian occupancy of America properly precede the consideration of its Indian antiquities, and leave us free to investigate the state of Indian art, as it existed at, and prior to, the epoch of the discovery. It is essential clearly to establish this state of art, and to keep it constantly in view during the great and violent changes wrought in the whole frame of Indian society, arts, and institutions, at separate periods, by the introduction of European knowledge, arts, and fabrics. It may be asserted that whatever the arts of the aborigines were, at the various latitudes in which the civilization of Europe came into contact or conflict with them, these latter arts were sure to decline before the superior European skill and knowledge. For, if an Algonquin or an Iroquois on the Atlantic coast could, in 1500, manufacture a very good earthen pot or a splendid bow and arrow, he would not many years continue to cultivate these arts, when he could, by the exchange of a few skins, obtain in place of the one a light brass kettle, and for the other, a gun. Nor would he long continue to clothe himself with lynx, black-fox, and beaver skins, when for a tithe of their worth he could procure the woollen blankets and cloths of England, France, and Holland. He might prefer, indeed, to carve and engrave his pipe from fissile stones, as he did of yore, but it was inevitable that the state of native art should decline. We must admit that the ancient Indian was a better artist than the modern. This is a fundamental truth in our archæology.

It is not supposable that a superior and inferior state of art could long flourish together at the same latitudes and longitudes in America. Would a hunter continue to make fire by percussion, when the price of a single marten's skin would purchase him half-a-dozen gun-flints and a fire-steel, by which he could accomplish his object as if by magic, wherever he roved? A pound of linen net-thread, or a dozen hooks, would save him the labor of weeks in fabricating his native hemp, or scraping into hook-shape the condyle of a muskrat, or a pickerel's dorsal spine. Such rude arts as the weaving of rushes or shot bags by the hard labour of women, might continue. But the exhibition of a fathom of scarlet or green, or even list-cloth, would sweep into utter insignificance, in the warrior's mind, all interest in macerating and dyeing the inner bark of the linodendron, or drawing figures on the brain-dressed skin of the finest doe. The gorget of white pearl or pink nacre of the sea-conch; the necklace of minute univalves gathered on the sea-beach, and the heavy bracelet of native copper, would be at once replaced by glittering and eagerly-sought ornaments of silver. And what likelihood existed that an axe of stone or a trap of wood, however ingeniously constructed, or the spear of bone, should long retard the introduction among the tribe, of articles of superior workmanship, made from the best of steel? Considerable as was the art of the Indian in 1500, it fell, therefore, suddenly before the presence of civilization.

Pottery was an Indian art that was carried to much practical perfection, and was well adapted to all purposes of cookery and forest housewifery; and this art, from the mere cheapness of the article, as the product chiefly of female skill, would survive longer in remote positions. But it fell into disuse between the Atlantic and Mississippi almost immediately on the settlement of New France. Wherever the Indian was superseded by the European article, be it metal, porcelain, or mineral matter, the latter was preferred. The gun, the vase of earthen, the brass kettle, the fire-steel, and the flint, were thus committed to the grave, when the owner died, under the impression that he would require them in another state; and these articles, where they have still survived decomposition, are the best tests of the age of the buried corpse.

The Indians of St. Domingo, Cuba, and the entire group of the Caribbean Islands, at the close of the 15th century, had little skill beyond the formation of their implements, canoes, and light abodes and fabrics of personal ornament; and little that denoted art, in the European sense of the word. In Hayti, the natives gathered small quantities of gold in the diluvial gorges of their highlands, which they wore as ornaments. But they were neither miners nor metallurgists. In physical traits and manners they were deemed to be Asiatics, resembling the tribes who, at that era, thronged the ports of the East Indies; and this resemblance satisfied the discoverers, without minutely examining the question of arts.

It was not, in fine, until Cortez reached Cholula and the valley of Mexico, twenty-eight years after the discovery, that the Mexican type of semi-civilization was discovered, and the surprise excited by this, was carried to a still greater height in a few years, by the buildings and institutions found by Pizarro at Cusco and Quito. These constituted two marked types of semi-civilization, differing from each other; in which the political and social condition of the rulers and gentry of the tribes was exalted, with but little or no effect, however, upon the moral sentiment. There is a Peruvian tradition, that the dynastic element was foreign; and a strong suspicion exists that Manco Capac had an oriental origin different in type or time from the mass; for it was this superiority that the Children of the Sun asserted.

TOLTECAN EPOCH.

It is not proposed to re-examine these two ancient forms of Indian society, or to analyse their architecture, astronomy, or civil polity. And they are only here referred to, as furnishing points of comparison in speaking of the condition of the tribes of the present area of the United States, at the time of its discovery and first settlement.

On one topic only, namely, the state of metallic art at the discovery, has it been deemed proper to re-examine the facts. It was desirable to be more surely informed on the native mode of weaving; the skill of the Indian gold and silversmiths; the question of bronze and bronze-cutting instruments, and, as a consequence, the general state of aboriginal arts and artizans. These topics have been examined by Mr. Thomas Ewbank, and the results are given in Title X., on the ancient "State of Indian Art."

Art and opinion, agriculture and religion, were propagated northward, but they did not keep an equal pace. There were evidences that the worship of the sun had passed the 30° of north latitude, and had been introduced into ancient Florida and the Mississippi valley, and spread indeed, as an acknowledged dogma, among the tribes who went north-eastwardly across the Alleghanian chain. The tribe of the Natchez are known to have recognized and practised the impressive system of sun-worship so late as the settlement of the French in Louisiana, (Du Pratz), and its rites are carried by Algonquin tradition even to the banks of Lake Superior. (Ontwa Notes.)

PERIOD OF DE SOTO.

When De Soto returned from his explorations west of the Mississippi, in 1542, he proposed to his followers to found a colony on the east banks of the Mississippi, among the Quigualtanji, who were fire-worshippers and manifestly identical with the ancient Natchez, (Vide Vol. III., p. 49).

There were no temples, teocalli, or builings, north of the central latitude of the Gila; but there were artificial constructions or heaps of earth, which bore a certain resemblance to the teocalli of Mexico in the shape of mounds, with this difference, namely, that the mounds were simply truncated, so as to receive a structure of wood; whereas the teocalli consisted of several terraces. These mounds were also imposing though generally small, reaching from nine to ninety feet elevation, and spreading over a diameter from twenty to six hundred and sixty-six feet. (Vide Vol. I., Plate V). De Soto encountered two stockaded works, built of timber, namely, at Mauvila, where he fought his great battle, and at the mouth of the Yazoo river; but he nowhere witnessed structures of stone for either purposes of defence or of worship. Neither did he observe any statues or figures sculptured from stone, other than the miniature sculpture of pipe-bowls, cut, generally, from soft materials, which is an art of the existing tribes of Indians; an art which is believed to be the only one of their ancient peaceful ones that the United States Indians have retained, in their descendants, to the present day.

De Soto, on reaching "Talise," in 1540, found it to be "fortified with ramparts of earth and strong palisades." (Irving's Conquest of Florida, p. 253). The same degree of art, but exhibited more elaborately, was found in the defences of the larger town of Mauvila. "This fortress stood in a fine plain, and was surrounded by a high wall formed of huge trunks of trees driven into the ground, side by side, and wedged together. These were crossed within and without by smaller and longer pieces, bound to them by bands made of split reeds and wild vines. The whole was thickly plastered over with a kind of mortar made of clay and straw tramped together, which filled up every chink and crevice of the wood-work, so that it appeared as if smoothed with a trowel. Throughout its whole circuit the wall was pierced, at the height of a man, with loop-holes, whence arrows might be discharged at an enemy, and at every fifty paces it was surmounted by a tower capable of holding seven or eight fighting-men." (Conq. of Flor., p. 262). This was the highest state of the building art De Soto found in Florida. On reaching Chicaza, the Indian village, though finely located on an eminence, was built of "reeds and straw," (p. 295). On reaching the Yazoo, De Soto came in sight of an Indian fortress called Alibamo, (p. 203). It was "built in the form of a quadrangle, of strong palisades. The four sides were each four hundred paces in length. Within, the fort was traversed from side to side by two other palisades, dividing it into separate parts. In the outer wall were three portals, so low and narrow that a man could not enter them mounted on a horse," (p. 304). Thus far, De Soto, in his march across Florida, had found no Indians making a stand for defence at a mound. On reaching the village of Chisca, on the banks of the Mississippi, he found the dwelling of the chief and his family seated on "a high artificial mound" (p. 310), ascended by two ladders or cased steps. But it was evidently not regarded by the Indians as a "fortress," for not only did they not assemble there to fight, but the enraged chief, on seizing his arms to join the fray, attempted immediately to descend to the plain to engage in the fight; and on the conclusion of a verbal treaty, it was remarkable that the Indian ruler stipulated that the Spaniards should not ascend his honored, and, perhaps sacred, platform-mound, (p. 312). Here seemed the sentiment of sacredness attached to the priest's residence on a Mexican teocalli.

It is stated (Vide Vol. II., p. 83) that the dwellings of the caciques of Florida in 1540, were uniformly erected on high truncated mounds, or artificial platforms; and that the first structure, in locating a new village, was the chief's platform, which was made of earth carried from other places. Around this artificial nucleus the populace built their huts. Garcilaso de la Vega, who was himself, by the mother's side, the descendant of an Inca, and who may therefore be supposed to have known the respect due to an aboriginal ruler, states this. (Pickett's History of Alabama, Vol. I., p. 165). These platform mounds extend, in the Mississippi valley, as high as Prairie du Chien, where one of them, deeply truncated, exists, and is now occupied by a gentleman for the purpose of a residence. The celebrated work at Marietta is believed to have been one of those elevated cacique platforms.

TESTIMONY OF MODERN PIONEERS AND OBSERVERS.

West of the Mississippi, where his track was traced thirty-five years ago, as denoted in Title VII., Let. C., (vide, also, Scenes and Adventures in the Ozarks,) De Soto found nothing but barbarian tribes. There was neither fortification nor mound, the tribes being of a decidedly fierce and aggressive character, and exceeding in ferocity any he had encountered east of that great geographical line. To determine the kind and state of art which were necessary to erect the mounds and mound-platform, and characterize the mound-builders, it would facilitate the enquiry by fixing beforehand the object of these structures. Much speculation has been indulged in on this subject. It is apparent, from the body of writers, early and late, that they were intended to be primarily tumuli. This was the opinion of Jefferson (vide Notes on Virginia). They are of all sizes, from an artificial height of a few feet, to eighteen or twenty in circumference, and ninety feet in altitude; sometimes reaching a base of seven hundred feet (Vol. I., p. 52). Their magnitude appears to have been dependent upon the size of the town or village, and the amount of its population. It rested, also, on the fact whether the structure was designed to be a public or a private tumulus, or mausoleum.

No thought existed, at that day, that Indian art could not accomplish these works. "These works," says Governor Cass, an acute observer, "are scattered through the whole valley of the Ohio, and through much of the Mississippi country. They are found as far north, at least, as Lake Pepin. They are not confined to any particular situation. We find them on hills and in valleys; in positions favorable to military defence, and in others where they are completely commanded by elevated ground, and where defence would be impracticable.

"A supply of water has not been deemed an indispensable requisite. Between Detroit and Chicago, in the midst of an immense plain, and remote from any stream, one of these works yet remains. There are others similarly situated with regard to water, and upon the Muskingum there are some on the most barren and elevated hills.

"They are found in every state of preservation and decay. In some, the walls are at least fifteen feet high, particularly near Newark and Lebanon, Ohio; and the whole work is as distinct as it was on the day of its completion. Others are almost mouldered away, and it is difficult to distinguish them from the natural inequalities of the ground. Some of them have ditches, and some of them are without; and these ditches are as often found on the *inside* as the *outside* of the walls. There is an elevated mound in Marietta, enclosed with a wall, and having a ditch between the wall and the mound. It is impossible that this wall and ditch could have been made for any purpose of defence, because the elevation of the mound, which occupies the whole interior space, would have exposed those within to the attack of the assailants. Their form is as various as their situation. They are square, round, elliptical, hexagonal, and in almost every shape which fancy can imagine." (Ontwa, Notes, p. 118.)

That the tumulus proper was not intended as a work of defence, could not be more conclusively shown, than it is by these remarks of a person who is very familiar with the topic of western antiquities. The mound was, however, frequently, when erected on low grounds, connected with walls and ditches, which, in these cases, were clearly designed to defend the mounds themselves, which were the sepulchres of their forefathers, and may, under the mythologic belief of the Indians, have been designed to excite the defenders to greater acts of heroism. It was thus that the ancient Indian earth-works, from Florida to the peninsula of Michigan, were interposed irregularly, in their plan, embracing defensive works, tumuli, altars, and barrows, of all grades, and occupying as miscellaneous positions.

If these objects were all present in the plan, as shown in the vestiges of earthworks, much of the confusion and mystery of these works disappears; they are shown to be of extemporaneous origin, or occasional reliance. A tumulus — a line of wall — a ditch — ovate enclosures — exact circles and squares, and the irregular outlines and salient points, connected with hills and precipices, are explicable features. No military man would ever erect a ditch *within* a wall, or erect a mound for defence *without* one.

The devotional element has been distinctly recognized by Dr. Davis, (Vide Monuments of the Mississippi Valley) in the small altar-mounds found in the Scioto Valley. (Vide Vol. I., p. 51). The offerings at these altars are, by the necessity of the Indian institutions, totemic, or clanic. By offering a sacrifice or vow, and depositing the instrument upon the altar, the faith and courage of the votary would be certainly enlivened and strengthened. The wonder should rather seem to be, that this influence should not be appealed to, if possible, whenever a system of defence was planned, permanent or temporary. Nor should we look for much perfection of plan in a people who lived a life of perpetual vicissitude. Walls of earth were raised, and ditches dug, not evidently with any regard to the object of European plans, or systems of defence.

The dart and club were all that appear to have been provided against. Where a village or large flat area occupied an eminence, having perpendicular or abruptly sloping sides, it was surrounded by palisades and an outer wall, agreeably to the configuration of the ground and its natural approaches, and not according to the rules of military fortification. (Vide Archæ. Am., Vol. I., pp. 145, 156., Plates VII. and XI., *et seq.*) "The walls of these works," it is observed, "exactly follow the brow of the hill" (p. 158). Such, according to Dr. Drake, was the cause of the very complicated and remarkable works in the Little Miami valley, and of others, in the West, which were not planned, agreeably to that observer, as purely military works; but were mere lines to encompass fields and villages, intended to interrupt sudden surprises. (Pict. of Cin.) The "rock-fort" mentioned by Mr. Pickett, on Little river, was geological, and derived its shape, as he states, entirely from its isolation and precipitous sides, scarcely any labor having been devoted to it. (Hist. Ala., Vol. I., p. 174; also Plate in Vol. II.)

It is mentioned by Colonel Hawkins (Vide MS. copy of Sketch of the Creek Country, in the Historical library of Mr. Peter Force, Washington,) that there are five conic mounds of earth on an isolated bluff on the River Coosa, which he regards as places of refuge, in high water. The largest of these artificial mounds of refuge is thirty yards in diameter, and seventeen feet high; and the base of each of the mounds on the bluff is forty-five feet above the river. The maximum rise, in late years (1793 to 1799) of this river, he states to be forty-seven feet — thus lifting the fugitives from the flood, nineteen feet above the point of inundation. He also mentions, as a tradition, then current, that the Creeks, from the era in which they had dwelt in the valleys west of the Mississippi, and prior to their migration, had been in the habit of constructing such mounds of refuge as shelters from the sudden inundations of those rapidly rising waters, in the great slopes east of the Rocky Mountains. These artificial mounds, it is stated by that observer, were also designed to entomb the remains of their distinguished men. (Vide Sketch.) Every such suggestion helps to disrobe the subject of Western mounds of their imputed mystery.

But we are to enquire, does the mound, or the defensive work, or any of their surrounding objects, of antiquarian character, imply a degree of skill, or art, or of mere manual labor, superior to that which may be assigned to the ancestors of the present race of Indians? Agreeably to the ideas exhibited at pp. 44 and 49, Vol. I., mounds may be considered as tumuli proper, propyla or redoubt mounds (at the outer or inner side of gates), and barrows, or small structures of earth, generally under nine or ten feet in height. To these may be added, the small Sciotic mounds of sacrifice, the eccentric totemic, or imitative mounds, and the massive truncated square or oval platform-mounds. (Vide Title III., Vol. II., p. 83.)

Totemic Mounds.

The totemic mounds are the simplest structures of all. They reveal one of the characteristic features of Indian society and institutions, by which they are observed to exist in totems or clans. The mound consists simply of the figure of the quadruped, bird, or reptile, representing the clan or affiliated family of the builders. Wisconsin is most noted for this species of mound. While these imitative structures extend over the prairies, or level grounds, sometimes seventy feet or more, their utmost elevation is not over eight or nine feet, but often less. (Vide Am. Jour. Science. Owen's Sur. Rep.) Their object appears to be, by raising mounds on the prairies, with a peculiar mineralogic pictography, to create a symbolical record which shall be understood by their countrymen. They constitute a species of symbolic mounds. Nothing could be more characteristic of these people, or within the means and power of being comprehended by the hunter-tribes, than these earth-formed pictographs. It is antiquity adding its voice to modern Indian history.

In ascending in the scale of earth-works, we first encounter the small Sciotic, or sacrificial mound (vide Vol. II., p. 51), which may be likened, for shape, to a small inverted blunt cone, or tea-cup. It is, in fact, a mound raised on an ancient altar, or hearth of clay, on which fire has been employed till the bed has become semi-baked. Articles offered in sacrifice on these altar-hearths, are often found partly calcined; as stone pipes, which have been ingeniously carved. When circumstances determined that this sacred hearth, which was only raised a few feet, should be abandoned and a new altar made, earth was heaped over it, giving the structure its peculiar appearance. None of these altar-mounds have been described which exceed a height of eighteen feet, with a base diameter of twenty-five.

The third species of tumulus, the propyla or redoubt-mound, is invariably placed opposite the opening left in ancient works for gates, or sally-ports. But do the tumuli, or mounds proper, or the square and oval, civic or platform-mounds, presuppose a species of skill, or an amount of labor, which was beyond the capacities of the semi-hunter state, or did they transcend the capacities of the corn-growing tribes? It is to be observed that both the largest ceremonial and sepulchral tumuli and civic mounds, are found in situations which had the heaviest population — such as the position of the Cahokia, the Grave Creek, and Monk mounds. Such were also the probable conditions attending the execution of the works at the mouth of the Muskingum, and in the valley of the Great and Little Miami, and the Scioto, in the Ohio regions, and of the large tumuli formerly existing along the banks of the Kaskaskia river of Illinois.

Age of the Mounds.

Could we determine the age of these works, one great object in their consideration would be attained. The opening of the great tumulus of Grave Creek, in western Virginia, in 1838, revealed the mode which brought structures of earth of this capacity within the means of the semi-industrial tribes. The cortical layers, counted in the mature and heavy forest trees, which covered the summit of this structure, denoted the period of its completion to have been at, or soon after, the close of the twelfth century (vide Am. Ethn. Trans., Vol. I.); but there was no proof elicited to contradict the impression that it had not been commenced centuries earlier. It was evident that the lowermost of the two ancient vaults discovered, was of vastly the most ancient era. It appeared conclusively, that the structure was the result of comparatively trivial sepulchral labors, during an immense period; one age and tribe having added to another the results of its easily accomplished and slowly accumulating toils. It appeared that a mound-like, natural hillock, had been selected as the place of the first interment. By the original surface-line of the sod, disclosed by the lower gallery, it was further shown that the first interment was in a vault some six feet below the sod-line, over which earth was heaped — probably by carrying it up in leather bags, from the surrounding plain. The personage interred — from his ornaments, and the attention bestowed in excavating a square vault, lined with timber and covered with stones — was a patriarch, or ruler of rank. Accumulations of irregular artificial strata of yellow and black sand, with carbonaceous appearances, and alkaline and acidulous properties, denoted the rise of the structure through the slow process of the incineration or natural decay of human bodies. Such was the great epoch devoted to these sepulchral labors, that the bones had undergone entire decay, and every osseous vestige submitted to decomposition and become blended with the earth.

It is an interesting question to determine how long human bones will lie in the soil, before submitting to entire and complete decomposition. I have seen no observations, American or European, on this subject. The Rev. J. M. Peck, of Illinois, remarks, in a recent MS. communication, that in examining the old French burial-grounds of the West, he has found every vestige decayed, at one hundred years. The period would be greatly affected by moisture and the geological and mineral constitution of the soil.

That the earth of this tumulus was highly charged with particles of animal matter, was shown in a remarkable manner, by the vaulted room which was excavated and fitted up as a local museum, at the end of the lower horizontal gallery formed by Mr. Tomlinson, in 1838. This vault, in a short period after it was roofed and finished, revealed the fact that the rains, falling on the surface and sides of the mound, served to precipitate these animal principles. Sinking through this antique mausoleum of earth for a maximum depth of sixty to seventy feet, each particle, on reaching the roof of the museum-vault below, came charged with a subtle white fluid, which, assuming tenuity at the point of contact with the atmospheric air, depended from the roof in white folds, which gave a truly sepulchral appearance to this vast, damp, and gloomy charnel-house. (Am. Eth. Trans., Vol. I.) A labor in the original construction of this tumulus, which was thus shared in, by the succeeding generations of a thousand years, and which had been gazed at for more than a century (since 1730), as too stupendous a task for savages to perform, thus lost, at once, its wonder as an antique monument. A similar process of accurate observation would doubtless disenchant other monuments of western aboriginal art, or forgotten labor.

It was, too, on the comparatively elevated and level summits of the Grave Creek flats, which present a mellow and fertile soil, that the natives had a suitable position for cultivating their favorite grain, the zea maize. The same remark may be made of the contiguity of the most fertile lands, at the sites of the principal western earthworks, in the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio. By this means, the aboriginal population had a means of subsistence and fixity, which the mere labors of the chase fail to bestow.

In the discovery of an antique fort by Dr. John Lock, in 1838, on an elevation in Adams County, Ohio, the testimony, drawn from the cortical layers of trees found on it, denoted the 12th century as the period of its abandonment. In the antique garden-beds discovered in Michigan, in 1827, by markings in the surface of the soil, bearing detached trees, (Vide Vol. I., p. 54), the date of the abandonment of the peculiar species of cultivation is denoted by the same kind of testimony to have been 1502 — being ten years after the discovery of St. Domingo by Columbus — a period too early for any known or acknowledged European labor in that quarter — Virginia not having been discovered until eighty-two years later. Nor could these beds be attributed to stragglers from the expedition of Narvaez and De Soto, since these were of largely subsequent dates; i. e., 1527—1540.

The oldest inscription in America, other than the muzzin-abiks or rock-pictographs of the Indians, is one discovered in Onondaga County, New York, bearing the date of 1520; — an inscription, manifestly sepulchral, which appears to have been due to gold and silver hunters who accompanied the ill-fated and chivalrous De Leon, (Vide Notes on Iroquois). But there are no indicia of this kind respecting the mound-period.

With regard to the platform mounds, it is the recorded tradition of the Muscogees and Appalachian tribes, that these were public works, laid out on the selection of a new site for a town, and engaged in immediately by the whole tribe, to serve as the official seat for their chief ruler, (Pickett's Hist. Alabama). But little absolute art was required to build a tumulus — a raised teocalli platform or earth wall, such as that of Circleville, Ohio. The actual place in the heavens of the rising and setting of the sun, without marking its solstitial changes, was sufficient to guide the native builder in determining, with general exactitude, the cardinal points. There is no evidence of any instrumental laying out and surveying of a plan, such as the use of a compass presupposes — the only fragment of this instrument ever discovered in American antiquities being one of the period of European occupancy, which was found with the remains of Gallic colonization, in Onondaga County, New York, of the date of about 1655 to 1666. This relic of an unsuccessful effort to plant a mission, is figured in Vol. II., Plate 51, along with a small brass pocket-compass box, and a horse-shoe of the heavy, inartificial Canadian pattern; all of which belong to the same period, (Notes on the Iroquois). For the earliest notice of this intrusive element of European civilization, we are indebted to the philosophic ardor of the late De Witt Clinton, (Vide Trans. of Lit. and Philos. Soc. of New York). Charlevoix gives the date of the settlement of the colony in Onondaga to be 1656, (Hist. New France). The date of the antiquities of the Mississippi valley, as before denoted, is centuries anterior to this.

EPOCH OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE WESTERN TUMULI.

A new period of geographical and antiquarian discovery followed almost immediately the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States. This event gave scope for the spirit of geographical and commercial enterprise which had been constantly pushing from the Atlantic shores westward. The initial point of settlement, consequent on this treaty, was Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum. Accounts of these antiquities were first published by Dr. Manasseh Cutler and the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, with diagrams of the antique works drawn by Gen. Rufus Putnam, made immediately after the settlement of the town. These accounts and reports of the country having been peopled at an anterior period, and of the ruins of ancient occupancy being now overrun by the forest, created a strong sensation at a time when antiquities had not at all been studied in the United States.

It was found, as the country settled, that not only at Marietta, but in the valleys of the Miami, Scioto, Grave Creek, and various other places, there existed the most unmistakeable evidence of such ancient and abandoned occupancy, which immediately became the fruitful theme of speculation. From 1788, the date of the settlement of Marietta, to 1820, a period of great enterprise in extending the settlements of the West, this theme was under continual popular discussion, and found its way into the evanescent publications of the day. One of the most remarkable of these discoveries of the mound-period in Ohio, was made by opening a small tumulus at Marietta, in the month of June, 1819, by Dr. S. P. Hildreth of that town. This mound was estimated originally to have been about ten feet high, and thirty in circumference. Standing in one of the streets of the town, it was completely removed. It turned out to be the tumulus of a single person, whose skeleton denoted a height of about six feet. With the remains were found the exterior silver ornaments of a sword-belt, its silver bosses, and a plummet of copper and silver, which are described and figured in the Trans. of Am. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., p. 168. This discovery, which is not, however, conclusive of the era of the Marietta works, appears to throw light on their history. Its discovery has all the necessary character of authenticity which is imparted by the scientific experience and moral standing of the person who announces it. These indications of an intrusive civilization in the Ohio valley, were further sustained by observing what purports to be the ruins of a covered way leading from the elevated platform to the Muskingum river—an unique discovery, conclusively denoting more purpose and foresight than is to be observed of the pure Indian epoch in other places.

In 1820, C. Atwater, Esq., published a description of all the antiquarian remains of the West then known, (Vol. I., Archæ. Am.) The same facts in our western archæology were reproduced in 1848, with new plates and surveys of the ancient works by the Smithsonian Institution, together with such additional discoveries as had been made up to that period, (Vol. I., Smith. Cont. to Know.) By this work our means of accurate knowledge of the facts is considerably advanced. The old theory of Mr. Atwater and the first observers is, however, adhered to; namely, that these works are due to a people of higher civilization than the ancestors of the existing aboriginal race. This theory invites more scrutiny than it has received. It must be borne in mind that the Toltec, the Aztec, the Peruvian, and even the Yucatan state of art and civilization was infinitely superior to any grade of art which can be affirmed of the earth-works of the Mississippi valley; and that the tendency of Indian emigration has been shown, by the transfer of tropical fruits and plants, (as the zea maize, and cotton and tobacco plants,) to have been from the region of Central America, where Coxcox first landed (Vide Boturini), towards, and into the temperate and northern latitudes.

To meet the theory of transferred Indian civilization, the remains of military occupancy were, at an early day, attributed to De Soto. This idea was communicated, by Dr. N. Webster, the lexicographer, in 1789, in a series of essays, to Mathew Carey of Philadelphia, for the pages of his American Museum, (Am. Mus. for 1789, 1790). It is shown in preceding observations, (Vide Vol. III., Plate 44,) and by the accompanying record of personal observations made in 1818 and 1819, Title VII., that this discoverer did not reach further north, along the east banks of the Mississippi, than "Chicaza" —the upper Chickasaw bluffs, in the present State of Tennessee. These lie in north latitude about 35°. After crossing the Mississippi at that point, his utmost marches toward the north terminated at a place called Coligoa by his narrators. This place must be assigned to the mineral tract of country on the sources of the river St. Francis, in Missouri, visited by me in 1819, (Vide my Lead Mines). Coligoa (the St. Michael of the era of Crozat) is a few minutes south of latitude 37°. It is impossible that any of the remains of earth-works commented on by Dr. Webster, could have had their origin in the period of De Soto's exploration.' The striking remains of earth-works in the Ohio valley lie several hundred miles north of the utmost points reached by the Spanish adventurer. Besides which it is known, from the journal of De la Vega that he never permanently fortified, and then but slightly, a single place but that of Autianqua his picketed camp, on the north banks of the Arkansas, where he sojourned during the winter of 1542. This was the western terminus of his expedition.

The speculations of Dr. Webster in the Am. Mus. chanced to meet the eye of Gen. George Rogers Clark, which brought a new observer in the field. This celebrated and extraordinary military western partizan commander, who had traversed the region under the orders of Virginia, had with the energies of a Hannibal achieved the conquest of the Illinois country in two campaigns, during the latter period of the American Revolution. Gen. Clark was a man extensively acquainted with western geography as well as with the Indian manners and customs. He believed, from the inspection of these remains of embankments, redoubts, and mounds of earth, that they were due to the predecessors of the present race of Indians, or of men of similar language, manners, customs, and arts.

In a manuscript memoir, communicated to me by Lyman Draper, Esq., of Wisconsin, one of the literary associates of Gen. G. R. Clark, this early and competent observer expresses himself fully on this topic.

"I have," says he, addressing the editor of the magazine, Mr. Carey, in a manuscript memoir now before me, never published, "somewhere in your Museum read a long account of the march of De Soto through these countries. He is brought to Lexington, taken to the mouth of the Muskingum across to the Missouri, &c., fortifying the country he passed through, and all those immense works are ascribed to him. I think the world ought to be undeceived on this point. So great a stranger to the western country as Mr. Webster appears to be, ought to have informed himself better before he ventured to palm his conjectures on the world.

I don't suppose there is a person living who has actually had the chance of knowing from personal observation, the geography and natural history of the back country better, if so well, as I do myself; it having been my study for many years. I have made the calculation, and venture to inform you that if there were paved roads from each of those fortifications to the other, throughout the western country, De Soto could not have visited the whole of those works with his army in four years, allowing him the common season for marching. Those works are numerous in every part of the western country, but more so in the Pittsburg Country (or Ohio valley) than elsewhere. There you will find them on high mountains; they are larger as you descend towards the Mississippi. There is not a place on the Ohio that we have attempted to fortify, from Pitt down, but we find ancient works. De Soto might have been on the Ohio, but no vestiges remain to prove it. As for his being the author of those fortifications, it is quite out of the question. They are more numerous than he had men; and many of them would have required fifty thousand men for their occupancy. Some of them have been fortified towns, others encampments entrenched; but the greater part have been common garrisoned forts, many of them with towers of earth of considerable height, to defend the walls with arrows and other missile weapons.

That the people had commerce is evident, because the mouth of every river has been fortified; where the land was subject to floods, it has been raised out of the way of water. That they were a numerous people is also evident, not only from their many works, but also their habitations being raised in low lands. I had frequently observed, scattered in what we call the low country on the Ohio, little mounds that I took to be graves, such as Mr. Jefferson describes (Notes on Virginia), which are frequent all over this country, but could not comprehend them. What could induce the people to bring their dead several miles from the high into the low lands for burial?

In the spring of 1780, I lay encamped with a force a considerable time near the mouth of the Ohio. I was extremely anxious to find some high ground near the point of junction. I had every acre of the country for several miles explored, but found the whole region subject to inundation, and was about to leave, when a man came running into camp almost out of breath, and with joy informed me that he had found a spot of high land not far from that locality, and which they had not before noticed. Pleased with the information, I went to the place, and to my astonishment found the foundation of a town raised in that low country. The few stones that lay scattered we could easily discover had come from a quarry up the Mississippi. This plat was in the shape of an L, with the angle pointing up the Mississippi, and might have contained about forty huts. I viewed this with great pleasure; although of no other use to me at this time, it explained to me the cause of the little mounds I had observed in the low country, and informed me that the whole of this country had been too populous; that good land was scarce, and that they raised habitations throughout these low countries, and for the convenience of commerce or some other cause, they had raised the foundation at the point sufficiently large to answer their purpose. I say the point, because I make no doubt but that it was very near it, when built; although at a very considerable distance at present, as the rivers have left it. I neglected at the time noticing which river it probably was on, as I make no doubt it was on the bank of one or the other. I rather think it was the Mississippi, as the land on that river is higher than that of the Ohio in those parts.

That they had great armies in the field is evident; the fortified lines in different parts would have required immense armies to man them. One in the Choctaw country is several miles in length — the one Mr. Carver mentions (Carv. Trav.), and many others in different directions, but at considerable distances from each other.

That important passes were attended to by them is evident, because they are fortified. Thousands of men have passed the Cumberland Gap, and perhaps but few observers have taken notice of the curiosity there. The gap is very narrow, and what is generally viewed as a little hill that nearly fills up the gap, is an ancient fortress for the defence of the place — a fine spring breaking out within a few yards of it. That they made use of wells is evident, because they yet appear, in many places, as little basins by the earth washing in. The one in the ancient fortress at Louisville, was filled up by Captain Patten, who made use of part of the old wall for that purpose.

Covered ways to water are common; causeways across marshes frequent. The high road across Little Grave Creek did, and, I suppose, still passes over an ancient causeway, made of sand and gravel, across a marsh.

The Indian traditions give an account of these works. They say they were the works of their forefathers; that they were as numerous as the trees in the wood; that they affronted the Great Spirit, and he made them kill one another. The works on the Mississippi near the *Caw* river (Kaskaskia) are among the largest we know of. The Kaskaskia chief, Baptist Ducoign, gave me a history of this. He said that was the palace of his forefathers, when they covered the whole (country) and had large towns; that all those works we saw there, were the fortifications round the town, which must have been very considerable; that the smaller works we (saw) so far within the larger, comprehended the real palace; that the little mountain we there saw flung up with a basin on top, was a tower that contained part of the guard belonging to the prince, as from the top of that height, they could defend the king's house with their arrows, &c.

I had somewhere seen some ancient account of the town of Kaskaskia, formerly containing ten thousand persons. There is not one of that nation, at present, known by that name. Being frequently at that place, and recollecting this story, I one day set out, with a party of gentlemen, to see whether we could discover signs of such a population. We easily and evidently traced the town for upwards of five miles in the beautiful plain below the present town of Kahokia. There could be no deception here, because the remains of ancient works were thick — the whole were mounds, &c. Nature never formed a more beautiful (scene) than this; several leagues in length, and about four miles in breadth, from the river to the high land, and but few trees or shrubs to be seen. This town appears to have occupied that part nearest the river, but not on it, as there is a strip of lower land. Fronting nearly the centre of this town on the heights, is a pinnacle called the Sugar (Loaf), from its figure. It is frequently visited by strangers as a mere curiosity. My visit, perhaps, was from a different motive. I was not disappointed. I at once saw that it was a hill, shaped by a small brook breaking through the (larger) hill, till it had formed a very narrow ridge. This had been cut across, and the point shaped in the form of a sugar-loaf, perhaps to place an idol or a temple on, as it could not be more conspicuous. It is of very considerable height, and you are obliged to wind round it to ascend on horseback.

I think the world is to blame to express such great anxiety to know who it was that built those numerous and formidable works, and what hath become of that people. They will find them in the Kaskaskias, Peorias, Kahokias (now extinct), Piankashaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and such old nations,[1] who say they grew out of the ground where they now live, and that they were formerly as numerous as the trees in the woods; but affronting the Great Spirit, he made war among the nations, and they destroyed each other. This is their tradition, and I see no good reason why it should not be received as good history — at least as good as a great part of ours.

At what time this great revolution should have happened, which certainly hath taken place in this quarter, I never could get any satisfactory answer, only that it had been the case, as it is beyond their calculation of time. But I am convinced that it was anterior to five hundred years, and I don't think it difficult to make a tolerably satisfactory conjecture of the time, at least, within a few ages. It may appear strange how it should be possible to discover this, but so it is." [MSS. G. R. C.]

Indian Traditions on the Topic.

These observations of General Clark terminate as a fragment. They do not appear to have been transmitted to the editor of the Museum, at Philadelphia—at least, they are not found in its published numbers; and we have inserted them from the manuscript transmitted as above stated. Baptiste Ducaign, who is particularly referred to for this tradition, was a Kaskaskia chief of intelligence and note, living on the Kaskaskia river, in Illinois, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. This is not the only Indian tradition giving an account of these antiquarian monuments of a bygone era, which have elicited so much remark. The traditions of the ancient tribe of the Lenni Lenape, recorded by Mr. Heckewelder, in 1819, distinctly refer to a general war with more southerly and westerly nations, against whom this once warlike and powerful tribe was engaged, in close alliance with the Iroquois. (Trans. Amer. Hist., and Lit. Com. Am. Philos. Society, Vol. I., p. 30, Philadelphia, 1819.) They are called by him, Alligewi — a name, in the traditionary sounds of which he concurs with Col. Gibson, mentioned in Jefferson's Notes, an early resident of Pittsburgh, and a dealer with the Indians in the upper parts of the Ohio valley, who spoke several of the Indian languages. Heckewelder says that they were a remarkably tall and athletic people; and that they embraced persons of gigantic growth compared to the Lenape. They had built regular "fortifications and entrenchments," many of which he had seen, and two of which he describes. One of these was located near the mouth of the river Huron (now called Clinton river), Michigan, which empties itself into the north side of Lake St. Clair, about twenty miles from Detroit. In the year 1786, when this discovery was made, the ground was owned and occupied by a Mr. Tucker. The other work referred to, was seated on the south banks of Lake Erie, east of Sandusky bay, and on the river Huron, of Ohio, about six or eight miles from the open shores of Lake Erie. It consisted of two proper entrenchments, or walls and banks of earth, regularly formed, with an outer ditch. These entrenchments were a mile apart. Outside of the gateways, or sally-ports, of each wall, were a number of "large, flat mounds," which his Indian guide affirmed contained the bones of hundreds of the slain Alligewi. (Trans. His. and Lit. Com. Am. Ph. Soc. p. 30.)

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[1] A great number of the tribes that call themselves nations, are evidently nothing more than bands that have broken off from older nations. — G. R. C.

Tradition has further preserved the name of this ancient tribe, or confederacy of mound-builders, under the name of Allegans (see map to Colden's Hist. Five Nations, 2d ed., London, 1750), a word which, with terminations of *ány*, is incorporated into the list of names of our geography, in the terms bestowed on the Alleghany Mountains, and the Alleghany River. (Consult, also, for this tribe, Notes on the Iroquois, p. 305, Albany, N. Y., 1847.)

This account of a western Indian confederacy, is countenanced in that curious publication of the ancient Iroquois traditions, issued in 1825, by David Cusic. This native archæologist has been above adverted to; the chronology and dynastic terms of his pamphlet are believed to be conjectural, or faulty. He refers to the ancient period of the mounds and fortifications of the West, as the works of ancient southern and western tribes, who had penetrated and occupied the country nearly to the banks of Lake Erie. To these, agreeably to him, the northern tribes, who were more skilful in the use of bows and arrows, opposed themselves. After long and bloody wars, which are conjectured to have lasted centuries, the Algonco-Iroquois confederacy of tribes prevailed. The towns and forts in the Mississippi valley fell before these ancient conquering tribes, and the works were totally destroyed, and left in heaps of ruins. (Cusic's Sketches of the Ancient History of the Six Nations, p. 13.)

Seneca tradition, as related on the authority of the Indians, by De Witt Clinton, (Vide New York Hist. Collections, Vol. II., p. 37), and Cherokee tradition, as stated on like authority, at a subsequent era, to Mr. J. C. Calhoun (Notes on the Iroquois, p. 161), denote an ancient and bitter feud of a most inveterate kind, and long standing, between the southern and northern tribes. That the ancestors of the Iroquois had been parties in this ancient war against the southern intruders, or Alleghans, may be inferred. Remarks affirmative of this ancient warfare, are made by Gov. Clinton, in his historical discourse. (N. Y. Hist. Col., Vol. II., p. 63.)

The epoch of these old and general native wars, so obscurely yet certainly pointed to, is deducible chiefly from the state of the archæological vestiges. The cortical annular layers in the growth of large and mature trees, occupying the walls and interior areas of the abandoned works, tell a tale, of which we must judge from tumuli, and fortified camps and towns. These data indicate parts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as the active period of tumult among the Mississippi valley tribes. A great diminution of the Indian population may be admitted to have been one of the consequences of such furious sanguinary wars. These wars form a crisis in their history, which may be conjectured to have produced great changes of location, and great subdivisions of tribes, clans, languages, and habits. Preliminary or directly causative of these wars and divisions, we may recognise the disturbance created in our Indian history by the Toltecan movement. To determine the state of art, and consequently the state of semi-civilization (which is contended for), of the ancient inhabitants in the Mississippi valley, and of the mound period, of which these vestiges are the only history left, we must draw the chronology employed from the remains themselves. The distaff is one of the oldest evidences of human civilization. This art appears in the very dawn of Grecian history, and it is intimately interwoven in the descriptions of the various phases of art down to the modern days of Arkwright, and a Watts and Bolton. The spinning and weaving by machinery marked an era. The substitutes for the distaff, in the cotton-growing latitudes of Mexico and South America, as is clearly shown by Mr. Ewbank, in the papers on ancient Indian art herewith published, (vide Title X.), was effected by a simple movement resembling the top, or tee-to-tum, whirled in a bowl. From the thread thus obtained, a species of weaving was effected by the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians. This is traced, in the diffusion of the art, as far north as the Rio Gila. (Vide Cabeça de Vaca.) The tribes of the Mississippi valley had not the cotton plant, even so late as De Soto's day (1542). They employed the fibre of certain plants of the hemp species, or of the inner macerated bark of certain trees, for garments. These, by a toilsome manipulation of the females, were woven into tilmas and mantles by a kind of hand-loom, such as is still in use by the descendants of these tribes (vide Vol. II., Plate 77, Fig. 8), and into bags and mats. The hand-weaving of nets, from rushes and twine of a native make, is another art of probably early use. After the introduction of woollen goods, the Indian females of North America used a woof of the yarn of unravelled cloth, together with a native warp, of vegetable material, which greatly complicates the fabric. It is believed the samples taken from a mound in the West, exhibited by Mr. Foster, in 1851, at a meeting of the American Association for promoting Science, were of this species; and consequently, these indices are of suggestive importance.[1]

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[1] In the American Scientific Convention, at Albany, New York, Prof. J. W. Foster, U. S. Geologist, read a paper, descriptive of samples of ancient cloth from the mounds of Ohio.

"Mr. Foster said, that as far back as 1837, specimens of the same cloth had been presented to him; but he questioned the reality of it, and feared to make it public, lest he should be propagating an error. The specimens are of a different texture. One may have been made by the ordinary means of weaving, but the other is evidently the result of some handicraft. There seems to be some connection between the Peruvians and the mound-builders. The present specimeqs were taken from a mound about two miles from Middletown, Ohio. It is evident the Indians never made this cloth, for they did not understand weaving; and they did not obtain it from Europe, for it is not such as would have been made for their trade. This cloth goes far towards authorizing a distinction between the North American Indians and the mound-builders. It is composed of a material closely allied to hemp. Dr. Goadby said that it was easy to distinguish between the fibre of flax, and that of cotton. The former is round and solid, while the other presents the appearance of a vegetable tube. Professor Agassiz suggested that this cloth might be made of nettles. He said he had seen such in Switzerland; and on the first view, it was his impression that the cloth in question was made of the North American nettle. Pro-

How little improvement has marked the rude native mode of spinning and weaving, as thus described, is shown, by examining modern specimens of native production, in the same type of art. The common coarse mushkemoot of the Algonquins and of the Dacotahs of the Upper Mississippi, at this day, consists of a mixed fabric of vegetable fibre and of wool, produced by unravelling old cloth of European or American fabric. In articles designed by these tribes for ornament in hunter-life, such as shot and tobacco-pouches, small porcelain beads, white or colored, of European make, are introduced into the texture. It is in this respect alone, that the modern Indian hand-weaving of the "Mississippi valley" tribes of the present era, excels the ancient fabrics.

Does the state of their metallurgy indicate a higher skill? Soldering is an art unknown to the Mississippi valley mound-builders. All the antique bracelets of copper disinterred from these mounds, which have been examined, are merely bent slips of the metal, hammered out, and brought into contact without interfusion. If it be meant to unite the opposite ends of a piece of metal, which has been bent to form a circle, as a ring or bracelet, it requires a composition of some of the semi-metals, under the force of the blow-pipe, to produce union. This is a primary point of the smith's knowledge. It is an ancient art—so ancient, indeed, that Winckleman, in his Century of Inventions, does not fix it. Nothing of this kind—no evidence, indeed, that the blow-pipe was known at all to the Western mound-builders, has been disclosed. In the five bracelets of native copper found in 1838, in the inferior vault of the large Celtiberic tumuli of western Virginia, (Vide Plate 31, Title III., Vol. I.), no traces of this art were appreciable. No bracelets or other objects of metal have, indeed, been discovered in the numerous mounds of the Ohio or Mississippi valleys, which denote the existence of this art.

The proofs derived from pottery are very indicative of aboriginal periods. The potter's art is very ancient. It is mentioned in Job, which is generally thought by commentators (Vide Barnes' Notes on Job) to be the oldest book of the Pentateuch. The potter's wheel is distinctly referred to by Isaiah and Ezekiel. By the mechanical principle of this invention, a mass of plastic clay, placed on a whirling disc of wood, is, by the centrifugal force given by a crank and foot-lathe, impelled from its centre to its circumference, where being met by the hand, or with a simple former or stick, the humid clay rises, assuming such shape as art may design to give it. There is no evidence whatever that this wheel was used in America at the period of its discovery. All the Mexican and Peruvian pottery examined, is found to have been formed by a species of handicraft, without machinery. It exhibits no striæ to denote the centrifugal force, and it is without exactitude of diameter. Least of all, are these requisites present in the Mississippi pottery. This article is found, in every instance, to be unglazed. The aborigines knew nothing of the vitric art. We have examined

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fessor Renwick, of Newark, then enquired if this was not spoken of by Columbus, in his discovery? It was his impression that it was." — Report Am. Sci. Assoc.

specimens from the Gila (Plate 20, Vol. III.); from the sea-coast mounds of Florida (Plate 45, Vol. III.); and from the valley of the river St. Mary's, Michigan, connecting lakes Huron and Superior (Plate 22, Vol. I.); without detecting, by the closest scrutiny, a vitreous surface at all. Nor has it been observed, in very numerous instances, in the inspection of fragments of pottery taken from the sites of old Indian villages in the Southern, Western, and New England States.

The area covered by relics of the Indian pottery in the United States, is very extensive. Fragments of this aboriginal pottery, taken from the valleys of the Merrimack, the Connecticut, the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehannah, the Congaree, Savannah, and Alabama, are nearly identical in their composition and mechanical texture; and it is such as also agrees with the vases and fragments from old sites of Indian earth-works and occupation, in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. This antique pottery is a very coarse and peculiar species of terra-cotta; it admitted, from its coarse texture, the application of sudden heat. The tendency of the aluminous material of common clay to shrink and crack, is counteracted by silicious granitical particles, or by finely pulverized shells. The ancient akeek, or hominy-pot, of all the tribes east and west of the Alleghanies, was generally used like the sand-bath in operative chemistry. It was set in a bed of coals or ashes; it could be suspended, when used to cook fish, by a tripod, with bark strings, as figured in Plate 22, Title III., Vol. I.

In Florida, and the southern States, vases and porringers were made from the same coarse materials. Human figures were sometimes moulded from the plastic mass, of which Dr. Troost has exhibited antique specimens, found in caves or mounds in the State of Tennessee, which are thought by him to indicate the transference to this hemisphere of the phallic worship of India. (Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., Vol. I., p. 355.) Mr. C. Atwater has given a figure of a triune vessel of clay, found four feet under ground, at Caney fork, in the valley of the Cumberland river, Tennessee. (Arch. Amer., Vol. I., p. 238.) Are any of these specimens of art superior to the state of the potter's art possessed by the ancestors of the American aboriginal tribes? It is believed they are not.

Pipe Sculpture.

Another proof of the ancient state of art of the tribes of the United States, arises from the study of the enamels, wrought shells, and pipes, both sculptured and earthenware. Of the latter, it is manifest the well-made ornamented pipes of baked clay, attributed to the skill of the United States families of Indians, such as are drawn in Plate 8, Figures 1, 5, 6, Title III., Vol. I., were not, in any instance, due to these tribes. They were manufactured in Europe for the Indian trade. Beads, enamelled and plain, were also freely exported for this trade. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Holland, France, Germany, and England, had made great advances in the arts of making glass, glass enamels, and fabrics of beads and amulets of every kind. These articles evince the application of the vitric art to the species of mixed articles, intermediate in their character between glass and enamels of earths and metallic oxides. These were precisely the articles which they freely exported to America in those early ages, to be sold to the Indians, and which are brought to light in the Indian graves of the era. These glassy and semi-vitric articles were generally highly colored, sometimes striped and mottled, to suit the tastes of the natives. Fabrics of this nature are also found in the tumuli of the period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Such are the articles noticed on Plate 24, Figs. 7 to 13, Inf., Vol. I., Title III. These relics were first brought to light by discoveries in western New York, in 1817. (Vide Lead Mines of Missouri, 1819.)

The sculpture of pipes from stones and various brittle species of mineralogy, was, however, an ancient and truly Indian art, as is most completely shown by all ages of Indian sepulture, and particularly by those of the mound epoch. It is a mistake to suppose that the pipe-sculptures of the Scioto valley — the ancient capital of Indian power in the Ohio valley — evinces a state of art superior to the general aboriginal type. Mr. Squier (vide Monuments of the Mississippi Valley), who advances this idea, deceives himself if he imagines these offerings from the altar-mounds of that valley denote a higher state of art than the Toltecan or Aztec era, the state of pipe-carving of the old Allegan tribes, or even that of some of the United States Indians of the present day.

From the earliest date, a character of sacredness has been attached, by the American tribes, to the incineration of tobacco; an article which has been in use as an acceptable gift to the deity. It was supposed by them to be the most desirable of all offerings to the Great Spirit; and it entered largely into their ceremonial rites and social pleasures. The art of sculpture, with them, was concentrated on this single branch — namely, making of pipe-bowls. These were wrought, usually, from steatites, serpentines, shales, soft tertiary red stones, or other fissile indurated minerals. Even fossil coal has been found as the material. The object of art was to conceal the chief design of using it as a smoking apparatus, under some animated form, as a lizard, frog, bird, or quadruped, which was sculptured often with considerable spirit and justness of proportions.

It has been previously remarked, that this Indian pipe-sculpture exhibited the highest degree of art reached by the aboriginal chisel. (Vol. I., Title III., p. 74.) A fine specimen of it is shown in a mass of hard, white, compact carbonate of lime, representing the common lizard of these latitudes. (Vol. I., Title III., Plate 9, Fig. 2.) The original was obtained from an antique grave in the straits of St. Mary, Michigan. A specimen of proficiency in the art is shown in a variety of mottled steatite from Western Virginia (Vol. I., Title III., Plate 8, Fig. 4). Another is exhibited in a very fine specimen of translucent green serpentine, obtained from Onondaga, New York, the ancient area of the Iroquois occupancy, in Vol. I., Title III, Plate 9, Fig. 4. In Plate 13, Figs. 1, 2, 3, Vol. I., Title III., an idol, eleven inches in height, one of their local deities, wrought from a slab of neutral-colored sandstone, is disguised under the form of a smoking-pipe. A similar idol of stone was disinterred, several years ago, on opening a tumulus at Nashville, Tennessee. (Archæ. Amer., Vol. I., p. 210.) Of analogous structure was a rude idol of stone, nineteen inches high, which was disinterred at Natchez, Mississippi. This is figured by Mr. C. Atwater, at p. 215, Archæ. Amer., Vol. I. The birds of prey and reptiles, chiselled chiefly from sandstone, found buried in the small altar-mounds in the Scioto valley, constitute a feature in this forest-sculpture which is not at all at variance with other evidences of the sort, from the hunter age of America. They evince, indeed, the first rude awakening of artistic skill in sculpture in the hunter-state. That they should have been considered as affording evidence of a phasis of society at all above that of the ancestors of the existing tribes, before these were known to Europeans, is the only surprising fact connected with the publication of the paper above adverted to. (Vide Smithsonian Cont. to Knowledge, Vol. I.)

The discovery and settlement of America operated most directly, as has been indicated, to destroy the incipient grades of Indian art, by offering the tribes, at all points where commerce was established, better fabrics, as blankets and woollens, in exchange for skins. Europeans gave them iron and brass for the rude clay pots; steel for wooden traps; gunpowder and the rifle and gun for bows and arrows; fire-steels and flints for the painful process of percussion; the White-chapel, for the bone needle; the steel awl for the aishkun or tip of the deer's horn; and, in fine, a style of arts so superior to all the aboriginal modes of meeting the common wants of life, that the latter fell into disuse as soon as the European fabrics could be obtained.

These were practical things which the Indians could comprehend. Even the boasted knowledge of the Mexicans and Peruvians fell before the introduction of European art, and could the confessedly inferior type of the Mississippi Valley Indians withstand it? The very impulse and cause of the Iroquois supremacy is asserted to have arisen from the introduction of the gun; while the use of iron implements, instead of stone and bone, at once swept every Indian contrivance for these purposes into disuse.

So rapid was the decline of Indian art, that pottery such as the Indians made, which was in general use by them in the 15th century, sunk in fifty years into the class of antiquities.[1]

The only art that withstood this shock of the introduction of European skill, was the pipe-sculpture; the Western Indians had several quarries of suitable material for this purpose. One of the most remarkable of these was the locality of red, compact stone, east of the Missouri, at the eminence which is called Coteau des Prairie, in Minnesota. This stone consists of indurated aluminous strata colored with red oxide of iron, which is in a high degree fissile and gritless; it was, if we may judge by sepulchral specimens of the pipe, one of the earliest localities of the material known to the Indians. This clay constituted an object of traffic with the tribes, as is indicated by the graves and tumuli, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. Their skill in working this substance, and decorating the pipe-bowls with images of men, reptiles, &c., is denoted in Vol. I., Title III., Plates 49, 70, 71. Tribes seated on the sources of the Mississippi —on the summits of the Rocky Mountains—in the plains of Oregon, and other remote districts, have retained this art, together with the sister arts of hunter-life; of making bows, arrows, clubs, barbs for fishing, and the old monoxylæ or wooden light betula canoe. (Information, Vol. I., p. 76. Vol. II., Plates 72, 73, 74, 76. Vol. III., Plates 34, 35.)

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[1] The Chippewa chief, Konteka, asserted in 1824, that but seven generations of men had passed since the French brought them brass kettles; at which time their people at once laid aside their own manufactures, and adopted those of the French. (Oneota, p. 107.)

ANTIQUE COPPER-MINING.

There is another topic of much interest in Indian art, which has been thrown into this discussion of late years, by the discovery of extensive copper-mines of an antique period, in the basin of Lake Superior. Having been employed by the United States government in 1820, to explore that region in reference to its mineral wealth and probable national value, and having subsequently resided for nearly twenty years in that general area, my attention has been drawn strongly to the subject. Prior to 1844, the discovery of some heavy implements of hammered copper in St. Mary's valley, and the visible indications of ancient works near the falls of the Ontonagon river, constituted almost the only proofs, that the manifest affluence of the region in this metal, had been the object of mining operations; but it was never conjectured that any labor of much note had been attempted by the aborigines. Judging them by their descendants now living, they did not seem capable of having attempted, far less executed, these ancient works. These indications have since been more fully and elaborately examined. The extraordinary fact that the veins of trap-rock of that region contained metallic copper, is no longer novel to geology. As little so is the fact that these veins, which exhibit extensive lines of geologic development, at or near the surface, have been the object of mining at a former period. In a paper on this subject, from Colonel Whittlesey (Vol. I., Title III.), the evidences of this period of ancient mining have been described. The question is one of startling and phenomenal interest in our antiquities. It would seem, on first view, that the ancestors of the Indian race could not have executed these ancient works. Yet, aboriginal skill, industry, and energy, were adequate to all the architectural, mechanical, and mining labors of Mexico and Peru — labors, which, without mystery, were ascribed to the aborigines. Must we require foreign art to account for a far inferior style of art, combination, and energy here? Were not the stone forts of Tlascalla, the Pyramids of Cholula and Astalan, the city of Mexico itself, and the Temple of the Sun, superior efforts to the series of works at Marietta, on the Cahokia, the Licking, the Scioto and the Miami, and the ancient mining labors of the basin of Lake Superior?

When the latter are examined, it is found that they do not exhibit evidences of high art. The chief agent in disintegrating and working the trap-rock, appears to have the alternate application of fire and water. When the denuded rock had been calcined and water applied, mauls of hard stone, held by a weight in the centre, were applied to beat off the partially calcined rock. Numbers of these ancient mauls are disclosed at the mines, together with wedges of stone and copper. To descend into shafts, the trunks of trees, clipped of their limbs, were let down. The remains of levers of wood, which were used to pry up masses of metal, are found. Earth has filled these ancient trenches and galleries, which latter are in all cases open to the surface. Upon these works, trees have grown since the period of their abandonment. It is only, it would seem, necessary to allow ages to have passed, instead of brief periods, to take from these old works all their wonder.

It is impossible to contemplate any fixed state of arts and industry without supposing a commerce. And this was the apparent cause of the ancient diggings. The country and climate were adverse to agriculture, and it could not sustain great numbers of miners at one time. Those who worked the mines were, therefore, periodical laborers. That the products were scattered widely by traffic, from the fall of St. Mary, is denoted by the examination of the tumuli and graves, from New England to the Mississippi, in which articles of copper are found. The mode of Indian traffic is from tribe to tribe. In this way long voyages and risks are avoided, and the products of different latitudes supplied. Some of this copper was probably sent not only over the area of ancient Florida, but found its way out of the mouth of the Mississippi. In return, the Mississippi valley tribes received the green translucent serpentine, used for pipes, and obsidian, for knives, from Mexico, together with ornamented shells and silvery mica from the West Indian Islands, and other foreign objects which have been found among the antiquities of this valley. The shells and serpentine have been traced as far north as Onondaga in New York, and Beverly in Canada West. (Vol. I., Title III.)

ANCIENT FORTIFICATIONS AND MOUNDS.

But it may be enquired, had the ancestors of the present race of Indians skill to erect the fortifications and earth-works which are scattered through the Mississippi valley? An antiquarian writer, who lived in Ohio, where these works have always commanded great interest, writing in 1820, discredits the particular fact of the *military* character of most of these works, as well as their actual *number*. "First then," observes Mr. Atwater, "as to the immense number of military works; they are not here. The lines of forts, if forts they were, commencing near Cattaraugus Creek, New York; those at Newark, at Circleville, on Paint Creek; one on the Miami, and one opposite Portsmouth — have been described. And I by no means believe that even all these were real forts. Between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, the Northern lakes and the Mexican Gulf, it may be possible that there were, originally, about twenty forts to defend a country nearly as large as Europe, and these were, probably, two thousand years in building, situated, too, in a thickly-settled country. By assuming facts existing only in the writer's imagination, how easily we can prove whatever we please!" (Archæ. Amer., Vol. I., p. 207.) Mr. Atwater, who was, however, but meeting the arguments of a speculative writer on the western antiquities, asserted fundamental truths of higher value than other portions of his articles imply. He was a believer in these earth-works, however overrated by the popular mind, being archæological evidences of a dense occupancy of the Mississippi valley, by a people of superior civilization and of another race, anterior to, and different from, the ancestors of the Indians.

In a preceding part of these sketches, Gen. Clark has discussed this question well. The extensive personal knowledge of this gentleman of these western antiquities; of the manners and customs of the aborigines; of Indian defensive works, and of military science generally, in which latter he so much distinguished himself, give great weight to his opinions. He deems these encampments, ditches, and lines of defence, to be due entirely to the ancestors of the present race of Indians. In favor of this conclusion he adduces the additional testimony of Indian tradition. Sixty years have passed since his examinations were made. The Mississippi valley, which was, at that era, a vast and sublime wilderness, has since been filled with a civilized population of the Anglo-Saxon and the various Celtic races of Europe. By the seventh census of the United States, just issued, there have been established in this interval, thirteen new states and territories, containing 8,000,270 souls. (Vol. II., p. 607.) The labors of agriculture have obliterated many of the earth-works, and made it more difficult to form a judgment of their extent and character. We have, ourselves, within a period commencing in 1812, viewed many of these earth-works and tumuli, with a common feeling of the vague and unknown, which whispers to the mind of the beholder, as he glances at their enigmatical character, and then at the untutored Indian beside them, in tones of mystery and wonder. The impressions left are, that they cannot be ascribed to a people of high civilization. No people possessing any high degree of art and knowledge would have constructed such inartificial and eccentric works, which are incapable of enduring a siege. Entire towns were often embraced in lines of defence, together with the tumuli.

But their defence became unnecessary in the progress of their history, long before the European era. It was no longer necessary to protect towns by stockaded walls, when the power that erected them was destroyed, and when they ceased to be threatened with attacks. Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, and England, who successively wielded power in America, exerted themselves to convince the Indians of the folly and madness of their hostilities, and to keep them at peace with each other.

MOUNDS DILUVIAL.

With respect to the mounds, a single remark may be added, which appears to me to have pertinency. That many of these mounds were made by human labor, is unquestionable; but it is also past a doubt that many of them are of geological origin. One of the most perfect and regular of these structures in form and shape, is that of Mount Juliet, on the Desplains, in northern Illinois. I was impressed by its regularity of outline and its perfect isolation of position in 1821, when I published a view of it. (Trav. in the Central Portions of the Miss. Valley.) In 1839, the excavations for the Illinois Canal required to be carried through its eastern face, laying bare nearly its entire front and disturbing about one-fourth of its cubical contents. These excavations proved it to be of diluvial origin, the formation consisting of parallel strata of sand, clay, water-worn pebbles, and boulders in their usual order, with every mark of having assumed these positions from deposition. At the time of the introduction of plank roads and railroads into Illinois, several of the western mounds were laid open; particularly on the lines of road across the American Bottom, and on the route of the Caseyville, Ohio, and Mississippi railroad.

In most of the instances in which mounds were cut through or impinged on, regular developed diluvial beds were disclosed. It is affirmed that this result was verified in as many as nine out of ten cases. The great double-mound of St. Louis is purely geological. It was carefully examined by me in 1818, before the city had extended much in that direction. Strata of sand, clay, and gravel, with small boulders, were found to constitute the entire elevations. These strata had only mingled on its declivities, but a little excavation was sufficient to show that the interior was horizontal and unmixed. To add to the popular idea of their being artificial, Indian graves had been dug in its sides and on its summit. It is a necessary conclusion, that form, size, and external shape cannot be relied on as evidences of artificial construction.

Science has discredited the idea that ours is a new world, in any other sense than the recency of its discovery by Europeans. Before the light of civilization had dawned where it has since shone with most brilliancy, the Indian had probably launched his canoe upon our waters, and erected his frail wigwam upon our shores, as he did in the age which immediately preceded us. Yet, within the wide borders of the United States, under various climates, and very considerable variety of geographical position, he has not advanced one step beyond the rude state of barbarism in which he was found. Antiquities prove that he has greatly receded. He has yielded before the new epoch. When he leaves the soil to be succeeded by the European, that soil seems fresh from the hands of nature. In the absence of all other memorials of the previous existence of the human race in this area, the occasional occurrence of inconsiderable and scattered mounds, and semi-military vestiges, owing their origin, in fact, to the rudest states of human society, has attracted much crude speculation.

"In speaking thus," says an observer of shrewdness and accuracy, long resident in the west, "I am not unmindful that there exists in the valley of the Ohio, and perhaps elsewhere, ramparts of earth which have been construed into evidence that the races of savages known to us have been in a more civilized condition, or that they were preceded by a people who had made some progress in the mechanical arts. But imagination has been allowed to indulge in visions of the kind upon foundations so slight, as to justify incredulity in the sufficiency of the appearances referred to, to warrant the inferences deduced from them. If our portion of this continent had ever been the residence of a civilized people, the fact would be attested by less equivocal testimony. In our climate the turf with which nature would envelope the ruins of the habitations of departed civilization, would form monuments of their existence that time could scarcely obliterate. Even the slight impressions left upon the surface of the ground by their rude tillage, may be sometimes observed long after the tribes to which they must be attributed, have retired, and, perhaps, become extinct. Yet we traverse interminable forests and boundless plains without discovering the slightest indications that the soil has ever been disturbed by the hand of man. To what era then can we refer the existence of any thing but barbarism in this country, before it became known to Europeans?" (Major John Biddle, Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan, p. 174: Detroit, 1834.)

We may, on the most enlarged view which can be taken on the subject, recognize in the mounds, earth-works, and mural monuments of the Mississippi valley, the results and final extinguishment of that impulse toward civilization which was commenced by the Toltecs of Mexico. It cannot be inferred, from our present survey of the languages, that large numbers of the Toltecs mingled in this exodus of tribes from the interior of Mexico to the Northern hemisphere; but the movement which led to their downfall in the twelfth century, and gave the sovereignty to the Aztecs, appears, from monumental indicia, to have impelled them northward and eastward, disturbing other tribes impinged on in their progress towards Florida and the Mississippi valley, and across the Appalachian range into the Atlantic slopes. The traditions of the tribes, even of central New England, point to such a migration. They came from the south-west. Their traditions place in the south-western tropical regions, the residence of the benevolent god, from whom they affirmed that they had derived the gift of the zea maize. (Roger Williams' Key.) The Lenno Lenapees had also a distinct tradition of their origin in the South and West; and of their crossing the Mississippi river. The Shawnees trace themselves to Florida. (Trans. Amer. Archæ.) The Winnebagoes have a tradition that they came from Mexico. (Notes to my Geo. Rep., 1822.) The whole Algonquin family, till the mass of continually dividing tribes reached the confines of New England, trace their origin south and west. After reaching the grand geographical point of the St. Lawrence, and ascending the Utawas into the Great Lake basins, they date their origin east, and call their New England kindred Eastlanders. (Algic Researches.) The Muscogees assert that they came from the Red River valley, west of the Mississippi. (Pickett's Hist. Ala.) The ancient Chigantalgi, whom De Soto found on the east banks of the Mississippi, as high as the Yazoo, had the worship of the Sun, established with all the fixity and rites of the Toltecs. (Garcilaso de la Vega.) From these we date the Natchez, who still, at the period of their overthrow by the French, retained the art of mound-building, two of which structures they erected in the Ouichita valley. (Du Pratz.) The large mound developments formerly existing on the Kaskaskia and Cahokia rivers in Illinois, display traits of the Toltecan arts of building, and of their religion and mythological ideas. The ancient displays at Marietta, at the mouth of the Muskingum, the circular walls of Circleville, and the striking remains on Paint Creek, the Little Miami, and in the Scioto valley generally, all within the limits of Ohio, have the same air and traits of the southern element-worshippers.

The fullest consideration of the Indian history and character, denote these works to have been built by aboriginal hands. That these beginnings of an Appalachian Indian empire, were finally frustrated by the surrounding barbarous tribes, is denoted by the few traditions recorded. It fell, we may affirm, by division, anarchy, and mutual distrust; nor should the remains we behold, upon which the ancient forest has regained its foothold, create the wonder to which the settlement of the Mississippi valley has given rise. It should not be deemed incredible that the tribes of this region should have derived their impulse in mound-building, entrenchments, and the deification of the sun, from the south; nor, that, after the acquisition of considerable power, they should have totally lost it in intestine struggles, or that then the region should be entirely overrun by the pure hunter and barbarous tribes.

The Toltecan element of semi-civilization in North America, has commanded the respect of historians. It towers high, in the scale, above every Indian effort made in this part of the continent. Mr. Prescott, in his luminous survey of the Mexican civilization, regards it as a peculiar and indigenous effort of the Indian mind, which exhibits nothing disproportionate in its advances, unless it be their extraordinary proficiency in astronomy (Conq. Mex., Vol. I., p. 111). To ascribe the arts of building and sepulture to foreign races of anterior epoch, appears to be erecting a mere hypothesis, whatever advances we may allow them to have possessed, indigenous or derivative. If the striking developments of Mexico and Peru are deemed to be an indigenous and independent achievement of the Indian mind, there seems still less reason to believe that the more rude essays in art of the United States tribes are not of Indian origin.

Another remark may be made, before closing these observations. Great sympathy has, from the religious element of the country, been, from the first, excited by the Indian race, under the impression that in these tribes we behold descendants of the Hebrews. Much zeal, and some learning and research, have been devoted to this subject; which is one that we may take up in a future paper. It may be sufficient here to say, that the materials employed in the discussion of the topic have been scanty and inconclusive; sometimes of a doubtful character, and always urged with a degree of zeal, and a fixity of preconceived theory, which detracts, in no small measure, from the soundness of the conclusions.

Of antiquities which can be ascribed to this branch of American archæology, there appears to be but little commanding respect. It is undoubtedly true that the Indian mind, like the Jewish, is strongly deistic; that it is as strongly opposed to a foreign religion, which was unknown to their fathers; and it is utterly opposed to the claims of a Saviour, if it does not, at all times, as determinedly hate Jesus Christ. The comparison of the manners and customs has been vague, and loses much of its value from the spirit of prepossession before referred to. (Vide Adair and Boudinot.) Of the Hebrew language, there is little to arrest attention besides a similar amalgamated use of the verbs and pronouns, a strong analogy of sound in the first and second pronouns, and the employment of the same binal roots (in the Algonquin), for the remarkably restricted use, in both languages, of the substantive verb.[1] (Vide Title, Vol. I.)

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[1] Ancient and Curious Relic.—We may notice here the recent discovery of a Hebrew coin, in a tumulus in Indiana, which has excited local attention, the description of which is given in a letter from the Rev. George Duffield, of Detroit, communicated to me by Dr. Pitcher, of that city.

"Detroit, July 28, 1852.

"Sir: I send you a brief and somewhat hurried description of a very great curiosity, which was found not far from Laporte, Ind., on the direction towards Michigan City, and which is calculated to awaken the attention of all antiquarians. It was picked up among the bones of an Indian, as is supposed, having been dug out of an Indian mound, by a person in quest of treasures which he supposed to be there interred. Subsequently, it was offered as a piece of money coin, by the laborer who had found it, at a grocer's counter, and rejected as not being worth a penny. A person at hand stepped forward, and gave the man a penny in exchange for it; and afterwards, coming into the possession of our fellow-citizen, Dr. Zina Pitcher, it was brought by him to me, to decipher its character.

"On examination, I find it to be a well-defined and distinctly-marked specimen of the ancient Holy Shekel of the Jews. On one side is enstamped a vase, with smoke ascending from it, probably intended to represent the smoke of incense; and around it, in very handsome Hebrew letters, the words Shekel Israel. On the reverse, is an olive tree or branch, with the words Hakedose Jerusalem, in Hebrew character; but nothing to indicate the date of its origin.

"It appears to be a weight, rather than a money coin, and so far as I have been able to give the matter any reflection, seems to correspond nearer to the ancient holy shekel of the Jews, which were of the first or second years of the reign of Simon Maccabeus, than anything I can see in any collections of coin or numatological treatises to which I have access on this subject. The piece weighs, as Mr. George Doty reports to me, eight grains Troy weight,—which, reduced to the Parisian standard, (which is 1,219 Troy,) makes it 232 or 233 Pari-

NEWPORT RUIN.

BY DR. THOMAS H. WEBB.

THIS unique structure has attracted much attention in bygone times: it has furnished a theme for the Poet,[1] and material for the Novelist;[2] it has proved a matter of interest to the Historian,[3] and of speculative research to the Antiquarian[4]—yet after the numerous examinations that have been instituted, the diligent investigations that have been made, but little if any additional light is reflected upon the question at issue, and as heretofore it has been, so probably hereafter it will be, known only as the "Old Stone Mill."

About fifteen or twenty years since, renewed interest was awakened in relation to the Ante-Columbian history of America, in consequence of certain inquiries made in

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sian grains. The weight of the shekel varies somewhat,—the heaviest being 271¾ Parisian grains, the standard probably may be taken at 266 to 268.

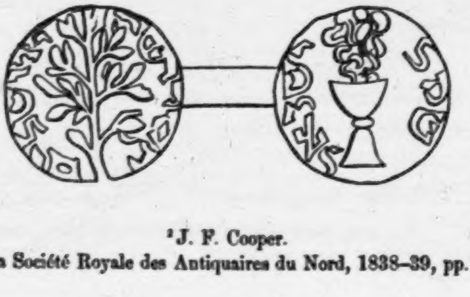
"The Hebrew characters mean 'Shekel of Israel' on the one side, and 'the Holy Jerusalem' on the other, and this is all I can confidently assert about it. I cannot think its antiquity is of the date of the ancient Maccabean coin, though the metal is tin, and not so liable as iron to be corroded by rust. Nor do I think it to be one of the tokens given by the Jesuits to the Indians, as there is no sign of the cross upon it. My opinion inclines to the supposition that it may have been a Jewish weight, in the possession probably of some Jewish trader, who accompanied the early Spanish adventurers in their search after gold, and which may have forced its way into the possession of some Indian, and been buried with him according to the custom of his tribe,—or possibly it may have been buried with the trader himself.

"I hope this notice will attract the attention of the curious, in the vicinity where the piece was discovered, and that more distinct information concerning its locality may be obtained, and forwarded to Dr. Pitcher. Desiring that the subject may attract the attention of the curious, I have prepared this notice, and made the above request, somewhat hastily, on the eve of my leaving the United States for a year.

"I have caused plaster casts of the coin or weight to be prepared by Mr. Zeni, the Italian artist, residing near the German Catholic Church, of whom specimens can be obtained, by all who are at all anxious to investigate this matter further.

GEORGE DUFFIELD."

The following are drawings of casts of this coin, forwarded to me by Dr. Zina Pitcher, of Detroit, Michigan.



[1] Prof. Longfellow. [2] J. F. Cooper. [3] Prof. C. C. Rafn.

[4] See Mémoires de La Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1838–39, pp. 361—385.

publications issued by the Royal Society of Antiquaries at Copenhagen—an institution which numbers among its members some of the most learned men in Europe, and which stands pre-eminent for the extent and value of its historical explorations and discoveries, as well as for the judicious course it has adopted in archæological, philological, and, in its broadest sense, ethnological pursuits. In the course of a correspondence, originating from queries propounded by said society, the inquiry was made by me—If the Northmen ever visited this country, and here erected structures either as look-outs or places of defence, what sort of buildings probably were they? The reason for putting this question shall hereafter be made known.

In answer, I was informed that most of the structures of the kind alluded to, were unquestionably of wood, and must long since have gone to decay. A description of these was furnished, which neither presented nor suggested any resemblance to the ruin at Newport. Still, in fulfilment of my obligation, I transmitted an account of it, accompanied by drawings prepared at my request, by F. Catherwood, Esq., representing a view of the exterior, of the interior, a ground-plan, and a vertical section.

These preliminary remarks are made to show that what I here relate is not mere off-hand assertion, arising from a momentary or casual visit and inspection, but the result of much inquiry and research, there being reasons for my devoting considerable time to the subject, and for investigating it as thoroughly as possible. Although Mr. Catherwood's drawings answered the general purpose for which they were designed, they are not so minutely accurate as is desirable, and the ones recently made expressly for this work are decidedly preferable.

This structure is situated in the town of Newport, near the south extremity of the island of Rhode Island. It is located on the north side, near the summit, of the hill upon which the upper part or rear of the town is built; and is so placed as to command a view of the noble harbor that lies to the west. It is constructed of ashler or rough stone, (greywacke, which abounds in the vicinity,) strongly cemented together by a mortar composed of lime, sand, and gravel, which must have been of a most excellent quality, as it has become almost as hard as the stone itself. The building looks as if once partially or entirely covered by cement of a similar character to that of the mortar. Its height is twenty-four feet six inches, and was originally, we should think, somewhat greater. Its outer diameter is twenty-three feet; its inner, eighteen feet nine inches. It is built upon arches, which are supported by eight columns. Its height from the ground to the centre of the arch is twelve feet six inches. The entire height of the column is ten feet one inch; viz., the base one foot six inches, the shaft seven feet nine inches, and the capital ten inches. The diameter at the base is three feet nine inches; above the base three feet two inches. The foundation, as I am credibly informed, extends under the columns to the depth of between four and five feet from the surface of the ground. The columns have *no regular capitals;* the uppermost layer of stone projects a little beyond the others constituting the shafts, and the columns *stand* *out* somewhat *beyond* the structure raised thereon. The projection is found on the *outer* half of the columns only, thus making, as it were, rude semi-capitals; upon the *inner* half, the shaft of each, from its base to the spring of the arch, is a straight line. On the east side of the interior, high above the arches, are to be seen the remains of a brick fire-place.[1] There are also three windows; viz., one facing to the north, one to the south, and one to the west. One of them has slanting sides, inclined towards each other from without, inwards; thus giving it the appearance of an embrasure: it may, perhaps, have been thus constructed in reference to the admission of light. Two recesses, or cupboards, may likewise be noticed. Immediately above the columns are hollow places, in which, we presume, originally rested the ends of the timbers which sustained the floor. If so, however, there must have been two stories, or the recesses could not be available, or at least conveniently accessible. There are nothing but the bare walls now standing; neither roofing, nor any portion of the interior fitting-up, remaining. The space below, or column-encircled area, seems to have been entirely left open; and there does not appear to have been any rampart, ditch, or inclosure, around the structure; or if there originally were, all vestiges have, in the lapse of time, been completely obliterated.

The accompanying engraving, Plate XV, from drawings made by S. Eastman, Capt. U. S. A., will convey a clearer idea of the structure, than any written description can.

The questions naturally arise, for what purpose, when, and by whom, was this erected?

By some it is conjectured to have been built and employed for a watch-tower, to prevent the early colonists being surprised by hostile Indians.

It has, however, usually been styled the *Old Mill.* Everything about it, as many of those who have examined it the most attentively think, throws discredit upon the supposition that it was erected for, although from what we can gather, we doubt not but that it may have been at some period used as, a mill. No similar structure, built in early or in recent times, for any purpose whatever, is to be met with in this vicinity, or in any other section of our country, so far as we have been enabled to ascertain, or have any reason to believe.

What now constitutes the State of Rhode Island, was first settled by the whites, in Post-Columbian times (using that expression in contradistinction to Ante-Columbian, as, since the satisfactory evidence that has been adduced of the early visits of the Northmen to this country, it would be manifestly incorrect to speak of the period we are now referring to, as that in which the *first* white settlers located themselves here), we repeat, the State of Rhode Island was first settled by Europeans, in Post-Columbian times, in the year 1636. Two years afterwards, the *island* of Rhode Island, having been purchased of the Indians, was settled; originally at the north, and subsequently at the south end — that is to say, at Newport. The earliest manuscript record of which I have knowledge, wherein an allusion is made to the stone structure, is the will of Governor Benedict Arnold; this was executed "ye four and twentieth day of December, Annoque Domini, 1677," being about forty years from the date of the settlement of Newport. In this instrument, it is referred to as his "stone-built windmill." The following are extracts from said will.

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[1] In this fire-place, some wiseacres imagine they have made a discovery, which, in their conceit, is supposed clearly to show their own acuteness, at the same time that it exposes the ignorance of preceding explorers and commentators. They, in their zeal, do not make a sufficiently critical examination to ascertain that the bricks have been inserted, that is, constituted a modern addition; and arrogate superior discernment and knowledge, whilst they stigmatize others as ignorant of a fact of which every school-boy is cognizant; viz., the time when chimneys are said to have been first introduced.

"My body I desire and appoint to be buried at ye North East corner of a parcel of ground containing three rod square, being of and lying in my land, in or near the line or path from my dwelling house, leading to my Stone built Windmill, in ye town of Newport, above mentioned," &c.

Again: "I do also give and bequeath," &c., "ye other and greater parcell of ye tract of land abovesaid upon which standeth my dwelling or Mansion House and other buildings thereto adjoining or belonging as also my Stone Built Wind Mill, and in ye said," &c.

These allusions certainly favor the supposition that the building was erected for a mill, although they by no means conclusively prove it. The structure might have been *designed* for quite another purpose, or might have been found here by the colonists, and been converted, by Governor Arnold, into a mill; as, for such a purpose, a movable wooden top, like that of a modern wind-mill, could easily have been raised upon it. Indeed, some aged inhabitants of Newport, who were living twenty-five years since, spoke of it as having been thus used in their early days.

It was also at one period called the Powder Mill. Not, probably, from gunpowder having been manufactured, but because, for safe-keeping, it was deposited there; in other words, from having been used as a powder magazine. The following is the copy of a declaration, relating to this and another point, which was furnished me some years since.

"Mr. Joseph Mumford, now residing at Halifax, in the British Province of Nova Scotia, aged about 80 years, formerly of Newport, in the State of Rhode Island, states that his father was born in the year 1699 in said Newport, and that his father always spoke of the Stone Mill in this town as the Powder Mill; and that when he was a boy his father used it as a haymow—that there was a circular roof on it at that time, and a floor above the arches — that he has himself, when a boy, repeatedly found powder in the crevices, sometimes to the amount of two or three pounds, and has likewise known other boys to find quantities of it. Dated Nov. 17, 1834.

(Signed) JOSEPH MUMFORD."

It may not be altogether superfluous to direct attention to the fact that the period above alluded to was anterior to the Revolutionary War, inasmuch as some writers have erroneously stated that the structure was used as a magazine, during the war of 1812. From Mr. Mumford's statement, it would seem that the hollow places above the columns may have been made at the time this structure was used as a haymow, in order, perhaps, to place a flooring or platform as low as possible, and thus obtain more storage room; so that the apparent want of wisdom, in placing the recesses so high, is removed, as the reasonable supposition is, that the original flooring was elevated some feet above the centre of the arches.

The interrogatory may with reason be put—"If this structure were here when the English first located themselves at Newport, would they not have taken particular notice, and made special mention of it?" But on the other hand, it may be asked, "If it were erected subsequently, is it not reasonable to suppose that such a remarkable transaction would have been duly chronicled?" The singularity of erecting such an unique piece of architecture, at such a time, it may plausibly be surmised, would have been noised far and wide throughout the colonies; and some of the writers, who were taking due note of the events of the day, to transmit to the mother country, or for the information of those dwelling in the land of their adoption, would certainly have penned a line or two in reference to the strange building-fancies of the Rhode-Islanders.

That the neighboring inhabitants were not ignorant of passing transactions in the island colony, is abundantly evident; and that they watched with a scrutinizing eye everything which was there going on, cannot for a moment be doubted, knowing as we do that they entertained a great jealousy towards them. But we will not extend these remarks, not intending at present to discuss the subject at length.

Among the first settlers of Newport was Peter Easton, who was in the practice of noting down important events and occurrences in the colony. Some years since, a fragment of his original diary accidentally came into my possession. In this, under date of 1663, I find the following entry, viz.:

"This year we built the first wind mill."

As he makes this simple announcement without comment, and unaccompanied by details, notwithstanding his accustomed particularity, it appears nearly, if not quite conclusive, that "the first wind mill," by him alluded to, was a mere temporary building, and not the stone structure under consideration.

As already in substance remarked by me, if found standing when Newport was first settled, it is singular that a man like Peter Easton should not have made mention of it; whilst on the other hand, if constructed afterwards, but yet in the early times of the colony, as in that case it must have been, it is as singular, considering the strifes and contentions of the day, and the animosities which prevailed between this and the neighboring colonies, that the raising of such an unique pile did not attract the attention, arouse the fears, and call forth the animadversions, of some writer of the period. View the subject as we may, difficulties will still meet us.

It would be easy to write pages of hypothesis relative to it, but such a course would avail naught; I deem the better one is to furnish all the reliable facts which can be attained, and leave each one to deduce from them his own inferences. I will simply state, in conclusion, that my opinion is, the structure was erected far within Post-Columbian times; though for what purpose I am in doubt, and by whom I am not prepared to say.

[BOSTON, *October*, 1853.]

(B.) AN ESSAY ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CONGAREE INDIANS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

BY REV. GEO. HOWE.

THE most considerable streams in South Carolina, and especially those which, taking their rise in the Apalachian Mountains, traverse the State in their way to the ocean, receive their names from the Indian tribes which were found occupying their shores at the advent of the white man. The Catawba, rising in the mountains of North Carolina, on receiving the Wateree creek, becomes the Wateree river, and was the favorite abode of Indians of that name. The Saluda and Broad, uniting at the town of Columbia, form the Congaree, and this, after its junction with the Wateree, becomes the Santee, which bears this name till it falls into the broad Atlantic. The Broad river was called by the Catawbas *Eswau Huppeday*, or *Line River*, because it was the established line between them and the Cherokees. Of the Congarees, who gave their name to the river which is formed by the confluence of the Saluda and Broad, little is historically known. The earliest European voyager, who travelled through the country and has left behind him any account of the tribes occupying it, is John Lawson, afterwards Surveyor-General of North Carolina. He left Charleston on Saturday, Dec. 28, 1700, in a canoe, and threading the bays and creeks of the coast, entered the Santee on the Friday following. He soon after encountered a party of the Sewee Indians, who have given their name to the Sewee bay, near the mouth of that river, and whom he represents as having been formerly a large nation, but at that time much diminished in numbers — by intemperance, by the ravages of the small-pox, and by a disaster at sea which reduced still more the remnant of this people. Under the mistaken idea that England was not far from the coast, they fitted out a large fleet of canoes laden with skins and furs for the purpose of traffic, embarked all their able-bodied men, leaving the old, impotent, and those under age, at home. A part of their fleet was destroyed by a storm, and the remainder taken by an English vessel, which sold them as slaves in the West India Islands (pp. 11, 12). After passing the settlement of the French Huguenots, which he describes as already a thriving community, he visits the "Seretees or Santees" (Zantees), some of whose customs he describes in passing. Their corn-cribs set up on posts, and made tight, so as to be out of the reach of vermin, resembled those which we have often seen among the farmers and smaller planters who have succeeded them on their soil, save that the modern crib is usually nearer the ground and less carefully secured. Their burial customs were peculiar. "Near these cabins are several tombs made after the manner of these *Indians*, the largest and chiefest of them was the sepulchre of the late *Indian* king of the *Santees*, a man of great power, not only among his own subjects, but dreaded by the neighboring nations for his great valor and conduct. The manner of their interment is thus — a mole or pyramid of earth is raised, the mould thereof being worked very smooth and even, sometimes higher or lower, according to the dignity of the person whose monument it is. On the top thereof is an umbrella, made ridge-ways like the roof of a house. This is supported by nine stakes or small posts, the grave being about six or eight feet in length, and four feet in breadth, about which is hung gourds, feathers, and other such like trophies, placed there by the dead man's relations, in respect to him in the grave. The other part of the funeral rites are thus—as soon as the party is dead, they lay the corpse upon a piece of bark in the sun, seasoning or embalming it with a small root beaten to powder, which looks as red as vermilion; the same is mixed with bears' oil, to beautify the hair. After the carcass has laid a day or two in the sun, they remove it and lay it upon crotches cut on purpose for the support thereof from the earth, then they anoint it all over with the forementioned ingredients of the powder of this root, and bears' oil. When it is so done, they cover it over very exactly with the bark of the pine or cypress tree, to prevent any rain to fall upon it, sweeping the ground very clean all about it. Some of his nearest of kin brings all the temporal estate he was possessed of at his death, as guns, bows and arrows, beads, feathers, match-coat, &c. This relation is the chief mourner, being clad in moss, and a stick in his hand, keeping a mournful ditty for three or four days, his face being black with the smoke of pitch-pine mixed with bears' oil. All the while he tells the dead man's relations, and the rest of the spectators, who that dead person was, and of the great feats performed in his lifetime; all that he speaks tending to the praise of the defunct. As soon as the flesh grows mellow, and will cleave from the bone, they get it off and burn it, making the bones very clean, then anoint them with the ingredients aforesaid, wrapping up the skull (very carefully) in a cloth, artificially woven of possums' hair. The bones they carefully preserve in a wooden box, every year oiling and cleansing them. By these means they preserve them for many ages, that you may see an *Indian* in possession of the bones of his grandfather, or some of his relations of a longer antiquity. They have other sorts of tombs, as when an *Indian* is slain, in that very place they make a heap of stones, (or sticks, where stones are not to be found): to this memorial, every *Indian* that passes by, adds a stone to augment the heap, in respect to the deceased hero," (pp. 21, 22.) In another place, Lawson represents the Indians as making a roof of *light wood*, or pitch-pine over the graves of the more distinguished, covering it with bark and then with earth, leaving the body thus in a subterranean vault, until the flesh quits the bones. The bones are then taken up, cleaned, jointed, clad in white-dressed deer-skins, and laid away in the *Quiogozon*, which is the royal tomb or burial-place of their kings and war-captains, being a more magnificent cabin, reared at the public expense. This *Quiogozon* is an object of veneration, in which the writer says he has known the king, old men, and conjurors, to spend several days with their idols and dead kings, and into which he could never gain admittance," (pp. 179–182.)

After travelling about seventy-five miles, which occupied them about five days, they reached the town of the Congarees. This he describes as consisting of some dozen houses, though the tribe had often straggling plantations up and down the country. He found them occupying the river bottoms, having "curious dry marshes and savannahs" near. They had large stores of "chinkapin nuts," kept in large baskets for use; and "hickory nuts," which they beat betwixt two great stones, "then sift them, and so thicken their venison broth therewith; the small shells precipitating to the bottom of the pot, while the kernel, in the form of flour, mixes with the liquor. Both these nuts made into meal make a curious soup." When he arrived among them, he found the women engaged in some game, which, though he looked upon it for two hours, he could not understand. "Their arithmetic was kept with a heap of *Indian* grain." He represents these Indians as "kind and affable to the English, the Queen being very kind; giving us," says he, "what rarities her cabin afforded; as *loblobby*, made with *Indian* corn and dried peaches," (pp. 28, 29.) The existence of the peach among the Indians he elsewhere adduces as evidence of the eastern origin of the Indian tribes, (p. 170.) And we may here allude to the circumstance, that one of the finest varieties of the peach we now enjoy in Carolina, is commonly known as "the Indian peach," a variety we have not met with at the north. The sewee or Carolina bean, known over the United States, bears the name of the Sewee Indians. The red or cow pea, one of the most useful crops of the south, Lawson partook of among the Indians; and then, the Indian corn and tobacco we have received from the native tribes, as we have received various other vegetables which our gardens yield from the Africans among us, such as the egg-plant or Guinea squash, the okra or gumbo, the Guinea corn and other vegetable productions. "These Congarees have abundance of cranes and storks in their savannahs. They take them before they can fly, and breed them as tame and familiar as a dung-hill fowl. They had a tame crane at one of these cabins that was scarce less than six feet in height, his head being round, with a shining natural crimson hue which they all have," (p. 29.) In another place he says, "They are above five feet high when extended; their quills are excellent for pens; their flesh makes the best broth, yet it is hard to digest. They are easily bred, and are excellent in a garden to destroy frogs, worms, and other vermin, (pp. 145, 146.) He extols the *beauty* of the Congarees. "These are a very comely sort of *Indians;* there being a strange difference in the proportion and beauty of these heathens. The women here are as handsome as most I have met withal, there being several fine-fingered brounettas among them." Their *hospitality* is applauded. "When their play was ended, the king or *Casseta's* wife invited us into her cabin. (The men of the tribe were absent on a hunting expedition.) "The *Indian* kings always entertaining travellers, either *English* or *Indian;* taking it as a great affront if they pass by their cabins, and take up their quarters at any other *Indian's* house. The Queen set victuals before us, which good compliment they use generally as soon as you come under their roof." Again: "The Queen got us a good breakfast before we left here." The following instance of medical practice occurred as an accompaniment. "She had a young child, which was much afflicted with the cholick; for which distemper she infused a root in water, which was held in a gourd: this she took into her mouth and spurted it into the infant's, which gave it ease." "After we had eaten, we set out with our new guide for the Wateree *Indians*," (pp. 28–30.)

The Congarees are represented as a people inconsiderable for numbers. "These *Indians* are a small people, having lost much of their former numbers by intestine broils; but most by the small-pox, which hath often visited them, sweeping away whole towns; occasioned by the immoderate government (improper treatment) of themselves in their sickness. Nor do I know any savages that have traded with the *English*, but what have been great losers by this distemper, (p. 28.) Putting the "*Wateree* and *Chickaree Indians*" in comparison, he says, "This nation is more populous than the *Congarees* and their neighbors;[1] yet understand not one another's speech, (p. 32.) But the Waterees, on their part, were despised by the Waxsaws as a "poor sort of *Indians*," and among these last they found more style and a higher manner of living, (pp. 33–36, et seq.)

The next notice we find of the Congarees, is fourteen or fifteen years later. In 1715, to the great disappointment of the inhabitants of Carolina, the Congarees, the Catawbas, and the Cherokees, united with the Yamasees in a war of extermination against the colonists. The conspiracy embraced every tribe from Florida to the Cape Fear. The southern division of the Indian force consisted of about 6000 bowmen; the northern, among whom were the Congarees, of between 600 and 1000. The massacre of Pokataligo was perpetrated by the southern division; the church of stone was burnt, and all the inhabitants south of Charleston fled for refuge to that city, or were miserably slain by the cruel enemy; such as had no friends among them being subjected to the fiercest tortures. The northern division, among whom were the Congarees, advanced beyond Goose creek on the way to Charleston, and murdered the family of John Hearne. During this expedition, Captain Thomas Barker, who opposed them with a company of about ninety mounted militia, fell into an ambuscade, and, with several of his men, was slain; and in the Goose creek settlement, seventy white men and forty negroes, who had hastily entrenched themselves, rashly agreeing to terms of peace, admitted the Indians within their breastwork and were by them inhumanly butchered. After the

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[1] He reached them at a distance of thirty-eight miles.

Yamassee war was brought to a close by Governor Craven, the Congarees seem to have confined themselves to their ancient haunts. In 1722, some eight years after, a fort or garrison was in existence among them to protect the settlements below from hostile incursion. In 1730–1733, Thomas Brown had taken up his abode near this fort, as an Indian trader, and had, perhaps, been preceded by others in the same capacity, as travelling merchants.[1] At what time the Congarees disappeared from their ancient haunts is not accurately known. Grants were made in Amelia township, laid out on the southern side of the Congaree, as early as 1735, and in the township of Saxe Gotha, north of Amelia, in 1737. In 1735, Thomas Brown, Indian trader at Congaree, Old Fort, purchased of the Waterees the lands between the Santee (Congaree) and Wateree as far up as the Catawba Fording-Place.[2] About this time then, we may suppose they began to change their residence. What became of them, history does not inform us; but they probably withdrew to the north-western part of the State, and were merged in the great body of the Cherokees.

Various implements and utensils of the Congarees have been found about the places of their former abode. The smaller implements have partly been ploughed up in the field, and partly they have been picked up since the freshet of 1852. I have many hundred arrow and spear heads, and many more are in the possession of others. The longest of them is four inches and a half in length—the shortest less than three-fourths of an inch. Some are of quartz, others of flint, others of jasper, others of horn-stone, and a few of coarser materials. And as to the color, they are of all the various hues which these several mineral substances assume. Some are of beautiful shape and colors, and exquisitely formed by the process of chipping described on p. 467, Vol. III. of Hist. and Cond. of the Indian Tribes. The last one, on the lower left-hand corner of the Plate, seems to be a piece of stone, divided according to its natural cleavage, preparatory to being manufactured into a spear-head. Among the number may be found some with jagged edges evidently designed for fish-spears. With a magnifying glass and in the clear sunlight, the form of these various arrow-heads may be seen, and the material of each pretty well understood. At the bottom of the Plate and lying on the table, are several other implements. At the extreme left is an axe of stone six and a half inches long by three broad, with a groove around the head to receive the handle. Next are two stone chisels or fleshing instruments, six inches long by two and one-fourth broad, and one and a half inches thick, and at the right hand corner a hollowed stone, on which these implements were formed by continual attrition. Near this is a fragment of a tube of stone, perforated and formed with as much accuracy as if turned in a lathe.

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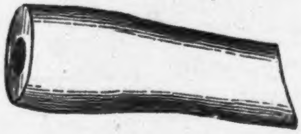
[1] Journals of Council House, Office of Secretary of State, Columbia, S. C.: Vols. X. and XII. Anthony Park, one of the first settlers in Newberry district, and alive in 1809, travelled, in 1758, a few hundred miles among the Indians west of the Alleghanies. He found several white men, Scotch and Irish, who said they had lived as traders among the Indians of those regions for twenty years; a few for forty or fifty, and one sixty years. One of them said he had upwards of seventy children and grandchildren in the nation. If these stories are true, the oldest of these traders must have taken up his abode among these Indians, 400 miles west of Charleston, before the close of the seventeenth century, when the white population of Carolina extended scarcely twenty miles from the sea-coast. Ramsay, Vol. I., p. 208.

[2] Journals of Council, Vols. X., XII.



The above is a rude outline of this tube or pipe, and of its exact dimensions.

In Plate 16, Fig. A, are specimens of the pots or vases which were washed up by the flood in the Congaree River, in August, 1852. The water, during this freshet, rose in this river six feet above the great freshet of 1840; and will long be remembered for its sweeping destruction, and the loss of human life.[1] It surpassed, too, the freshet of 1796, popularly called "The Yazoo Freshet." But the most striking evidence of the unexampled rise of waters in this stream, is the uncovering of the numerous graves of the Congaree Indians (as is supposed), and the disclosure of their remains by the waters of this flood. These nations would select their place of burial in a spot which they believed high above the reach of the river, and which neither they nor their fathers had ever known overflowed. The extent of ground over which these graves are scattered, along the banks of the river, shows that it was a favorite place of sepulture, and had been long used as such. No Indians have visited there since about 1737–40; and the time when interments were begun by them is wholly unknown. They have probably been made here for centuries. On the plantation of Mr. Jesse De Bruhl, now belonging to Col. J. F. Marshall and Dr. Samuel Fair, the river broke through the cotton-fields in several places, making new channels for its surplus waters, and scooping out the earth to the depth of from three to five feet. Numerous Indian graves were thus exposed to view, the earth being carried away down to the surface of the graves. In these graves the skeletons were lying, in a state of tolerable preservation. The excavation to receive the body seems to have been about three feet long, by about two feet wide, in the form of a parallelogram; and the body to have been flexed, the knees drawn up to the breast, the heels to the hams, the head bent forward till the chin touched the breast-bone, and the hands crossed over the legs. They seemed then to have been laid on the left side, and the head of the graves to have pointed promiscuously to either point of the compass. The skull-bones in this locality were so fragile that none of them could be brought away whole, though often bones, such as the vertebræ of the spine (see right hand corner of Fig. A), the bones of the thigh, arm, and leg, could be obtained in any quantity. A cranium from the adjoining

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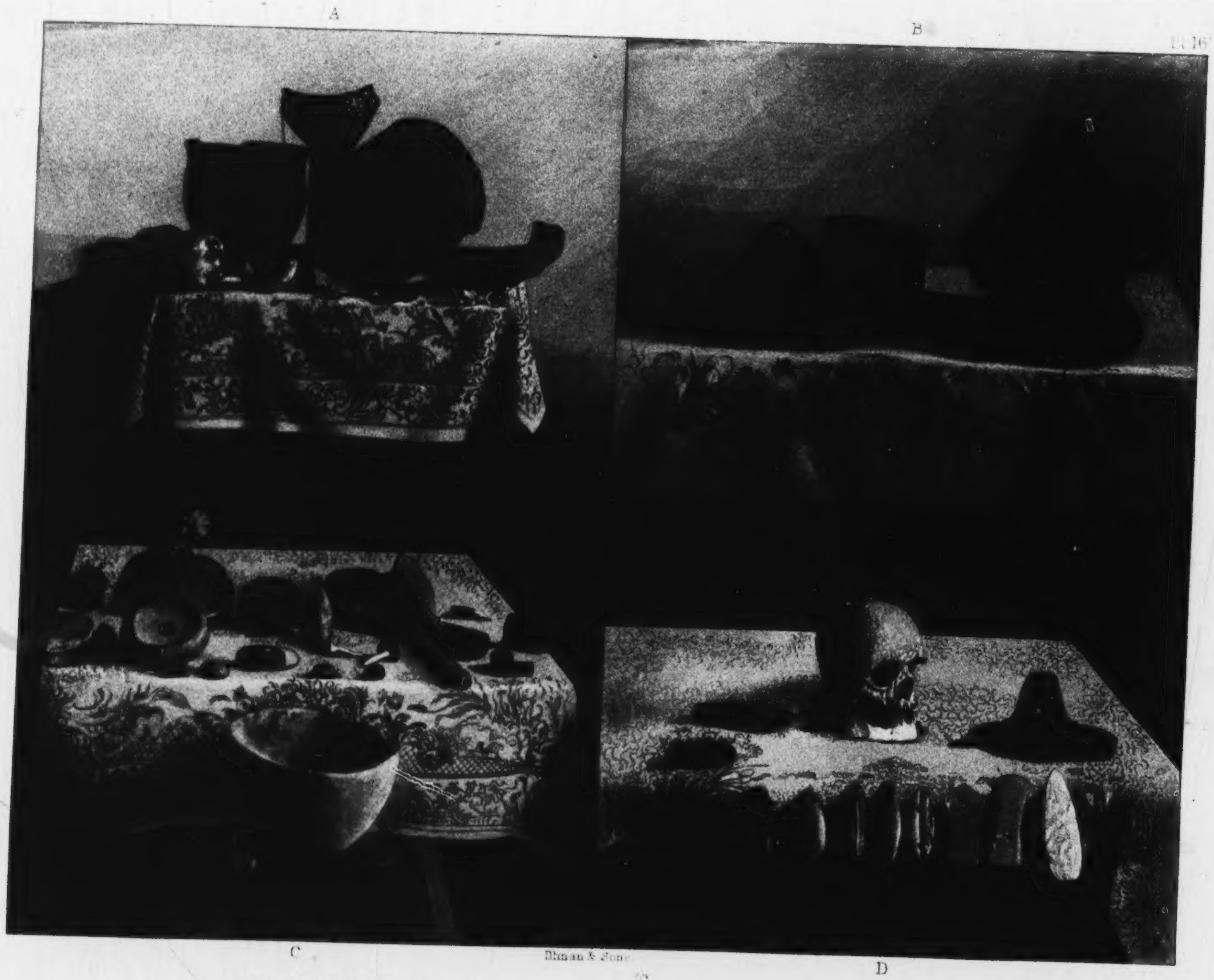
[1] Col. William Spencer Brown, Chief Engineer of the Greenville Railroad, met his death in this flood, while engaged in official duty.



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ANTIQUITIES FROM THE CONGAREE INDIANS, S. CAROLINA.

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plantation of Colonel Hampton, which also abounds in Indian relics, will be exhibited in Plate 16, Fig. D. At a short distance from these graves, and indeed interspersed among them, were found many earthen jars or vases, similar to those exhibited in Fig. A. Some were buried less deep, and were washed up and broken in pieces, by the violence of the waters. Indeed, the whole plantation along the river banks was strewed with fragments of broken pottery, bones, and teeth, from the washed-up skeletons, in good preservation. The large jar lying on its side, in Plate 3, and which is from the museum of Dr. Fair, was found uncovered, in an erect position, its mouth even with the surface of the uncovered graves, and filled with earth, with some whitish fragments, as of lime, or decayed bones, interspersed. It had a small hole broken in it at the bottom, as seen in the Plate, which was stopped on the inside by a smooth flat pebble, to be seen lying on the outer edge of the table supporting the vase. None were found without this fractured aperture in the bottom. If human remains were interred in these vases, the aperture may have been made for the escape of the liquid humors of the decaying body. The height of this jar is 1 foot 7 inches; the diameter of its mouth, 14½ inches; its circumference in the largest part, 3 feet 10 inches. The one standing erect has lost a portion of its bottom, which, as was the case with all the rest, was of the shape of the small end of an egg. The height of this vase, as it now stands, is 13¾ inches; its diameter, from lip to lip across the brim, 12¼ inches; its greatest circumference, 3 feet, 3 inches. These vases are all of a dark brown color, resembling, in general, that of the vase in Plate 22, Fig. 1, Vol. I., Hist. and Cond. of Indian Tribes; and they are ornamented with minute figures, which a strong magnifier will reveal in the daguerreotype. On the left-hand corner of the table is a lump of clay, indurated on one side by heat, and bearing the finger-marks of the women and children; evidently a lump of the very clay out of which these vessels were wrought, as it was left by the Indian potter. On the two corners of the table represented in Fig. A, are fragments of broad shallow vessels, of which none were found whole, which may have been covers for those vases, or, as they have a flat bottom on which they could rest, they may have been broad pans used for culinary purposes. The diameter of one of these crocks is 16 inches; the breadth of the flat bottom 4 inches; the height 5¼ inches; the edge turned over inwards, sometimes smooth, and sometimes crimped or serrated. In front of the upright jar is a peculiar discoidal stone of whitish, translucent quartz, formed with perfect regularity, with a saucer-like depression on either side, the one exactly corresponding to the other. The difficulty is to understand how so unyielding a material could be formed so truly by any instrument the Indian was known to possess. When once made, the discoidal vessel might be used for grinding colors, or for any similar purpose. Next to this is a regularly formed earthen crucible, similar to those used in the modern arts, and bearing marks of the fire; its height about 3½ inches, its width at the top 2½. Whether used for melting ores before the advent of the white man, or in the melting of lead for bullets after they became acquainted with the white man's arms, we cannot say. A chewed leaden bullet was picked up on the surface of the ground, near these remains. But the white man has long resided on the same territory which the Indian made his favorite resort before him; the dilapidated dwelling of Governor Pinckney being within a few feet of "the wash" which laid bare these graves. Fort Granby, too, at which there was smart skirmishing during the Revolution, was not far off, on the opposite side of the river; and Whig and Tory may have wandered, and did wander, over the same spot. The crucible appears to be of the same material with the other pottery. Next these is seen, in the Plate, a very minute vessel of a redder pottery, an inch and a half high, and one inch and three-quarters in its largest diameter, which was either a child's toy, or used for holding some liquids of small quantity. It might be appropriate for holding colors, when these were required. The next small object is a very curious vessel of earth, quite heavy, of a dark chocolate color, a little less than 2 inches in height, 3¼ in its largest diameter, 2¼ inches from inside to inside of its brim, covered over with two rows of processes, or blunt, spine-like protuberances, and pierced, though not quite through to the insides, with a row of holes at regular intervals, as an ornamental device. The vertebræ on the right-hand corner, have before been alluded to. The whole collection on the table is surrounded by a comparatively modern product of Indian art — an arrow-shaped basket of the modern Choctaws, the prop supporting which interferes somewhat with the outline of the vase beneath it.

Fig. B, Plate 16, exhibits several specimens of broken pottery from the Indian burial-place. Specimens of other *figures* might be furnished.

Fig. C, Plate 16.—At the bottom of the plate is a vase, perfect, except a very small fragment broken from the edge. The form of this jar is the same as the lower half of the large jar in Plate 2 would make, if cut from the superior half. It is seven and five-eighths inches in height and nine and seven-eighths inches in diameter at the top. It was found while digging in a bank at the Saluda Factory, two miles from this place. It has no hole in the bottom like those found on the banks of the Congaree. It contained, when found, human bones. It belongs to the museum of Robert W. Gibbes, M. D., who has kindly furnished this and several other specimens now delineated. This seems to settle the question as to the design of these vases. A still more striking proof of the same is furnished by the museum of the South Carolina College. It has the fragments of a large vase, of the form of those in Fig. A. It has also the skull found in this vase. There were evidently two skeletons in this jar, that of a mother and her infant child, and the size of the vase would allow the bodies of both to be compressed into it. On ascertaining the diameter of this vase from the curvature of the pieces remaining, its mouth could not be less than two feet across, and its height three feet. This jar was from an Indian mound near Darlington, in which great numbers were found.[1]

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[1] See Darlington Flag, of May 7th, 1851.

There can be no doubt then that these jars were used for funeral urns. Some contained probably the entire remains of the person interred; others possibly contained only the bones of the deceased after they had undergone the process described by Lawson, in the extract of his book found in the preceding pages. Lawson speaks of none of the Indians of his day as burying in funeral urns. He is of the opinion that these vases are the work of a people preceding those whom our forefathers found here. Among the proofs of an earlier race, he mentions the discovery, at the bottom of a well twenty-six feet deep, of "many large pieces of the tulip tree and several other sorts of wood, some of which were cut and notched, and some squared, as the joints of a house are, which appeared in the judgment of all that saw them, to be wrought with iron instruments, it seeming impossible for any thing made of stone to cut wood in that manner." "The next argument is, the earthen pots that are often found under ground and at the foot of the banks where the water has washed them away. They are, for the most part, broken in pieces; but we find them of a different sort in comparison of those the *Indians* use at this day, who have had no other ever since the English discovered America. The bowels of the earth cannot have altered them, since they are thicker, of another shape and composition, and nearly approach to the urns of the ancient Romans," (p. 170.)

If these reasonings of Lawson are right, the relics now before us carry us up to the Ante-Columbian period without the possibility of doubt. Although the Congarees were found in occupancy by the white man, they may not have resided there for many generations. The Catawbas, above the Wateree in their locality, migrated into the State from Canada, driven out by the French in 1650,[1] and the Savannahs came from the banks of the Mississippi.[2]

At the bottom of the jar are two discoidal stones, the one at the right hand being of conglomerate or pudding stone, three and three-eighths inches in diameter by one and one-eighth inch thick. It belongs to the College collection, and is from Tuscaloosa County, Alabama, and was formerly of the collection of Prof. Brumly. The other measures four inches in diameter by one and a half in thickness, and is from the collection of Dr. Gibbes. On the left-hand corner of the table are two pipes, one of them having a portion of the stem concealed by the border of the picture. The stem, which is broken, is five inches long, the bowl two inches in height. It is from Newberry District, a relic probably of the Saludas, and is of reddish brown earthen. The other pipe, stem one and one-eighth inches, bowl two and one-quarter inches in height, is of a dark brown stone, and is from Abbeville District. The discoidal stone, against which this leans, is from Lexington District, the territory of the Congarees. It is of dark-colored quartz. The other object of the same kind was found on the plantation of Mr. Benjamin Taylor, on this side of the river, and is another relic of the same tribe. This, like the fragment in Fig. A, is of solid translucent quartz. It is five and one-eighth inches in diameter. The other perforated specimen is five and one-half inches in diameter. Beyond this, is a stone mortar of the Saluda Indians, from Newberry District, South Carolina, the cavity five and one-half by four inches.

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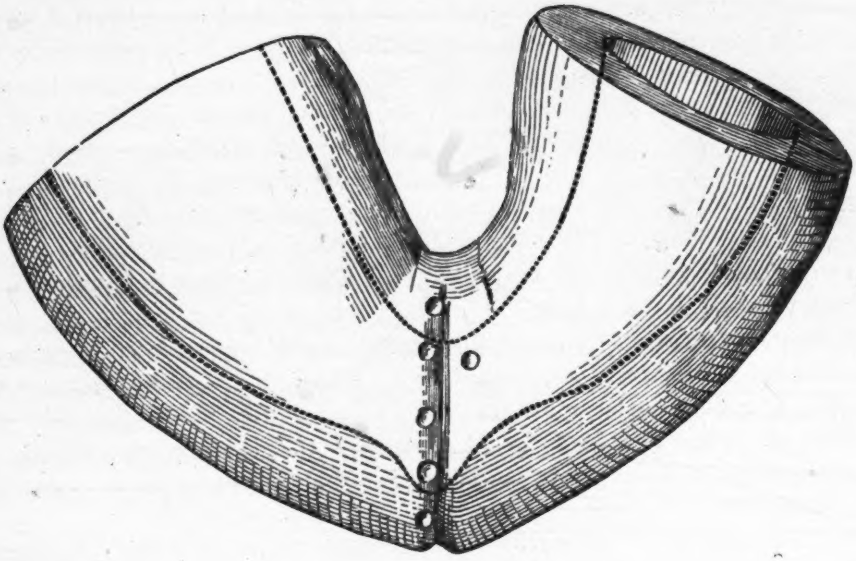
[1] Documents in the Secretary of State's Office, Columbia, South Carolina.

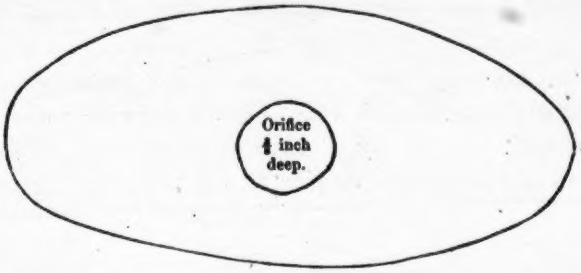
[2] Lawson, p. 171.

Beyond this, on the extreme left hand of the Plate, and partly hidden by the border, is an interesting relic, the form and dimensions of which may be better known by this rude pen-and-ink outline.



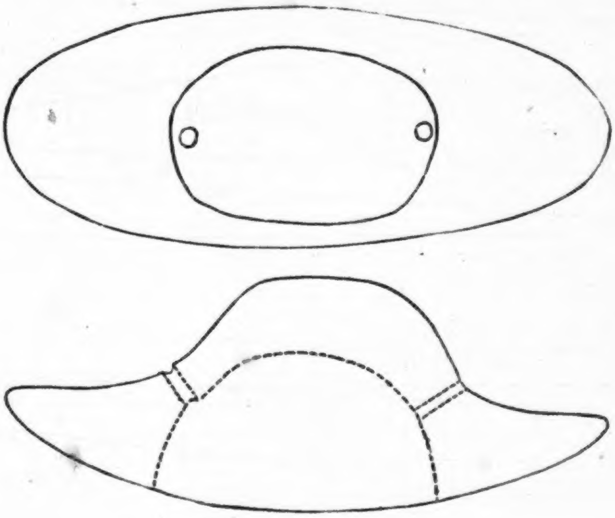
The dotted lines indicate the form of the internal cavity. A crease on the outside, with slight circular indentations, is also rudely sketched. The internal cavity has a small chambered depression at the bottom. A similar relic in the College cabinet, (to which this also belongs,) is split open, and reveals a like construction. This latter specimen was found by Col. E. A. Brenard, of Lincoln County, North Carolina, nine feet below the surface, while digging for gold. There were no signs above ground that the spot had ever been worked as a mine; but on digging down, unmistakeable evidences of ancient mining were discovered. This relic referred to was made of the *Itacolumite* or fire-stone, found in that vicinity, and used by Col. Brenard for hearths in his iron-furnaces. With it was found the fragments of a thick earthen pan. It is believed by Col. Brenard and Prof. Brumly of the South Carolina College, to whom I am indebted for these specimens and these facts, that the one was used as a crucible for melting gold, and the other, the pan, for washing the ore. If so, the Indians knew something of metallurgy, at least in reference to the precious metals. The Spaniard

Miruelo obtained from the natives of the Atlantic coast of Florida, A. D. 1514, small quantities of gold and silver; and D'Allyon in 1515 or 1516, procured by barter, from the Indians of Combahee in this State, more of the same precious metals. The relic pictured above, is from Beaufort, the very neighborhood of D'Allyon's unfortunate expedition. In front of this relic is an oval stone, which, because imperfectly exhibited in the daguerreotype, is here rudely given.



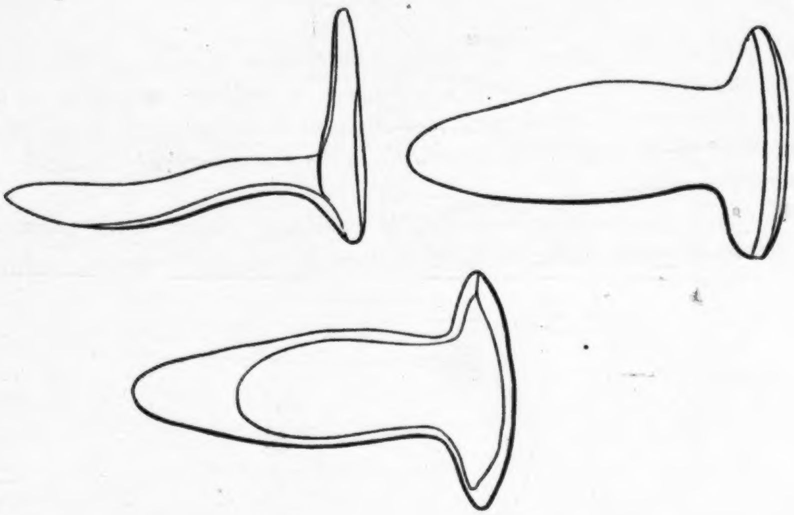
It is a relic of the Congarees. Returning to the front of the table, we next find there small circular stones, one and one-eighth, one and a half, and one and seven-eighths inches in circumference. These were probably used in the games of chance, in which Lawson found the Congaree women engaged, in the absence of their husbands. They are relics of the Congarees.

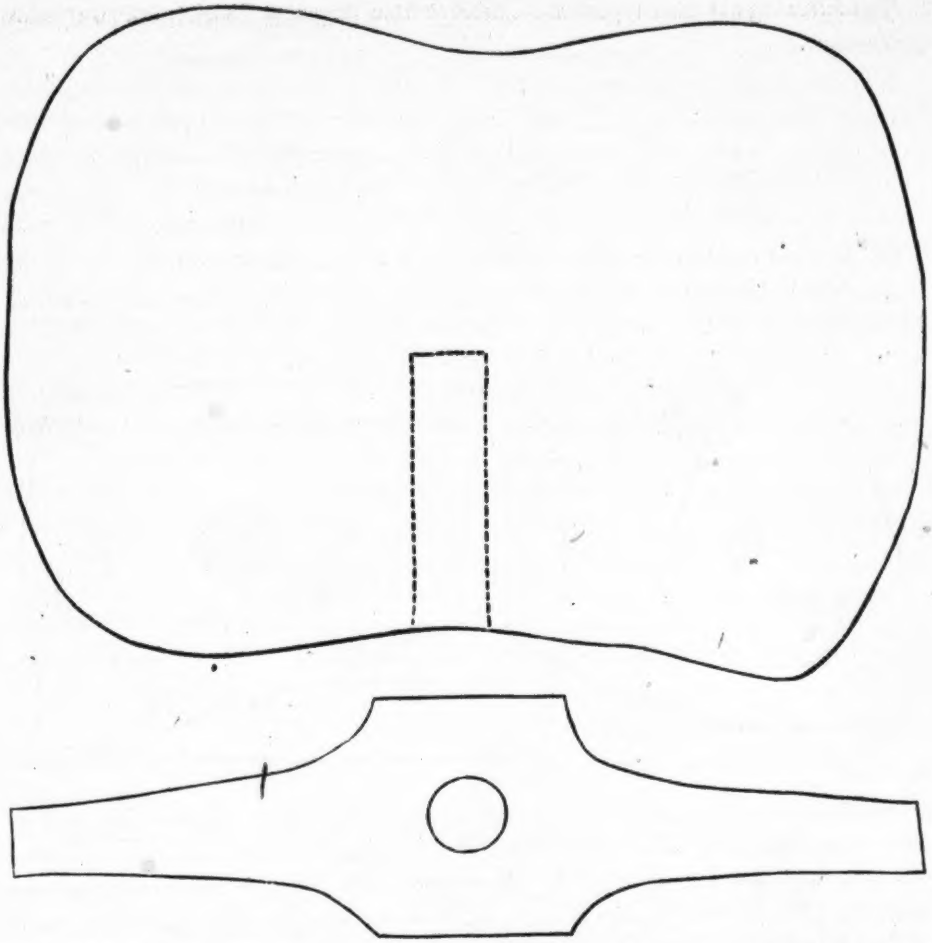
In the rear, and between two of these, is a curiously shaped object, which is also on the left-hand corner of Fig. D, though somewhat obscured in the representation by



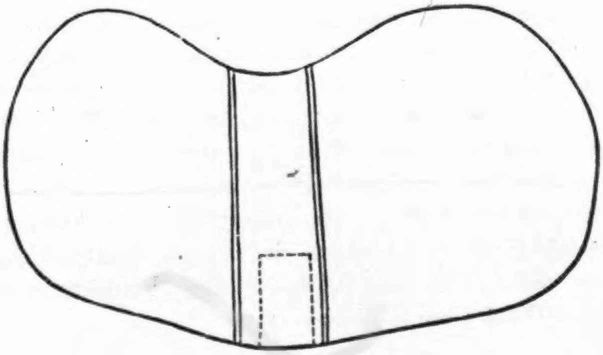
a paper label pasted upon it. It has a hollow cavity, and two holes passing through it, like an amulet. The shape is represented in the two preceding cuts.

It is wrought out of greenstone. The relic was found in Greenville District, South Carolina, the ancient haunt of the Cherokees. Immediately behind it is an oval stone (of greenstone), worn smooth by attrition; and, standing on its base by this, a pestle of horn-stone, its base slightly convex. Length of the oval stone, five and a half inches; thickness, three and a half; height of the pestle, four and a half; diameter at the base, one and seven-eighths. The oval stone is a relic of the Congarees; the pestle is from Mississippi. Lying on the table, a little to the right of the pestle, are two instruments cut out of bone, of very curious form. Whether used to mix paints, or whether talismanic charms, is a mere matter of conjecture. Somewhat similar shaped objects, only of large proportions, are displayed in pictorial representations of the Morais, or temples of the Sandwich Islanders. They were found in Green County, Alabama, below the surface of the earth. Near these, in the Plate, are two pipes of steatite. The largest of these is within one-eighth of twelve inches in length, its largest diameter two and three-eighth inches, the orifice at one end an inch and a half, at the other, one inch. The other pipe is seven inches long. Both are fragments, and are from Pickens District, South Carolina. Behind these is an axe, from the plantation on which the other Congaree relics were found, leaning against which, is an axe of different form, and another smaller one lying on the table. Their outlines are represented in the two following cuts.

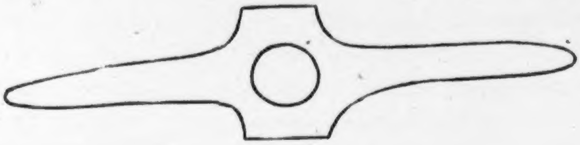




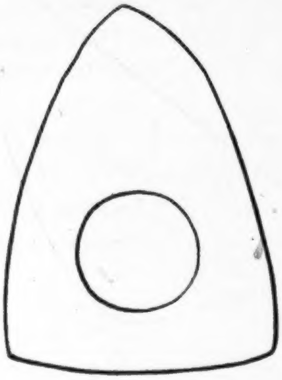
The next cut represents an axe or hatchet of coarse green-stone, from Edgefield.

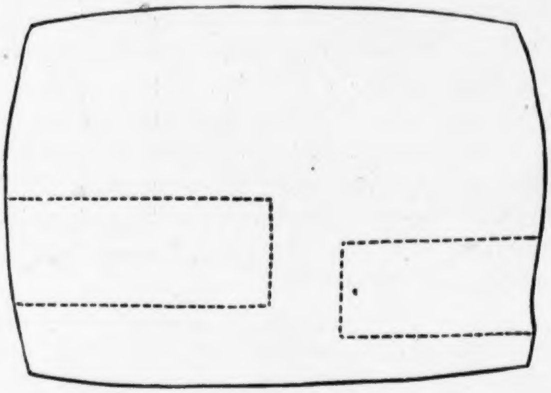


The following cut also represents a hatchet from Edgefield District, full size, coarse green-stone.



On the right-hand corner of the table is a pipe from Abbeville District, and beyond it a curious instrument of brown hæmatite, bored at each end. They are represented in the following cuts.





The holes bear the marks of a female screw of fine thread, but this may possibly have been made by some hard thread-like substance, wound around something compact, and screwed tightly into the holes. The holes do not extend entirely through. The above relic was brought, by Professor Brumly, from the neighborhood of Mobile.

In Fig. D, the most conspicuous object is a skull from the plantation of Colonel Wade Hampton, adjoining the one on which the principal burial-place of the Congarees (or their predecessors) was found. Indian relics and graves also abound here, and for some distance on the banks of this river. The skulls have, heretofore, crumbled as soon as exposed. This, by great care, was obtained for Doctor R. W. Gibbles, by whom it has been furnished for the purposes of this essay, with many of the relics here described, and who intends it for the Morton collection, in the Academy of Natural Sciences, in Philadelphia. The proportions of the skull are fine, and fully confirm the accounts given by Lawson of the personal beauty of the Congarees, to whom we believe this skull to have belonged. The dimensions of the cranium, as measured by Doctor Gibbles, are as follows: —

"Longitudinal diameter	6·7
Inter-parietal	6·5
Vertical	6·5
Frontal	4·5
Inter-mastoid arch	16·4
Inter-mastoid line	4·5
Occipito-frontal arch	13·9
Facial angle	—
Internal capacity	—"

On either side of this skull, in the Plate, are Indian hatchets, or fleshing instruments, the largest 9 inches in length. Against this leans a gorget of fine grained green-stone, 5¼ inches in height, 4¼ in its broadest diameter. Below, at the left hand, is a small hatchet, or fleshing instrument, 4½ inches in height. A flat oval stone, 3½ by 1¾, a stone chisel or adze similar to Fig. 2, Plate 39, of Hist., &c. of the Indian Tribes, Vol. II., but narrower. The three next objects have been thought by some to be amulets, or neck ornaments; by others, have been believed to be instruments for twisting bow-strings, or making cord. These are relics of the Congarees. The fourth is from a locality unknown. The last, towards the right, is a spear-head of horn-stone, from Orangeburg District; a relic, perhaps, of the Congarees.

(C.) ELEMENTARY FACTS IN THE CURRENT DISCOVERIES IN AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

Progress of Archæological Discovery.

Civilization is rapidly extending its boundaries over the American forest. The building of railroads, canals, and other public works, redoubles our means of observation on the antiquities of remote districts of country. Almost every season brings to light some new fact respecting the ancient condition of the country, while it was under the control of the aboriginal race, or of a still earlier period. The objects brought to notice often excite comment as to their age, but are not, generally, superior in point of arts and labor, to the requirements and abilities of the progenitors to the Indian race, such as these probably were before the discovery of the continent; for this event had a natural tendency to induce the Indian to drop his inferior arts. These indications of a degree of skill, vigor, and combination, superior to that of the ancient race of Indians, have received a new impulse from the discovery of comparatively extensive evidences of ancient mining operations in the basin of Lake Superior. The popular impression is, that such labors denote a more advanced state of society than could have existed in the present stocks; and that they must be ascribed to Asiatic or European, or some unknown element of progress, denoting political and commercial capacity of a higher order. Eminent names have been invoked in support of this theory. That there have been found traces of foreign art, in opening some of the ancient places of sepulture, referable to eras prior to any known period of colonization, cannot be well questioned. But it is still to be asked, do these isolated cases affect the general question of progress in civilization of the leading races of Indians who pitched their tents, in the twelfth century, between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains? Are they at all equal to the works of the Toltecs? Or was the Mississippi valley, in which the anomalies occur, occupied by a foreign race? It is believed it was not.

The highest evidences of aboriginal art in building, in the knowledge of astronomy, and the most advanced state of polity and government, existed in the tribes under the equinoxes. It is much more natural and simple to suppose that elements of these dynasties and arts were impelled north towards the Mississippi region, and that the migrated people began at an early epoch to re-erect buildings and institutions here, which they had before been accustomed to, than to ascribe such advances to colonies of adventurers from western Europe or Asia. This consideration has been mentioned in the preceding sketches. The new disclosures made by Dr. Howe denote further probabilities of an ancient connection between the Mexican and the United States Indians.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE CONGAREES.

The details presented on this subject by Dr. Howe, in the preceding pages, denote a condition of things on that river, during the Indian antique period, which was not suspected. So little inquiry has indeed been made in the Carolinas, on this head, that new facts from that quarter commend themselves to particular attention. It was known, that in digging in the gold-drift of these States, evidences of human labor had been disclosed in valleys of denudation, (Vide Am. Jour. of Science.) The tortilla-block, found deep below the accumulated debris, points significantly to the Toltecan and Mexican race as the origin of the older or extinct Carolina tribes.

"The gold formation of the south appears to occupy an extensive range, although of but little breadth. It is confined to a narrow belt or strip of schistose rocks, extending from the Rappahannock in Virginia, to the Coosa river in Alabama, varying in width from a few yards to several miles, with its continuity often interrupted by intruding rocks of a more ancient date. The general course of this belt from Virginia to Georgia, is north-east and south-west. After entering the latter State, it bends somewhat more to the westward, until all traces of it are lost in the State of Alabama. It may be said to extend, however, to Canada on the north, gold having been found at Canaan, New Hampshire, and in the State of Maine. It has also been noticed at Middle Haddam, on the Connecticut river. Up to the present time, in the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, only, have gold-mines been worked.

The gold-bearing rocks, *par excellence*, are the talcose and talco-micaceous slates, rocks belonging to the metamorphic series of geologists, ranking next in age to the granite, greasy to the feel, and of all degrees of hardness and shades of coloring. Gold is also found in gneiss, sienite, hornblende, mica-slate and granite. Occasionally it is disseminated throughout the rock, but most generally occurs in veins of quartz, oxide of iron, copper, or iron pyrites. It is usually in a state of minute division, some of the best ores giving no external indications of the richness, the gold only becoming visible on pulverizing the specimen and carefully washing off the sand.

The mines are of two classes, known as 'vein mines' and 'branch' or 'deposit mines.' In the former the metal is found in the solid rock. The deposit or branch mines are usually beds of gravel and quartz pebbles, frequently rounded by the action of water, but sometimes angular. They are mostly confined to the beds of streams in valleys and depressions, and vary in thickness from two to ten feet, though the auriferous portion seldom exceeds two feet in thickness. The gold is not found indiscriminately scattered through these beds, but is generally near the bottom, resting upon the underlying rock. Occasionally beds of clay, sand, or gravel are interposed between the auriferous beds. Not unfrequently the 'topping,' as it is termed, or overlying earth, is a rich and productive soil. These deposits, which in California and Australia are developed on an immense scale, for the most part must be referred to the action of causes not at present in operation; since, in many cases, the minerals accompanying the gravel are found in places in rocks separated from the deposit by a mountain ridge, and in others, the deposit is situated on the summit of the Blue Ridge, showing plainly that it must have been formed when the level of the country was different. In all cases the gold of deposit mines has been derived from the destruction of veins by aqueous causes. In fact, they may be seen in the process of formation, where the gold-bearing slate is of a soft nature, the rains disintegrating the rocks and washing the gold down the hill-sides into the depressions. Deposits are more numerous in the States of South Carolina and Georgia than in Virginia or North Carolina, owing most probably to the fact that the slates of the former States are softer than those of the latter. Extensive deposits occur in the upper districts of the State of South Carolina, and in the State of Georgia."

It would appear from the preceding observations of Dr. Howe, that these deposits cross the Congaree, at some point above the town of Columbia. The recent ravages of that stream, and the disclosure, in 1842, of an ancient crucible and washing-pan used for separating the gold-dust from the soil, and another antique crucible from a neighboring district of North Carolina, are, at least, suggestive of the fact.

CONGAREE CRANIUM.

The same flood of the Congaree river disclosed a complete Congaree skull, from one of the ancient Indian graves, a daguerreotype view of which is herewith given. This skull compares most favorably with those of the highest cranial developments of the Indian races, submitted by the late Dr. Samuel G. Morton, (Vol. II., Title VIII.) It is of the type of the squared and rounded head; the flattened or vertical occiput; the high cheek-bones; and the large quadrangular orbits, (Cran. Amer.)

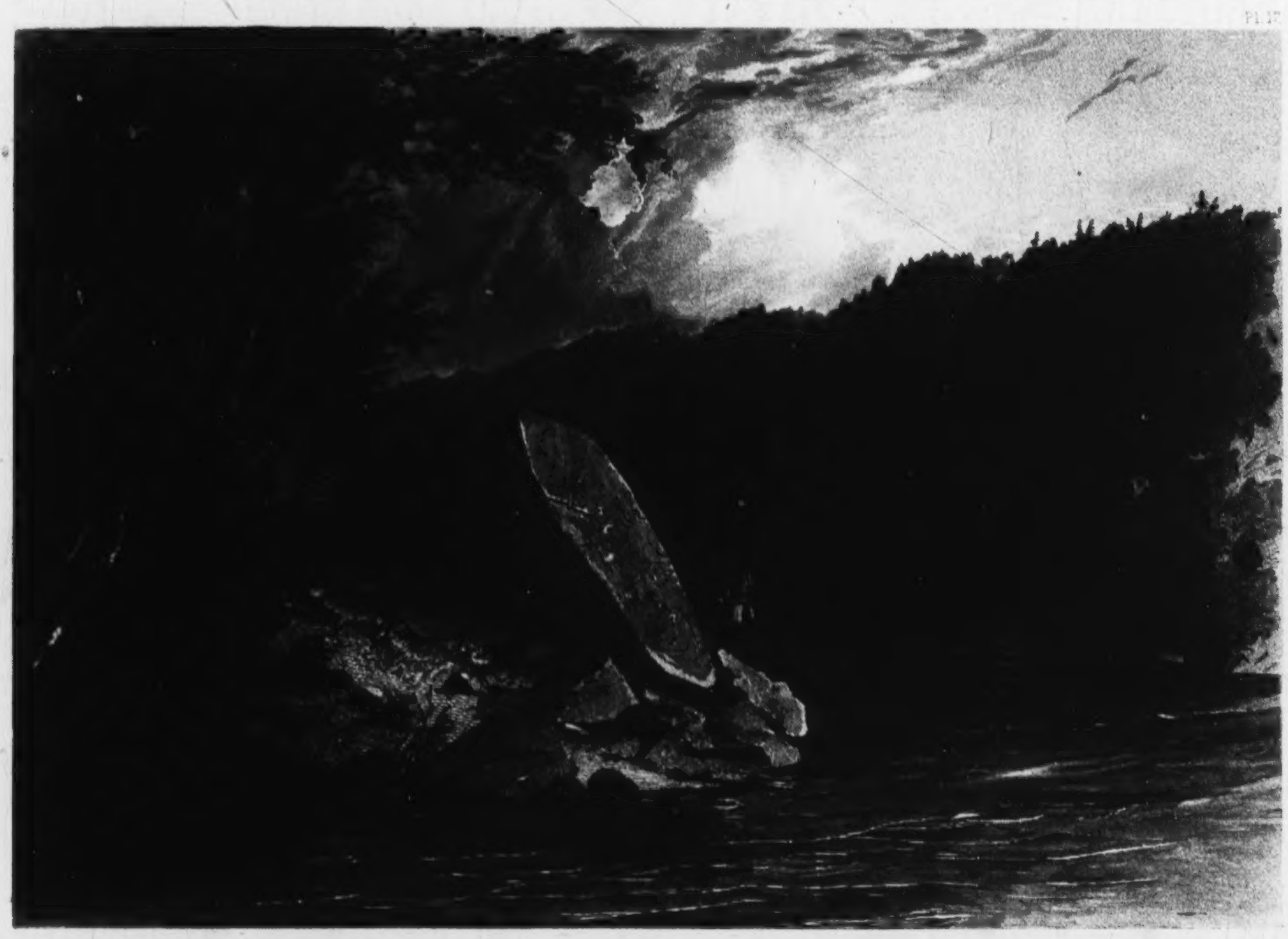
PICTOGRAPHS FROM THE ALLEGHANY RIVER.

PLATE XVII.

We proceed to submit further archæological evidences of that unity in manners and customs which appear to link together the whole family of the Indian hunter tribes, east and west, north and south.

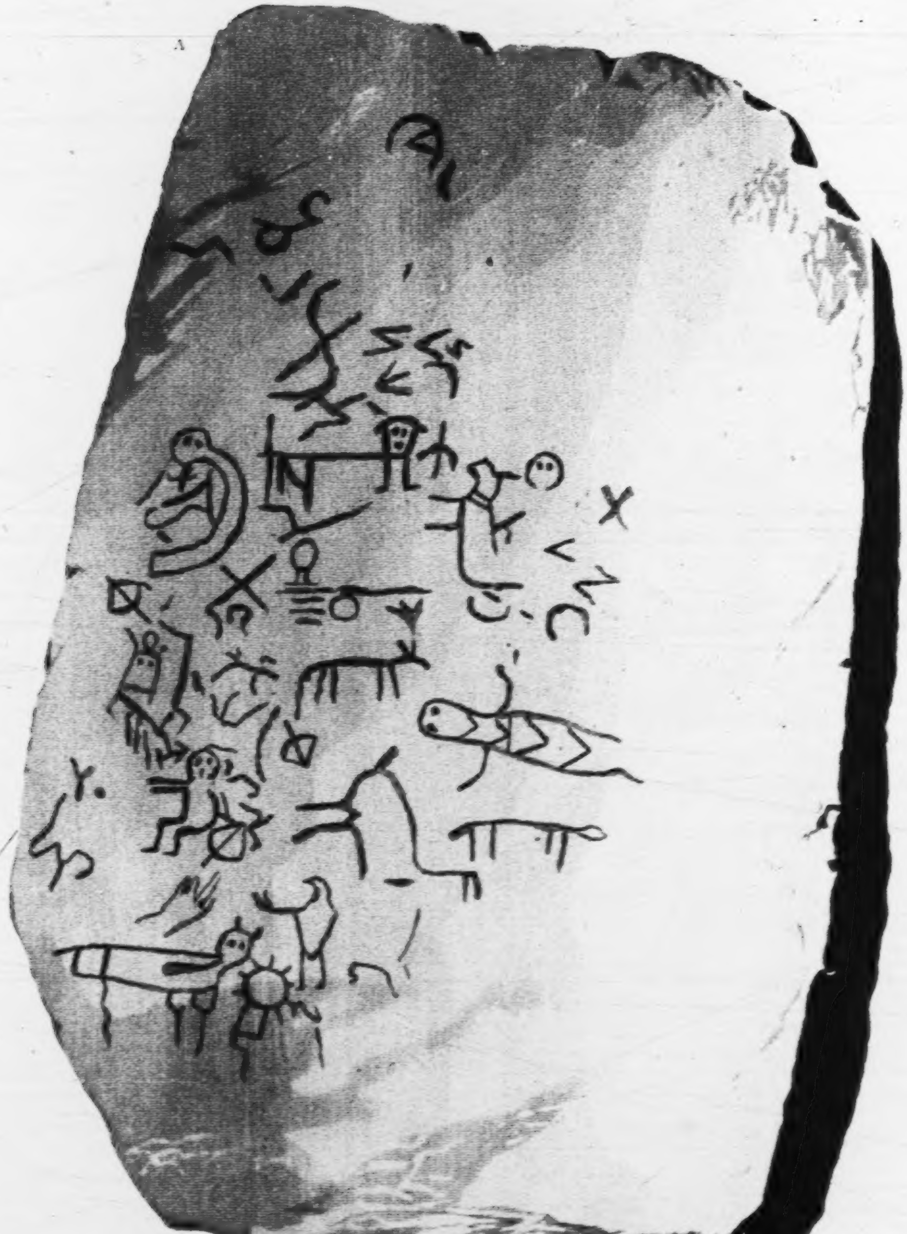
There is a district of wild and rugged mountain scenery in the northern parts of Pennsylvania, reaching into the edge of New York, which was formerly a celebrated field of hunter exploits for the Indian tribes. The deer, bear, and elk were abundant, and the moose and cougar were often found. This region embraces the northern terminus of the Alleghany Mountains, and gives origin to several considerable streams which rush wildly among its gorges, the most noted of which is the Alleghany river. The banks of this stream were in ancient times occupied by an important tribe, now unknown, who preceded the Iroquois and Delawares. They are called Allegans by Colden (vide Map) in the London edition of his work previously quoted, and the river is named Alleghan by Lewis Evans in his celebrated Map of 1755, in which he also gives it the name of Paláwa Thóriki, as the synonym of the Shawnees. By the Iroquois, it was known from the earliest times, and is still called the Ohĕo—their term for the Ohio. Its rise, on the melting of the snows in the spring, is prodigious: it sweeps on its way, at this season, to unite with the Monongahela, with the majesty of a wide-spreading, resistless torrent. By its far-spread affluents, it was the great way of communication of the Eries and Iroquois tribes with the west and south-west. Their war and hunting parties passed through it, and it was on its banks that we should expect to find inscriptions of their exploits, in the pictographic character. One of the most often noticed of these inscriptions, exists on the left bank of this river, about six miles below Franklin (the ancient Venango), Pennsylvania. It is a prominent point of rocks, around which the river deflects, rendering this point a very conspicuous object, (Plate 17.) The rock, which has been lodged here in some geological convulsion, is a species of hard sandstone, about twenty-two feet in length, by fourteen in breadth. It has an inclination to the horizon of about fifty degrees. During freshets, it is nearly overflown. The

Pl. 17.



VIEW OF INSCRIPTION ROCK.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



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inscription is made upon the inclined face of the rock. The present inhabitants in the country call it the "Indian God." It is only in low stages of water that it can be examined. Captain Eastman has succeeded, by wading in the water, in making a perfect copy of this ancient record (vide Plate 18), rejecting from its borders the interpolations of modern names put there by boatmen, to whom it is known as a point of landing. The inscription itself appears distinctly to record, in symbols, the triumphs in hunting and war. The bent bow and arrow are twice distinctly repeated. The arrow by itself is repeated several times, which denotes a date before the introduction of firearms. The animals captured, to which attention is called by the Indian pictographist, are not deer or common game, but objects of higher triumph. There are two large panthers or cougars, variously depicted; the lower one in the inscription denoting the influence, agreeably to pictographs heretofore published, of medical magic. The figure of a female denotes, without doubt, a captive—various circles representing human heads denote deaths. One of the subordinate figures depicts, by his gorgets, a chief. The symbolic sign of the raised hand, drawn before a person represented with a bird's head, denotes, apparently, the name of an individual or tribe.

The country is high and rocky on either side of the river, of which the annexed landscape (Plate 17) affords a graphic and characteristic view. At the foot of the inscription rock there is a smaller boulder (see Plate 18, Fig. B,) having on it a single figure.

FORT HILL OF ELMIRA.

Another object which has excited antiquarian interest in the same general region lying north-east of it, is a fortified eminence called Fort Hill, at Elmira. This work, for an account of which we are indebted to Thomas Maxwell, Esq., of Elmira, consists of a prominent point of land on the south side of Chemung river, one of the sources of the Susquehannah. It is situated about two miles above Elmira, Chemung County, N. Y. The plateau, or eminence defended by works, is the crest of a hill, the riverside of which is nearly perpendicular, consisting of slate-rock. On the opposite side this crest is equally precipitous. A narrow ravine, through which a small stream passes, separates two equally steep mountainous hills. The ascent of the fortified point of the hill, which commences at the junction, is very difficult. For some one or two hundred feet, it is barely wide enough for one person to ascend, aided by the scattering shrubbery. The path then widens, so that two persons might ascend abreast with some difficulty, for the next hundred feet. At this distance it widens to about ten or twelve feet, after which, it gradually increases in width to a distance of seventy or eighty rods, where the embankment is formed.

This crest overlooks and commands the surrounding country. It is an admirable military position, viewed in any light. It is defended, on the only assailable side, by an earthen embankment of two hundred and fifty feet in length, extending completely across the high ground. A body of men placed on this crest, with missiles, could command the passage of the river, and prevent the ascent, as it is so high and steep as to render it quite impracticable in the face of a foe. The annexed drawing (Plate 19), by Captain Eastman, exhibits the position with topographical minuteness.

The embankment drawn on the Plate is from six to nine feet broad at its apex, and from three to four feet above the natural surface. Tradition speaks of it as having been higher at a former period, and it is supposed to have been palisadoed its whole length. In the centre, there is a vacancy of about twelve feet, at either end of which there is a break in the earth-wall, as if it had supported the fixtures of a gate. The entire hill is now covered with oak. The growth is smaller on the enclosed area than in the forest west of it, denoting that this area had once been cleared. There is room enough in this area for several hundred men to rally. It is approachable only from the west.

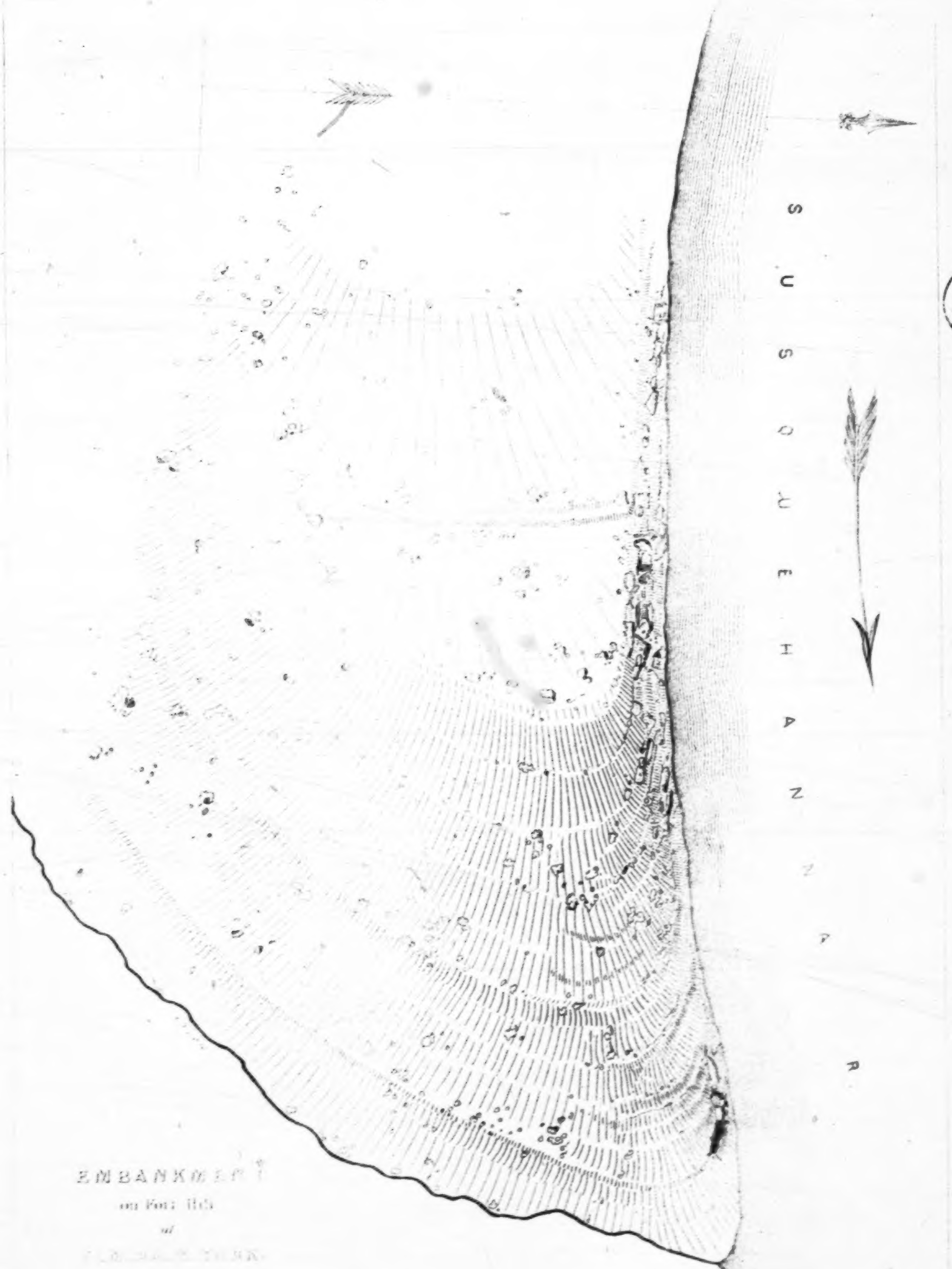
In the year 1790, a very large oak tree was cut down on the southern part of the line of this embankment. There is still standing on it a pine stump four feet in diameter. The entire hill is now covered by a forest of thrifty oaks. Not less than six hundred years can probably be assigned for the period of its abandonment, which would indicate a period corresponding to that denoted by the forest growth in the area of the stone fort discovered by Doctor Locke, in Adams County, Ohio, and on the summit of the gigantic tumuli, at Grave Creek, in Western Virginia. The period shadowed forth by these remains of earth-works, appears to be that heretofore noticed, namely, the twelfth century. Changes and tumults among the Indian tribes appear, from whatever data derived, to have been rife, over a vast surface, about that epoch.

Antique Articles from New York.

In Fig. 3, Plate 20, we behold one of those anomalous implements of the past Indian age, found within the boundaries of New York, the uses of which, from our imperfect knowledge of their ancient customs, is indefinite. It is quite bell-shaped and solid. The material is a hard, black, volcanic stone. This specimen is figured from the State collection at Albany. The perforated implement, Fig. 2, and the fine stone axe, Fig. 4, are from the same collection.

Ancient War-Axe of Red Translucent Quartz.

Plate 20, Fig. 1, is a stone tomahawk of the kind denominated *cassé tête* by the French. It consists of two oval blades, united by a round socket, prepared for receiving a handle, the whole being of a solid piece. The material is a red silicious quartz, semi-translucent. It is figured from the collection of Brantz Mayer, Esq., of Baltimore.


SUSQUEHANNA R

EMBANKMENT
on Fort Hill
at
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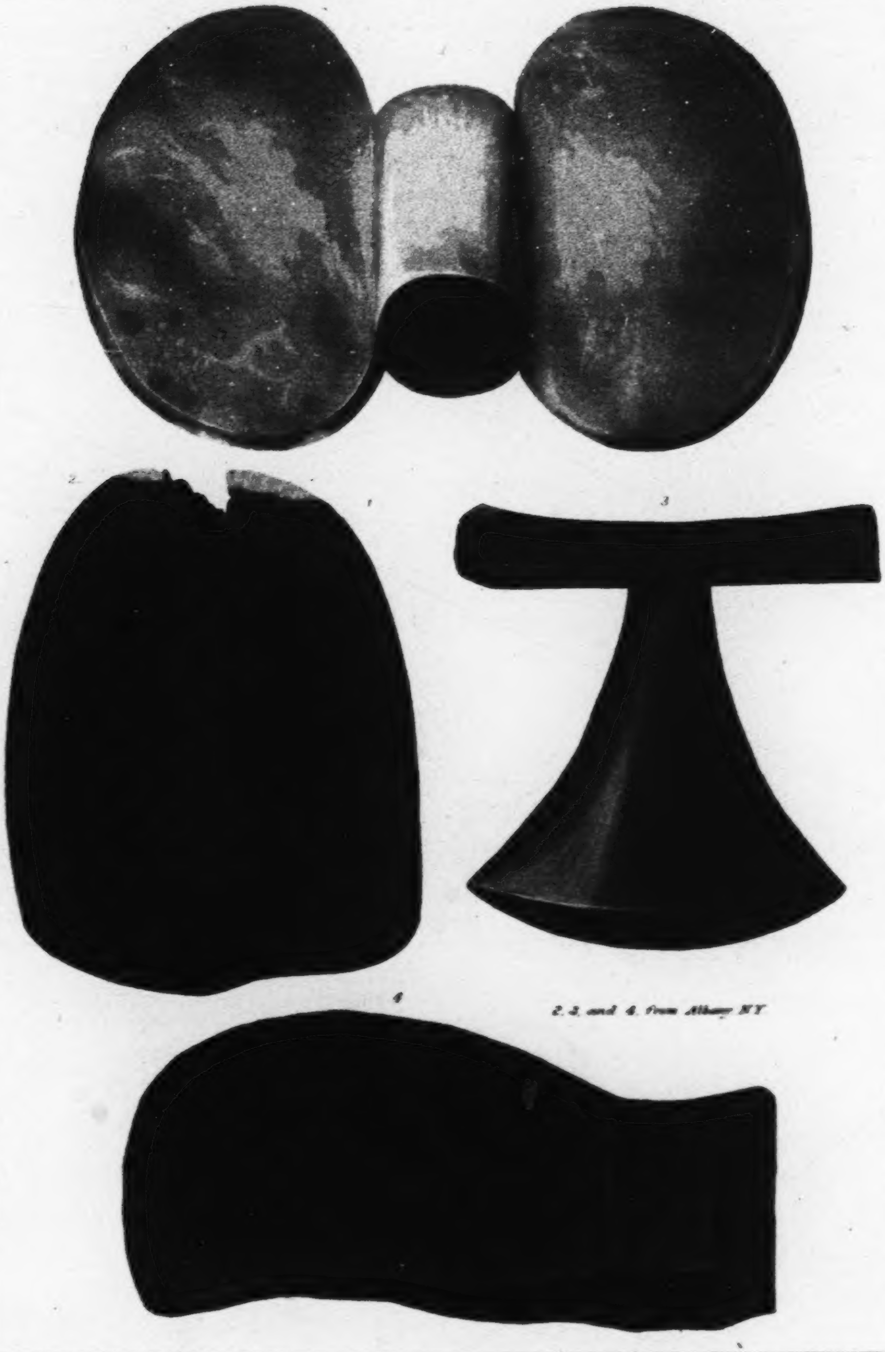

2, 3, and 4. from Albany N.Y.

Drawn from the originals by S. Eastman U.S.A.

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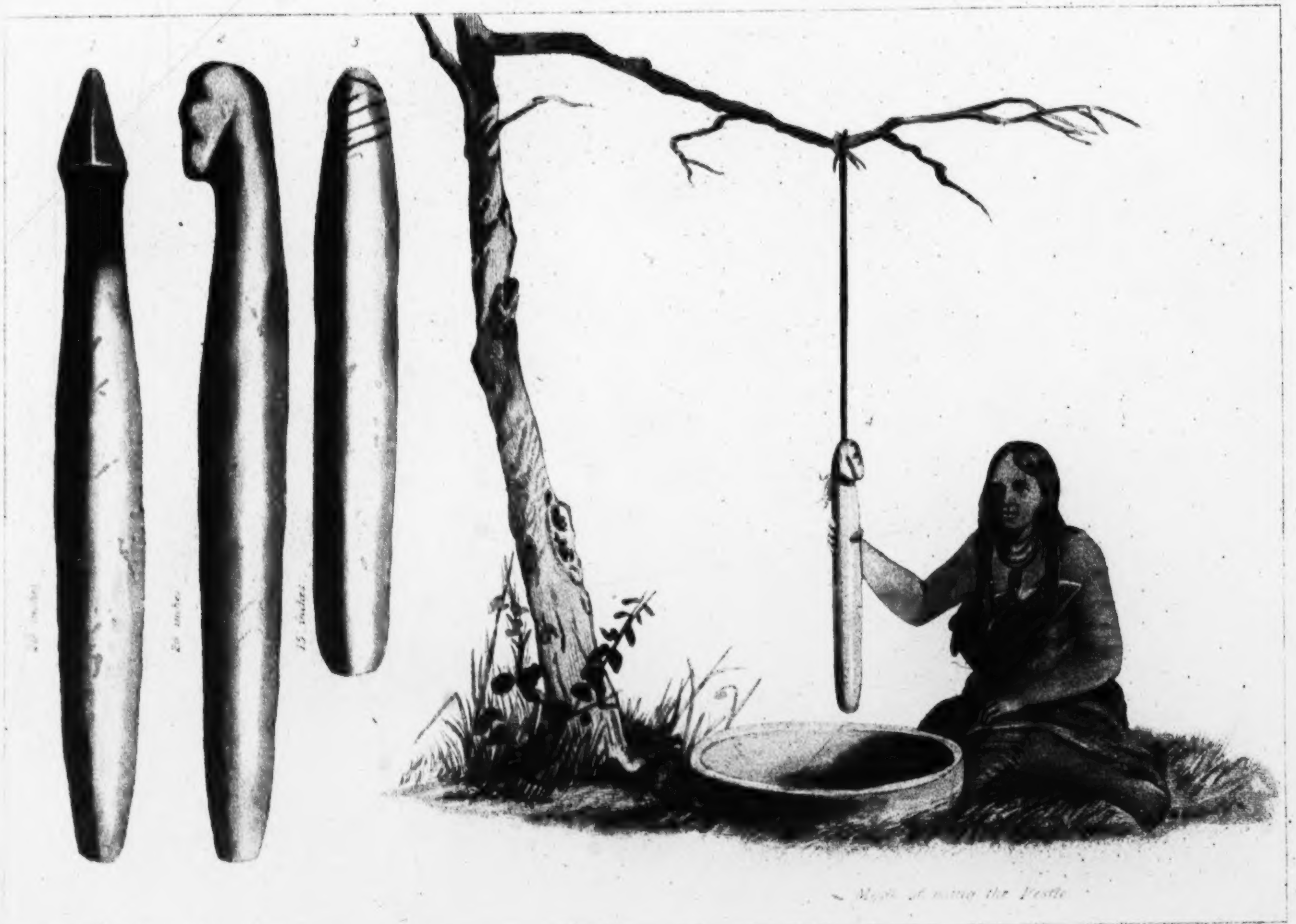
1
2
3
4
20 inches
20 inches
15 inches

Mode of using the Pestle

Drawn from the originals by S. Eastman U.S.A.

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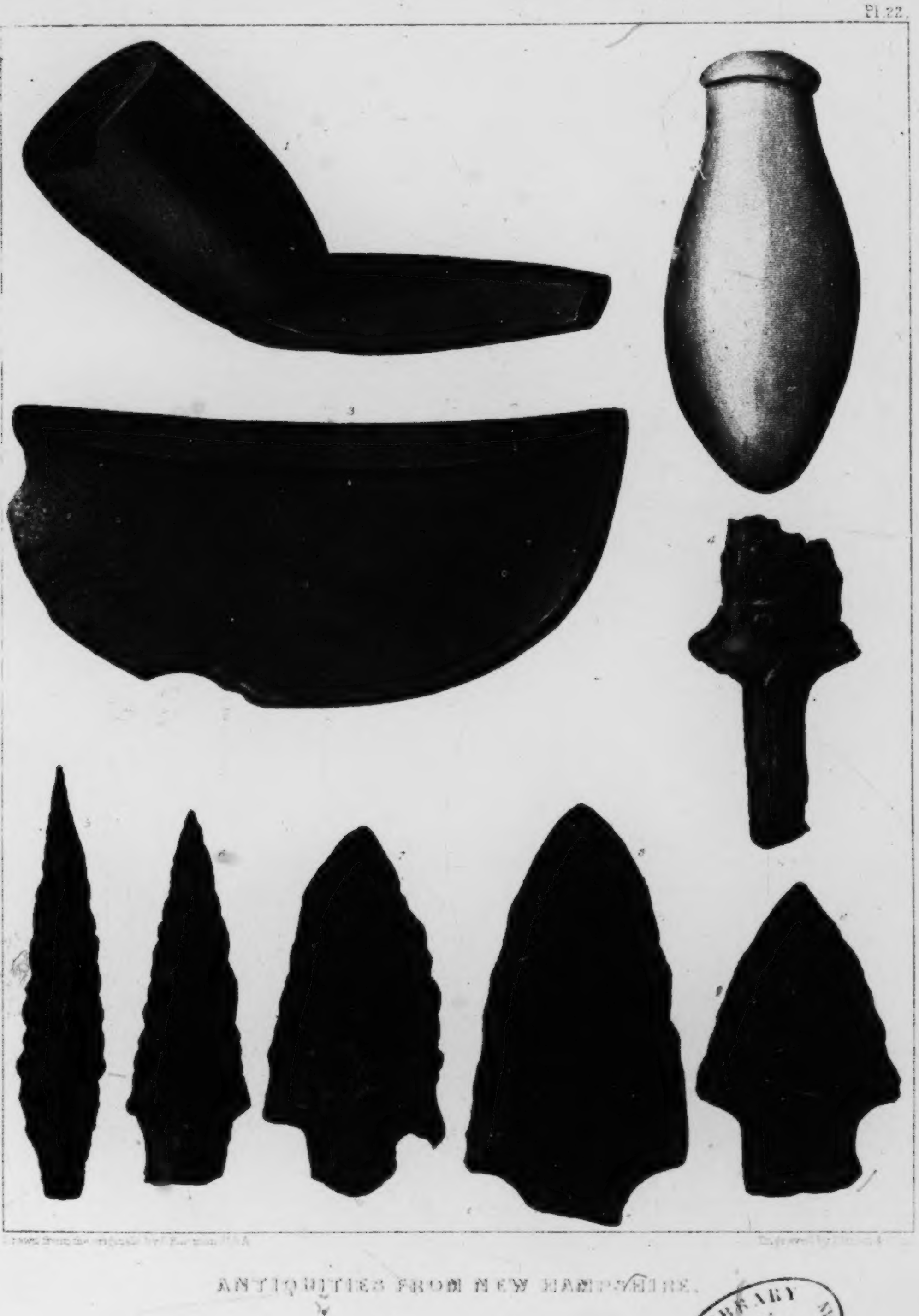

Drawn from the originals by S. Eastman U.S.A.

Engraved by Illman & [illegible]

ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

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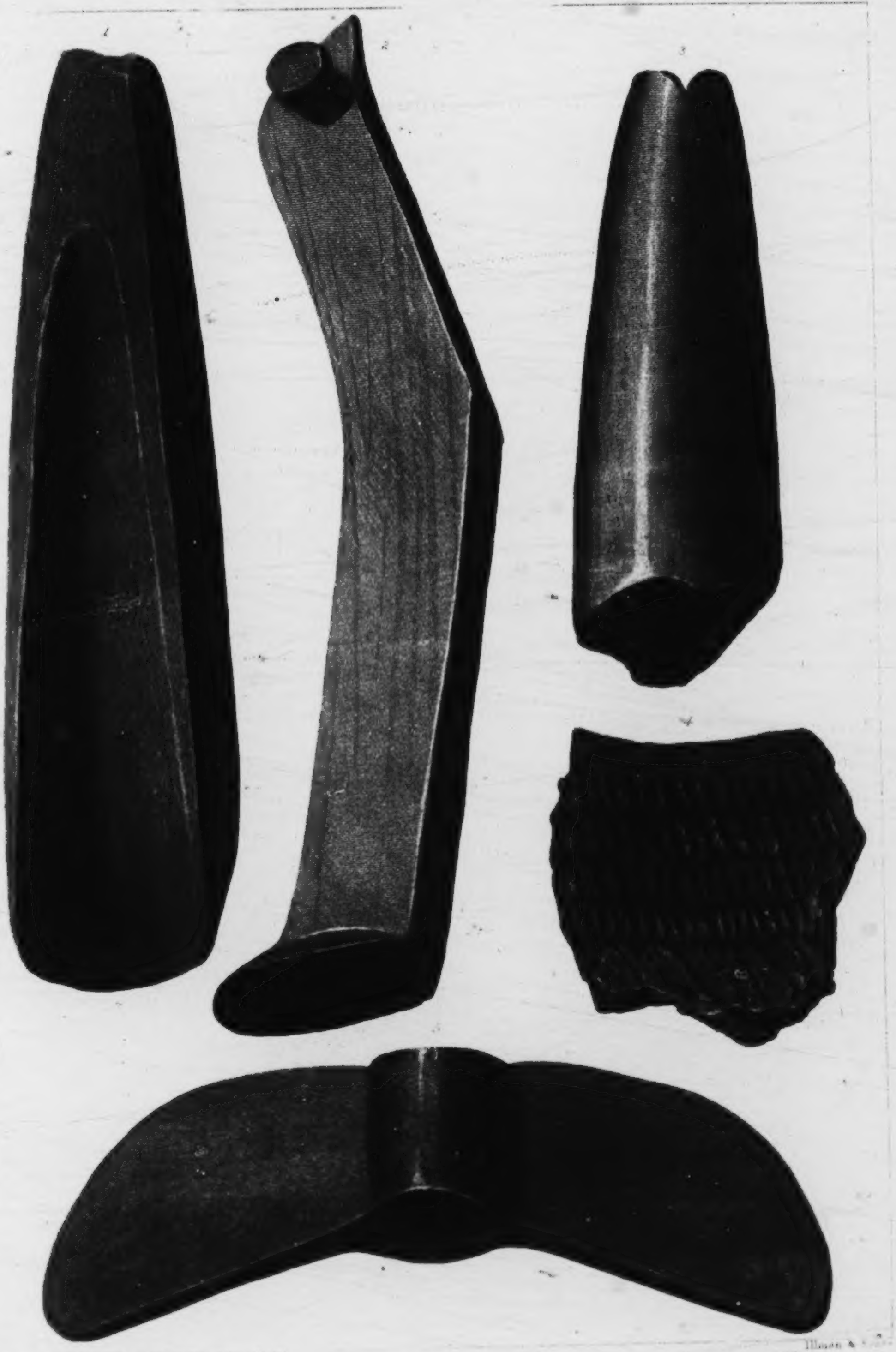
Pl. 23.



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ANTIQUITIES FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE

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UNIFORMITY OF ART.

The household arts of the Indians, throughout the States bordering on the Atlantic, from Virginia to New England, were identical; no scrutiny being able to denote any special differences in skill in their domestic or economical implements and utensils.

RELICS FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Plates 21, 22. The mode of pounding maize, by suspending the stone pestle from the limb of a tree, as practised by the ancient Pennacooks of the Merrimack valley, in New Hampshire, is represented in Plate 21. The pestle was commonly ornamented by the head of a man or quadruped, neatly carved from greywacke, or compact sandstone, the mortar being also of the same material. The state of arts of the Pennacook Indians appears to correspond to that of the western and southern tribes. We constantly observe, also, that the most precious species of stones and mineral bodies within their reach, were applied to pipe-making. In Plate 22, Fig. 1, we observe the same fine green serpentine which is occasionally found in western and southern tumuli. In Fig. 2, Plate 22, is depicted a fisherman's sinker, of the Pennacook tribe, accurately wrought from stone. Fig. 3 represents the antique skin-scraper of the same people. It was an instrument much used for preparing skins, by the Merrimack Indians. The character of the arrow-head employed by these tribes is shown in Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, Plate 22. It consists of various kinds of chert and hornstone.

The Indian gouge, Fig. 1, Plate 23, was often wrought, as is here exhibited, with much art, which was also evinced in the delicately and smoothly-wrought stone tomahawks. Fig. 5. The state of their pottery, Figs. 3, 4, appears to be very similar to that of the tribes who occupied the Middle and Western States. In Fig. 2 is delineated a curiously-shaped stone knife-handle, designed to confine the cutting edges of flinty or obsidian blades.

IV. PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY. D.

[4th Paper, Title IV.]

TITLE IV.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE IV.

TITLE IV., LET. A., VOL. I. [1ST PAPER.]

Geographical Data respecting the Unexplored Area at the remote Sources of the Mississippi. Character of the Gold Deposit discovered in 1848, on the Territories of the California Indians. Reported Discovery of Tin on the Kansaw Lands. Lead, Copper, and Silver ores on the lands of the Winnebagoes, Menomonies, and Chippewas. Petroleum on the Chickasaw Lands, West. Saline Borings in the Country of the Onondagas. Geography of the Ancient Domain of the Iroquois in Western New York. Lake Action in the Area of Lake Superior. Antique Bones discovered on the Grounds of the Osages. Description of the Oneida Stone. Description of the Chippewa and Sioux Lands which constitute the Territory of Minnesota.

TITLE IV., LET. B., VOL. II. [2D PAPER.]

Natural Caves in the Sioux Country, on the Upper Mississippi. Data Illustrating the Character and Value of the Country of the Yuma and Diegunos Indians, in Southern California, along the surveyed line of boundary between San Diego and the mouth of the River Gila.

TITLE IV., LET. C., VOL. III. [3D PAPER.]

Inquiries respecting the Character and Value of the Indian Country in the United States, with a Map of the Area still possessed by them. Further Facts respecting the Saline Strata of Onondaga. A Geographical Reconnoissance of the Indian Country in California, situated between San Francisco and the boundary of Oregon, being west of the Sacramento River, with estimates of the Indian Population and sundry illustrative facts.

TITLE IV., LET. D., VOL. IV. [4TH PAPER.]

Geography of the Indian Country. The Area of the United States still possessed by the Indian Tribes, and its ultimate division into States and Territories. The Policy of early designating Refuges for the Tribes. Sectional View of the Great Lake Basins—being the ancient seats of the Algonquin and Iroquois power, and their striking inter-oceanic position between the Atlantic and Mississippi Valley Tribes. The Sources of the Mississippi a suitable position as a Refuge for the Chippewas.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY.

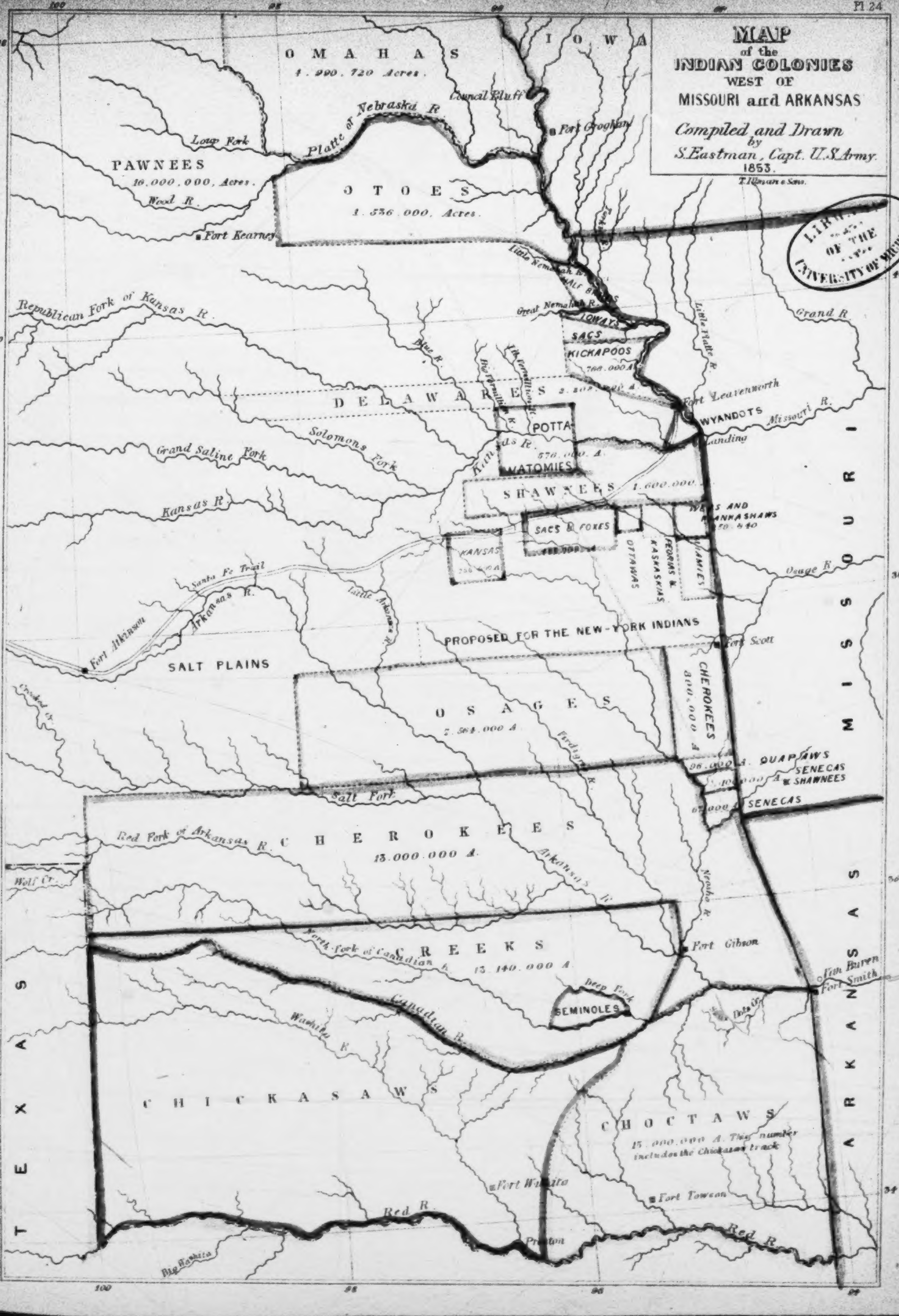
1. THE TERRITORIAL AREA OF THE UNITED STATES STILL POSSESSED BY THE INDIAN TRIBES; ITS ULTIMATE DIVISION INTO STATES AND TERRITORIES, AND THE POLICY OF EARLY DESIGNATING REFUGES FOR THE TRIBES.

The Indian domain in the United States, west of the line of the Mississippi and the Missouri, is undergoing an active process of reconnoissance and exploration at the present time. This new impulse of geographical scrutiny into the character and value of the unexplored passages across the continent, denotes a very marked phasis of our history; and, if we mistake not, tells in unerring tones to the Indian tribes, the principles which must limit and control their existence as a power in North America. If they are to abide the crisis, it must be by entering the race of industrial effort. Great events are not of immediate accomplishment, but the pursuits of agriculture and commerce, which are pressing themselves forward, just now, with purpose and steadiness, cannot be resisted.

It was never desirable, or in accordance with the attributes of the Divine mind, as exhibited by the principles of industry, art, or science, education or Christianity, that the Indian of America should be allowed, permanently, to keep such immense and valuable tracts of territory in a state of wilderness, for no higher purposes than that wild animals should multiply, and a system of the most aimless, predatory, and destructive war be continued. To discourage these wars; to teach the bold hunters and forest heroes and sages the futility of these conflicts and struggles of sachems with sachems; to set before them the better principles of a fixed industry, and the arts and practices of civil life; and to lead them on, by the adoption of civil law and knowledge, to strive for the higher moral honors of mankind: these have, from the days of Las Casas, formed the leading principles of the European governments on this continent, and, at least, these have formed ours. It was a great advance in these principles when the declaration of American Independence was made, which, in effect, lifted these aboriginal tribes, as all other tribes of the human race seeking refuge on this continent, to their just rights in the family of mankind. They were immediately admitted to be quasi owners of the large area of soil over which they hunted, and the history of our diplomacy furnishes an irrefragable body of evidence that their possessory right, however before denied, has been uniformly respected during our independent political career. We are limited to the comparatively brief era of about three-fourths of a century. A population which has, in this period, swelled from three to twenty-four millions of souls, (the seventh census gives 23,191,876,) must have required larger and larger concessions from the Indian tribes. And it was perceived by wise statesmen, as early as 1824, (Vol. III., Statistics, p. 573,) that the absorption of the entire aboriginal territory must be a mere question of time. If seventy-seven years have produced in the white population an increase of twenty-one millions, its mere duplication, in equal prospective periods, must require an increased area of soil for the purposes of agriculture, which leaves to the hunter, while he remains such, and subject to its hastening powers of depopulation, the inevitable prospect of extinction; and demonstrates with the clearness of beams of light, that the Indian empire in North America, the day-dream of a sickly imagination, while it adhered to its false principles, was fated to an early and total destruction.

The American government, during the presidency of Mr. Monroe, finding the tribes unable to maintain their position in the conflict of races, habits, and principles, introduced the policy of collecting the remnants of the tribes, and removing them to an independent colony in the area of the indigenous tribes west of the Mississippi. There they have been, in their new position, considerably recuperated and redeemed from intestine wars with each other, taught the value of agriculture and the arts, introduced to the knowledge of a common school education; and some of the tribes are beginning to appreciate the importance of local laws and a legislation suited to their state: this plan has commended itself to the highest approbation.

But such is the rapidity with which the population advances in the new States, and the indomitable energy and spirit with which it presses towards the shores of the Pacific, that the "indigenous tribes," who had received the Cis-Mississippi remnants, are already involved in the question which twenty-five years ago threatened the new tribes, (Vide Plate 24.) And the inquiry now is, how shall these wild hunter tribes be protected? They exist all along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. They inhabit the fertile regions of game and buffalo, at the sources of the Missouri and its upper tributaries. They spread from the Arkansas and Red rivers, into western Texas and New Mexico. They occupy the mountain gorges and passes of California. They are pressed by the natural course of events from the open shores of the Pacific, eastward from the Columbia and Sacramento valleys. The onward impulse of increasing Oregon and of awaking Washington, eschews them. Utah, too, is dis-



MAP
of the
INDIAN COLONIES
WEST OF
MISSOURI and ARKANSAS

Compiled and Drawn
by
S. Eastman, Capt. U.S. Army.
1853.

T. Illman & Sons.

100
98
96
94
42
40
38
36
34
OMAHAS
4.990.720 Acres.
IOWA
Council Bluff
Fort Croghan
Platte or Nebraska R.
Loup Fork
PAWNEES
10.000.000 Acres.
Wood R.
Fort Kearney
OTOES
1.536.000 Acres.
Little Nemahah R.
HALF BREEDS
Great Nemahah R.
IOWAYS
SACS
KICKAPOOS
768.000 A.
Little Platte R.
Grand R.
Republican Fork of Kansas R.
Blue R.
Big Vermillion R.
Lit. Vermillion R.
DELAWARES
2.208.000 A.
Fort Leavenworth
WYANDOTS
Landing
Missouri R.
POTTAWATOMIES
576.000 A.
Kansas R.
Solomons Fork
Grand Saline Fork
SHAWNEES 1.600.000
WEAS AND PIANKASHAWS
150.840
SACS & FOXES
KANSAS
OTTAWAS
PEORIAS & KASKASKIAS
MIAMIES
Osage R.
Santa Fe Trail
Arkansas R.
Little Arkansas R.
Fort Atkinson
PROPOSED FOR THE NEW-YORK INDIANS
Fort Scott
SALT PLAINS
Crooked Cr.
OSAGES
7.564.000 A
CHEROKEES
800.000 A
Verdigris R.
QUAPAWS
96.000 A.
SENECAS & SHAWNEES
100.000 A
SENECAS
67.000 A
MISSOURI
Salt Fork
Red Fork of Arkansas R.
CHEROKEES
13.000.000 A.
Arkansas R.
Neosho R.
Wolf Cr.
CREEKS
North Fork of Canadian R.
13.140.000 A.
Fort Gibson
Van Buren
Fort Smith
Deep Fork
SEMINOLES
Canadian R.
Washita R.
CHICKASAWS
CHOCTAWS
15.000.000 A. This number includes the Chickasaw track
TEXAS
ARKANSAS
Fort Washita
Fort Towson
Red R.
Preston
Big Washita

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turbing them in their valley altitudes on the Rocky Mountains. Nebraska, though yet without sovereignty or legality of organization, declines to receive them. The Ottoe, the Missouria, the Omahaw, the Pawnee, and Arickaree tribes — the Mandan, Minnitarees, and Crow or Upsook nation, who were first brought to our notice by Lewis and Clark in 1804, begin to cast furtive glances around them, apprehensive for their territory. The Assiniboins, who have long resorted to Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellow-Stone, as their forest capital, must, in a few years, seek other haunts or resort to other means.

The present is a period of very great geographical activity. Expeditions have been organized and despatched, under an act of Congress, to survey the most feasible route for a rail-road from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific. One of these expeditions under Mr. Stevens, Governor of Washington, has just passed through the territories of the Dacotahs, the Assiniboins, and the Blackfeet, from the Falls of St. Anthony to the Yellow-Stone valley of the Missouri; and is now winding its way up to the summits of the Rocky Mountains, in lat. about 44°, and before these sheets are put to press will have reached its destination at Puget's Sound, the extreme north-western seat of territorial power in the United States. Another expedition of survey is searching the Southern Pass, which was first brought to our notice by the indomitable energies of Col. Frémont. Still another is searching the vast elevated plains and cañons of New Mexico.

Under these influences, the question of the geography of the Indian country assumes new interest, and we expect to be able in a future volume to present a body of information before the public, on this topic, of much value. In the mean time it is deemed fit to submit some general results of observation on the geographical problem involved. We have reached a point in our history, and the distribution of a rapidly and constantly increasing population, when this topic should be met on enlarged grounds. With a degree of enterprise, hardihood, and skill, such as it may be said, without injustice, no other nation has equalled, every proper inducement should be held out to guide this spirit of industry and enterprise, and keep it within the pale of timely legislation.

We cannot resist the tide of civilization that rolls across the Continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Nor can we interpose barriers to that spirit of individual enterprise which has marked, in a striking manner, the diffusion of population west of the Alleghanies; but we can the respective boundaries of population.

Much of our progress in settling the western world and bringing its resources and capacities into notice, is due to individual exertions. Men who have acted as the military pioneers of the region west of the Alleghanies, beginning with Washington himself, served to draw into these latitudes actors of great vigor and individuality of character, under whom the Western States have been planted and settled. They were men who literally took their lives in their hands, and the country is most deeply indebted to them for what it is, and what it promises to be. And the progress of the west has created a body of successors to this daring class of pioneers, who were, in the most vital sense, public benefactors. Millions on millions of the richest plains and valleys are spread out before the enterprising citizens of the Mississippi valley, and indeed of the whole broad Union, to invite them to new fields of settlement. It is suitable, that geographical lines of boundary should be thrown out by Congress to these masses, to give fixity to their proportions, and to assure the settlers that the Government will, at proper times, protect and encourage them in their new residences.

But, at the same time, the native population should be duly regarded, and positions assigned to them on the public domains, where they may not only exist, but prosper.

The state of Indian society offers but a feeble resistance to determined men, operating with all the essential elements of civilization. The savage recoils before it like the game that flies before the resistless flames that sweep periodically over his own prairies. He has no fixed industry to fall back on when his game fails him — no stores of letters and knowledge to teach him the fallacy of hunter-life, and no pure faith to sustain him in the hour of trial. He himself needs these protecting legislative laws more, indeed, than the white man. He acquires territorial refuges where he may gird himself for the new encounter with civilization — more terrible to him than the panther or grizzly bear — until he learns the true arts and usages of life. For it is — after all his day-dreams and bright visions of the hunter-life, and all its poetic, but fallacious phases — it is to these arts, and to this newly-acquired wisdom, that he is to be indebted for prosperity, and to be protected from the wide-sweeping blast of barbarity which is hurrying the race, not only to extermination, but urging it on a path that will lead only to perdition.

It is not a part, but the whole geographical subject connected with the Indian territories, that we must encounter. We should not allow the full tides of settlement to overtake us unprepared, when we may be subject to be unduly controlled by personal questions. Nothing can be clearer than that all the continent, capable of tillage, will be settled; and while it lies in its present condition, there is no hindrance, but every inducement, to legislative predeterminations of those boundaries which are to carry its history to future times.

The Indian territory of the United States, lying between the line of the Mississippi and the Pacific, and extending south to the banks of the Rio Grande and the Gila, is delineated in a map which has been expressly drawn to show this fact, in Vol. III., Plate 21, p. 96. By an elaborate table, prepared by the Topographical Bureau, which accompanies the final report of the Census Bureau, just submitted to the Interior Department, to be laid before Congress (Nov. 1853), it is shown that the entire area of territory still possessed by the Indian tribes, is one million, seven hundred and thirty-four thousand, five hundred and ninety-five square miles. The details of the distribution of this territory are as follows:

a. Indian Territory	187,171	square miles.
b. Minnesota Territory	141,839	"
c. Nebraska Territory	136,700	"
d. New Mexico	210,774	"
e. Northwest Territory	528,725	"
f. Oregon Territory	341,463	"
g. Utah Territory	187,923	"
	1,734,595	"

This result, which has been prepared with great care, is of course but approximative of the true area. But it may be deemed sufficiently near the actual quantity to serve all the purposes of generalization. Some two hundred thousand square miles should be deducted for recent purchases in Minnesota, and other territories. And there are questions connected with the details of State and Territorial lines, such as those arising from the completeness of our territorial rights, as well de facto as de jure, arising from the Spanish treaty title in California and New Mexico. Nor, if this were indisputable, would it seem an easy task, if the extinction of the title were desirable at this or future periods, to fix any fiscal value on such vast areas of vacant land as those traversed by the barren ranges of the Stony Mountains. But of this fact there is conclusive testimony; namely, that it is ample to provide suitable locations for the various tribes, who are compelled to transfer their locations.

In discussing this subject, questions of latitude and longitude are of the highest consequence. In all the northern latitudes south of 49° (and farther, into the British territories of Hudson's Bay and New Caledonia), the cereal grains, where the soil is arable, can be relied on as profitable crops, year in and year out. At Cass Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi, in N. lat. 47°, and at the Mission of Red Lake, still within the boundaries of the United States, but a few minutes south of 49°, the zea maize is raised without difficulty. At the Red River settlements, in the Pembina region, it has not been known to fail at all, when not destroyed by floods. At Puget's Sound, as in the Willamette valley, it is always to be relied on. Throughout all this range of latitude and longitude, bordering the national boundary, wheat, oats, rye, and potatoes, amply reward the labors of the husbandman. I have seldom, or never, seen more vigorous productions of the field and garden, than marks the area of Minnesota; and the same vigor of production, by all accounts, marks the region of arable plains reaching west and north-west from the Minnesota, the Sac, and the Crow-wing rivers, to the settlements of Hudson's Bay, on Red River. The great buffalo plains which reach from the sources of the St. Peter's or Minnesota, and Red River of the North, to the banks of the Missouri, and stretch from its great northern bend to the waters of the Cheyenne, the Mouse, and Saskatchawine rivers, are probably, by their climate and fertility, destined hereafter to sustain as dense a population of agriculturists, as any part of America.

It is in these temperate latitudes that agriculture is performed without irrigation; while its healthfulness and salubrity of atmosphere, summer and winter, render them a geographical theatre peculiarly suitable to the inhabitants of temperate and northern climates. Their occupancy, by full and dense settlements, is a mere question of time; and it is believed that half the period which has marked our national history, will show the best parts of this northern region to sustain as many persons to the square mile as any State in the Union. Compare large portions of the arid tracts of upper Texas, of New Mexico, and of California, with this northern region, for its agricultural capacities, and the former must sink into insignificance.

Commencing on the parallel of north lat. 49° at the Lake of the Woods, and pursuing it to the Pacific, with an inward breadth of some seven degrees of latitude, and it is believed to contain an ample area for eight or ten new Territories and future States, with an average of fifty-five thousand square miles each, excluding arid and mountainous tracts; the germs of but three of which Territories, namely, Washington, Oregon, and Minnesota, have been designated. The outlines of the new Territories may be sketched, without awaiting the course of rapidly developing events. Between the boundaries that must ultimately be assigned to the States of the Pacific coast, and the line of the Rocky Mountains east of them, there is a tract of country suitable for two large Territories, lying on the north and south banks of the Columbia, without trenching on a large interior basin or area, to be set apart for the Indian tribes of that quarter, who can probably be induced in that locality, as game fails, to turn shepherds and graziers, and raise tame animals when the run of wild ones ceases. Beginning on the Pacific, Oregon and Washington form the extreme western head of this new tier of future States. On the east of the mountains, the sources of the Missouri, the valley of the Yellow-Stone, and its natural contiguities of territory, comprehend the present nucleus of another Territory, to be erected on the hunting-grounds of the Upsarokas. South of this geographical line, along the west banks of the Missouri, extends the contemplated Territory of Nebraska.

By extending a line from Big-Stone Lake, a little north of the St. Peter's, westward to the Missouri river, and east to the boundary of Wisconsin, Minnesota would be suitably bounded on the north; and by dropping a line from the Côteau du Prairie to the north line of Iowa, there would be left, west of such a line and the Missouri river, a fertile level tract, having the Jacques river running through it, which is now the hunting-ground of the inland Dacotahs.

Between the Upsaroka territory and the source of the Mississippi, in Itasca Lake, extends a vast and fertile tract, which is now the range of the buffalo. A Territory erected on this area, which might bear its cognomen appropriately from the origin of the Father of Waters, would command triple outlets to a market, by the Mississippi, and its great affluents and the lake basins. The remaining area north-west of Lake Superior, and east of the Mississippi, having the north line of Minnesota as a basis, would have its western boundary appropriately fixed by a due north line from the Falls of Packagama. This would embrace the still unpurchased mineral region lying on Lake Superior, between Fond du Lac and Pigeon river.

In each of the new territories of the United States, policy requires that there should be a reservation or designated tract, of some 500,000 acres, as a refuge for the resident tribes of the territory, where they may be taught and practise agriculture and the arts. On this subject there is a great delusion. The experiments made sufficiently teach us, that the Indian should be compelled to obey laws. Force alone can teach correct conduct to the wild tribes. They must be compelled to feel the penalty of crime. Over these assigned territories the civil and criminal laws of the Union should be extended and enforced; with the proviso, that no Indian should be incarcerated for debt, nor any property possessed by him levied on for debt, except in cases where the real and personal property of such individuals exceeds a fixed amount. Over each such assigned territory, or Indian community, there should be a General Agent, with full and peremptory judicial and legal functions, to hear and try all cases arising from questions of crime, property, or right. There should also be a military post. Indian sovereignty is, for a hunter tribe, a delusion. There should be but one set of economical, political, moral, and religious truths for red and white men, and whatever conflicts with these, is founded in error. Experience teaches us, that the laws and maxims of civilized life are well calculated to benefit the Indian, and raise his standard of morals and principles.

Poor savages!

2. SECTIONAL VIEW OF THE GREAT LAKE BASINS, (BEING THE ANCIENT SEATS OF THE ALGONQUIN AND IROQUOIS POWER,) AND THEIR STRIKING INTER-OCEANIC POSITION BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TRIBES. A SUITABLE POSITION AS A REFUGE FOR THE CHIPPEWAS.

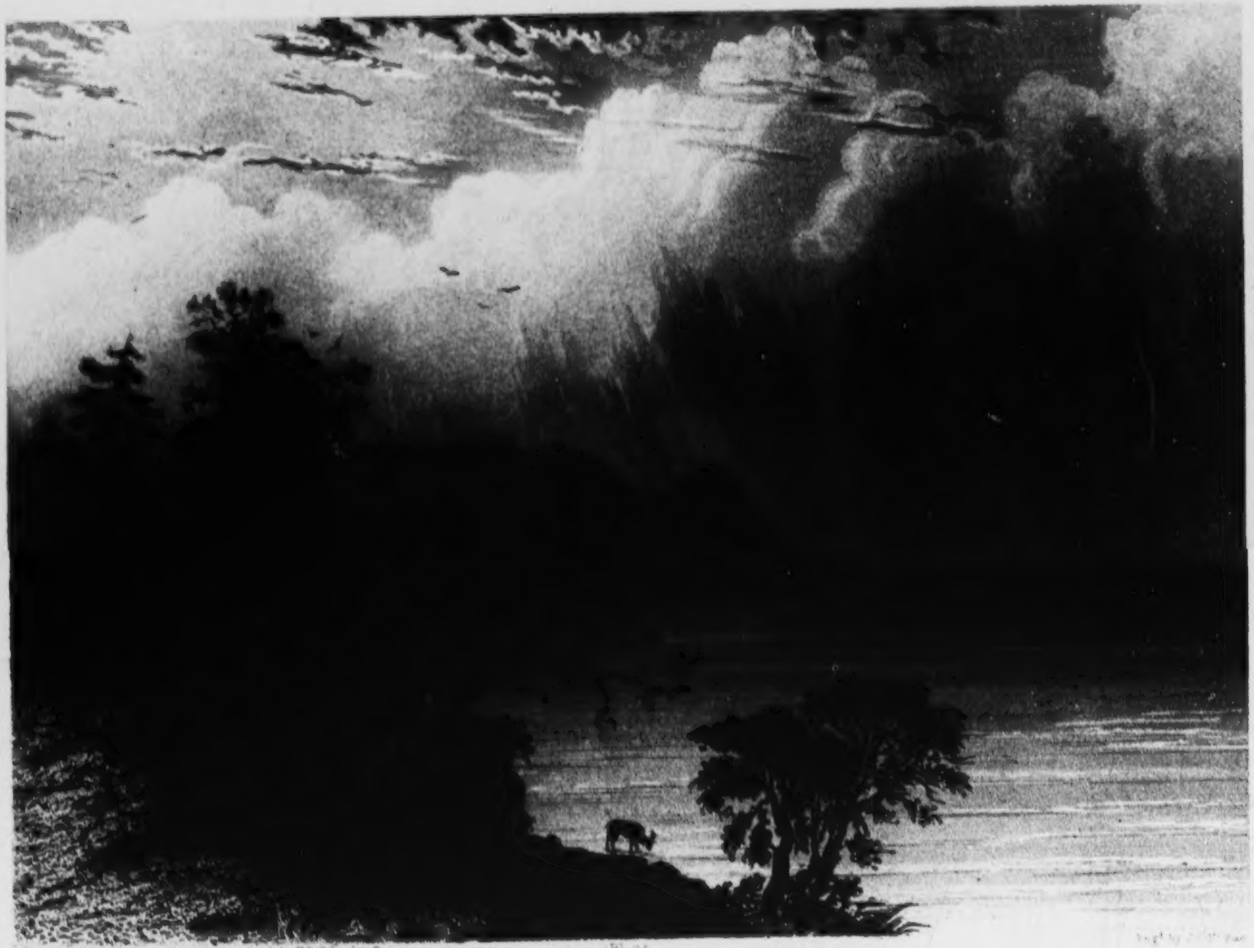
If ever there was a country on the face of the earth, which, by a figurative use of language, deserves to be called, "a land flowing with milk and honey," it is the sixfold basin of the great American Lakes, extending from the foot of Lake Ontario to the head of Lake Superior, together with a region draining much of the highlands separating them from the waters of Hudson's Bay. A chain of ship navigation, extending through expansive lakes, by curvilinear lines, for five thousand miles, at an average continental elevation of six hundred feet above tide-water, is a feature in American geography which belongs to no other country on the globe. And this far-reaching line of internal nautical communication is bordered with the most fertile body of lands. In addition to its agricultural resources, it yields salt, coal, gypsum, iron lead, and copper, in extensive quantities. It is connected, by canals of perfect lockage, with the Atlantic Ocean, through the Hudson; the Miami of the Lakes; the Ohio; the Illinois; Fox and Wisconsin rivers; and the St. Louis. The area is crossed with railroads, from east to west, north and south, finished, or in progress, for thousands of miles. The respective lakes themselves are navigated by fleets of coasting ships and steamers. Ten millions of inhabitants live on the margin of the States along the borders of these immense bodies of water; which are, indeed, but that they are of fresh water, perfect seas. The flag of the Union is carried on these waters, as another Mediterranean, and they bear armed fleets in time of war.

The Indian—of whose life, condition, and vicissitudes these data are illustrative—yet lingers on several tracts in this great panorama. He looks on the growing creations of civilization, and wonders. He queries, whether in all this display of rapid prosperity, there is also a hope of a permanent abiding-place and fixed prosperity for him. It was, but a few years ago, a part of his hunting-grounds, where he pursued the moose, the elk, the bear, and the buffalo. Here he worshipped the Great Spirit, aforetime, in dreamy hallucinations. It was his, at least, to give names, from his expressive vocabulary, to these magnificent sheets of water, and they constitute traits of his mental history.

These inland seas, linked together as they are by straits, and connected with the Atlantic by canals, form a striking means of approach to the tier of new territories and States we have been contemplating. By them vessels and steamers can approach towards the Rocky Mountains, to the parallel of longitude of Boon's Lick, in Missouri; for this place lies in the same parallel of longitude as Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior.

These great bodies of water are also linked, at several distinct points, through connecting rivers, with the valley of the Upper Mississippi, to which they thus constitute the great outlet to the emporium of New York. They are the natural recipients of several large rivers which flow from the borders of this great valley, in a long line of dividing lands, which stretch from Chicago, at the head of Lake Michigan, to Fond du Lac, at the head of Lake Superior. The whole course of the Upper Mississippi is, in fact, a natural appendage to the trade and resources of this great system of lakes. This will more fully appear from a few considerations.

The parallel of 49° passes north of the great diluvial elevations separating the waters flowing into Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, from those of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Mississippi river originates in these eminences, in the Itasca basin, lying in latitude 47° 13′ 35″, at a distance from the Gulf of Mexico of a fraction over three thousand miles. "This lake," we quote from a MS. Geol. Report of 1822, "rests in a drift formation, consisting of marine sand, pebbles and boulders, which rise to a maximum of 138 feet above the level of the lake. This formation is superimposed on



Drawn by Capt^n S. Eastman U.S.A. from a sketch by H.R. Schoolcraft

Pl. 25

Eng^d by [illegible]

PORCUPINE MOUNTAINS, LAKE SUPERIOR

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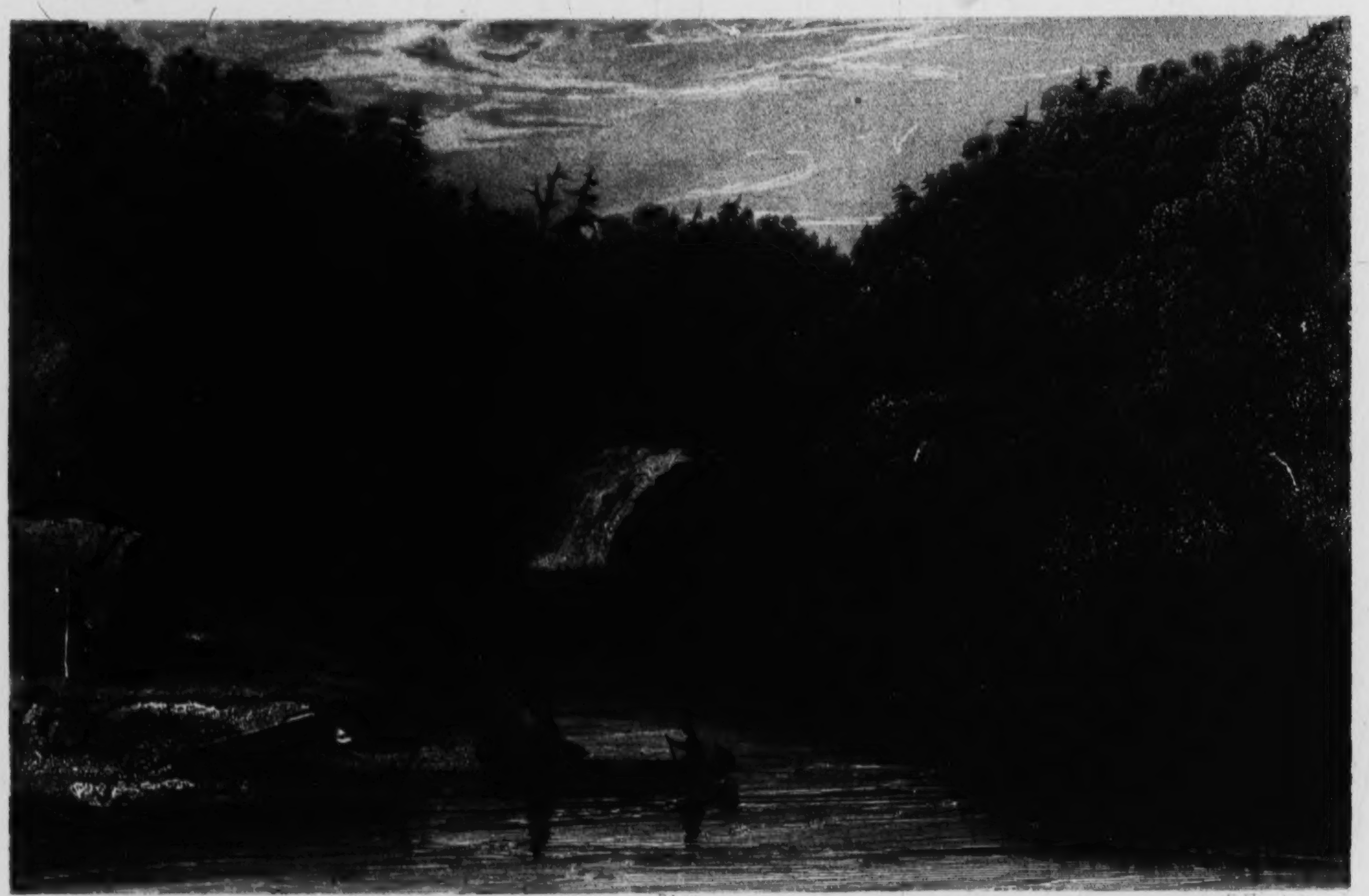

S. Eastman from a sketch by H.R. Schoolcraft. Pl 26 R. Hinshelwood

FALLS OF MONTREAL RIVER

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green-stone trap, sienite, and crystalline hornblende, heavy boulders of which lie at the Kabica falls, below Itasca Lake; in the valley of the St. Louis river, and at St. Mary's falls; and they are perceived to be scattered through the basins of Lakes Superior and Huron. The force by which these fragments were carried, evidently operated from the north and north-east; and they constitute a striking geological appearance in the lake basins.

Lake Superior.

"This lake has been the central theatre of volcanic upheavals. Not only dykes of melted rocks have been forced up from beneath into elevated positions, but these compact and black rocks, which have a marked extent, have been penetrated with metallic veins of copper, and with traces of silver. It is remarkable that these veins have not been filled with carbonates, sulphurets, and arseniates; but it appears as if the caloric intensity had been such as to reduce these salts and oxides to a metallic state; for it is in this condition that the copper is most abundantly found. The trap rock is seen everywhere to be the copper-bearing rock. A striking instance of this formation occurs at the mouth of the Montreal river, where the entire stream, in order to reach to the level of Lake Superior, is pitched from the height of the vertical red sandstone, at a single leap. This view is represented in Plate 26.

In passing down the southern coast of this lake, from Lapointe to the end of the long peninsula of Keweena, the eye is constantly engaged in scenes of these ancient upheavals of the trap rock. This line of development, after crossing the Ontonagon river, in its course westward, has lifted up the coarse red, or chocolate-colored sandstone from its horizontal, into nearly a vertical position; reaching an extreme elevation of at least eighteen hundred feet in the range called Kaug Wudju, or the Porcupine Mountains. This local chain, seen in the approach from the great copper-yielding peninsula, and mellowed by the distance, has assumed to the natives the shape and appearance of a couching porcupine, its usual attitude of defence. Hence the name—from kaug, a porcupine or hedgehog, and wudju, a mountain. The view is one that owes much of its interest to the magnificence of the water prospect. Vide Plate 25."

Aboriginal Population.

The whole region of the upper lakes, which we have been contemplating, is occupied by bands of Chippewas and Ottowas, who are identical in their lineage, language, history, manners, and customs. They were found here on the arrival of the French, in the early part of the seventeenth century, and were called by their historians, together with certain affiliated tribes, Algonquins. The term Chippewa, bestowed by travellers on the tribe occupying the lake, is derived from the native word O-jib-wa, a phrase of doubtful etymology; the penultimate syllable, however, denoting voice, in all its combinations. A fine race of men — tall in person, active hunters, brave and expert warriors, good orators and shrewd counsellors, and speaking a language at once soft and sonorous, the Chippewas have exercised a prominent part in Indian history. They were one of the parties to the original treaty made by General Wayne, at Greenville, in 1793, at which they ceded Michilimackinac; and the government is indebted to them for cessions at Detroit, in 1807, at Saginaw, in 1819, and at Sault Ste. Marie, in 1820: they were also one of the parties to the treaty of Chicago, in 1821. It was not till 1836 that they began, with their kinsmen the Ottowas, to cede very large sections of their ancient patrimony in the Lakes, comprehending the northern portion of the peninsula of Michigan, the south and north coasts of Lake Huron, the straits of St. Mary's, and large areas on Lake Superior.

MICHILIMACKINAC.

In 1836, the Chippewa and Ottowa tribes were assembled, *en masse*, at the United States' Agency on the island of Michilimackinac, to receive the first annuities and presents secured by the treaty of the preceding month of March, by which they had ceded some fifteen millions of acres. This was an event of high importance, and the scene was one of the most imposing known to their history. Between three and four thousand Indians were crowded on the island. They displayed their picturesque costume to the admiration of beholders, who saw their light bark canoes turned up on the narrow lines of beach for miles, backed by their wigwams of bark. This island has always attracted the notice of visitors for its picturesque beauties. Rising to the height of several hundred feet, abruptly from the lake — abounding in sylvan glens and heights, and commanding wide and most magnificent views of the broad sheet of the Huron, and with an air and temperature that is most exhilarating, no scene can well surpass it in varied attractions. Vide Plate 42.

In 1842, these cessions, on Lake Superior, were extended to Fond du Lac. By the treaty of St. Peter's, of 1837, this tribe ceded the tract, from a point opposite the De Corbeau or Crow-wing river, to the highlands which separate the streams flowing into Lake Superior east, from the sources of the St. Croix, Chippewa, and Wisconsin rivers. In 1847 they granted the tract immediately west of the Mississippi river, lying between the Watab and Crow-wing river, to which the Winnebagoes have subsequently been removed; and also a separate tract lying north of Leaf river, extending up the Crow-wing river, and reaching to Ottertail Lake, 46° 24′, (Owen), at the south-east source of Red river of Great Lake Winnipeak, which is designed as the future home of the Menomines.

By these treaties, the left banks of the Upper Mississippi were cleared of Indian title, from the ancient settlements and concessions at Prairie du Chien, to the Crow-wing river, latitude 46° 16′ 50″;[1] and, on its right bank, from the influx of the

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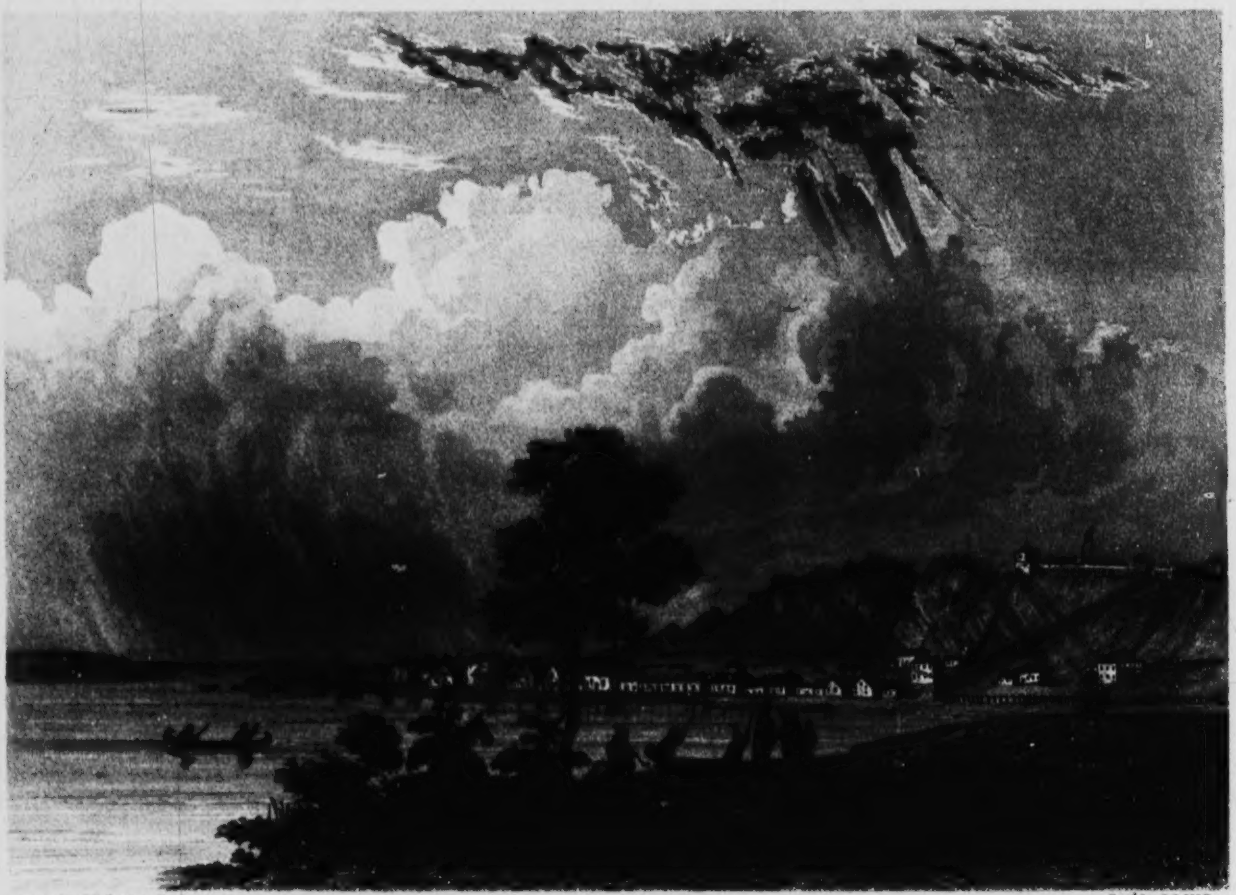
[1] Nicollet.



Drawn by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S.A.

Pl. 42

Engd by J C McRae

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upper Iowa river. These curtailments of their geographical area were preceded by extensive disturbances in the north.

The year 1832 was marked by a hostile combination of several of the leading tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Lakes. The Sac chief, Black Hawk, commenced his war. The tribes adjacent to the Sacs and Foxes sympathized with the latter in the hostilities, without openly going into the contest. By instructions early issued, and agents despatched into the disturbed districts, the government reached and checked a growing combination on the Upper Mississippi. Being selected as one of these agents, and provided with the means of observation, as well as military protection, I pushed these discoveries north to the actual source of the Mississippi, in Itasca Lake.[1] Lieutenant James Allen, U. S. A., furnished an authentic map of the river, as the result of these explorations, from the point at which the search had been dropped in 1820.

The usual results followed this ill-advised project of Black Hawk. He was overpowered and made captive, with his adherents, late in the fall of the same year; and himself and his friends suffered the penalty of attempting to deny or annul a prior treaty, by the necessity they brought themselves under, of making new concessions. Six years of a state of peace followed this war, during which, the progress of white population from the east to the west betokened rapid and extensive changes; and the tribes made incipient arrangements to surrender their line on the Mississippi, below the Iowa river. Wisconsin and Iowa began rapidly to assume strength.

In 1839, surveyors were despatched by the Treasury Department to subdivide the lands lying in northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa; and a valuable report of Mr. Owen, on the topographical and geological features of the country, was published in 1840. This was followed, in 1848, by a report of explorations reaching higher up the east banks of the river, extending to the St. Croix and Rum rivers, which was also replete with topographical and geographical data of the highest value.

These reports were more fully digested and consolidated by him in 1851, including the results of a reconnoissance to Ottertail Lake and Red river, and to the interesting tertiary formation of Mauvais Terre, of Nebraska, on the Missouri, which have been recently published, by Congress, in an elaborate quarto volume of 637 pages, with illustrations.[2]

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[1] Narrative of an Expedition to Itasca Lake. New York, 1834, 1 vol. 8vo., 307 pp.

[2] Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, and incidentally, of a part of Nebraska Territory. Philada.: Lippincott, Grambo & Co.: 1852.

ADVANCE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE TO LAKE SUPERIOR.

In 1839, the lands south of Lake Superior, which had been purchased in 1836, were put in a course of survey, which was entrusted to the hands of Dr. Douglas Houghton, who had been geologist and botanist to the expedition to Itasca, in 1837. Subsequently, the tracts purchased at Lapointe, in 1842, were ordered to be surveyed, and committed to the direction of Dr. Jackson. Mr. Agassiz visited the basin of Lake Superior in 1846; and we have, indirectly from him, observations on the courses and intensity of the volcanic eruptions which have convulsed, at an ancient era, this interesting mineral and igneous region.

These surveys and geological observations have been subsequently continued, since the death of the lamented Dr. Houghton, by Charles Whittlesy, Esq., and by Dr. J. G. Norwood;[1] and they are of high value to all who desire to acquire just views of the geological phenomena which are brought into discussion.

In this manner the dominions of science have been extended towards the north and west, and we have become acquainted with the geological structure, productions, and value of the immense line of interior trans-Mississippian Indian country.

Still we have no precise information that reaches beyond the borders of Lake Superior, north of a line extending west from its head, across the Mississippi at the Crowwing river, to the banks of Red River of the North, and embracing the vast angle of arable country, diluvial drift, and bed-rock, extending to N. latitude 49°, possessed by the Chippewa nation.

I am induced, by this idea, to make the following extracts from a manuscript report of a geological exploration of it, made in 1822, with which I am favored from the Topographical Bureau, by its distinguished chief, Col. Abert.

"A region which Pike had rendered celebrated by his arduous journey in the winter of 1805 and 1806, and respecting which, some leading points in its geography had been at that time left indeterminate, cannot but excite continued interest and curiosity. In generalizing the facts observed in so wide a field, it must be recollected that the expedition had important objects relating to the policy, numbers, and feelings of the Indian tribes, to which questions of this kind were forced to give way; that the transit over the country was necessarily rapid; and that few opportunities of elaborate or long-continued observations occurred on the route. The geologist must often sieze his facts with rapidity, and although he may carry with him materials for generalization, he is compelled, in hasty reconnoissances, to rely frequently upon brief examinations for his knowledge of rocks, soils, displacements and outcrops, the inclination and juxtaposition of strata, &c. Especially is this the case in passing through such a country as has been visited, and in exploring a region which is, emphatically, a wilderness. The immense erratic block-formation at the source of the Mississippi, and the heavy marine drift that forms, as it were, a mantle to the rock-strata, effectually prevent observation, except at deep cuttings of streams and detached points. Such means of observation as I had, I have preserved in my memoranda; and in my recollections a panorama of scenes and formations, which constitute a most interesting and magnificent line of lake and river coasts, cataracts, prairies, and forests.

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[1] Owen's Consolidated Report of 1852.

"To prepare the mind to appreciate the record of changes and displacements in the physical structure of the country, it may be observed, that the Continent has experienced some of its most striking mutations of structure arising from volcanic action, at, and north of, the chain of the Great Lakes. That chain is itself rather the evidence of disruptions and upheavals of formations, which give its northern coasts, to some extent, the character of very ancient theatres of volcanic action. These lakes, except Ontario above Kingston and Erie, indicate the boundaries between the primitive and secondary strata.[1] But however striking the fact of this separation may appear at particular localities, such as on the Straits of St. Mary, of which the east and west shores are, at most parts, geologically of different construction, yet nothing in the grand phenomena of the whole region visited, is so remarkable as the boulder or erratic block-stratum, which is spread generally from the highest latitudes of the north, to those of the south. Some of the blocks of rock are enormous, and would seem to defy any known power of removal from their parent beds. The largest of these blocks have the most obscure marks of attrition. Others have had their angles completely removed. By far the greater number of these transported boulders are quite smooth and rounded by the force of attrition. This drift-stratum has been forced and scattered from its northern latitudes, over the surface of the limestones, sandstones, amygdaloids, and trap-rocks of the Lakes. It is mixed profusely with the diluvial soils of Michigan and Illinois; but it is evident that, in its dispersion south, the heaviest pieces have settled first, while comparatively minute boulders have been carried over or spread in the plains and prairies of Ohio, southern Illinois, and Indiana, and more southernly regions.

"Nobody, with an eye to its geology, can mistake the heavy boulder deposits, which mark the southern shores of Huron, and become still more abundant in the valley of the St. Mary's, on the shores of Lake Superior, and along the foaming channels of the St. Louis and the Upper Mississippi. Districts abounding with granitic and sienitic rocks, in place, as that of which the promontory of Granite Point (Nar. Jour.) is an example, had been elevated by the upheaving forces before the sedimentary sandstones of this basin were deposited, since the latter are adjusted accurately to the asperities of the granitical masses. These masses, reaching to mountain altitudes, between the Chocolate and Huron rivers of this coast, are re-appearances of the chain of primary rocks which terminate at Gros Point, at the north cape of St. Mary's river. After passing under the sandstones of Point Iroquois;—the Taquamenon Falls;—the sandy tracts stretching from White-fish Point;—the striking elevations of the great sand-dunes of the Grand Marais, and the elevated coasts of the Pictured Rocks, reaching quite to Carp and Chocolate rivers, they rise in the Granite Point Mountains, in conical peaks, which characterize the Superior shores, near Ance Keweena. Continuing west, we next have the trap series, with their copper veins, which stretch westward to, and beyond, Montreal river, till they once more arise in the granitic series lying west of the bay of St. Charles, Lapointe island, and Cranberry river. Still following the primitive development west and north-west, under the sandstone elevations of the Muskego or Bad river, the Namakagon, the St. Croix and Rum rivers, they re-appear, with the same shining and crystalline character, and the same sparseness of mica in their constitution, until reaching the Mississippi river, which they cross above St. Anthony's Falls, between the Sauk and De Corbeau rivers.

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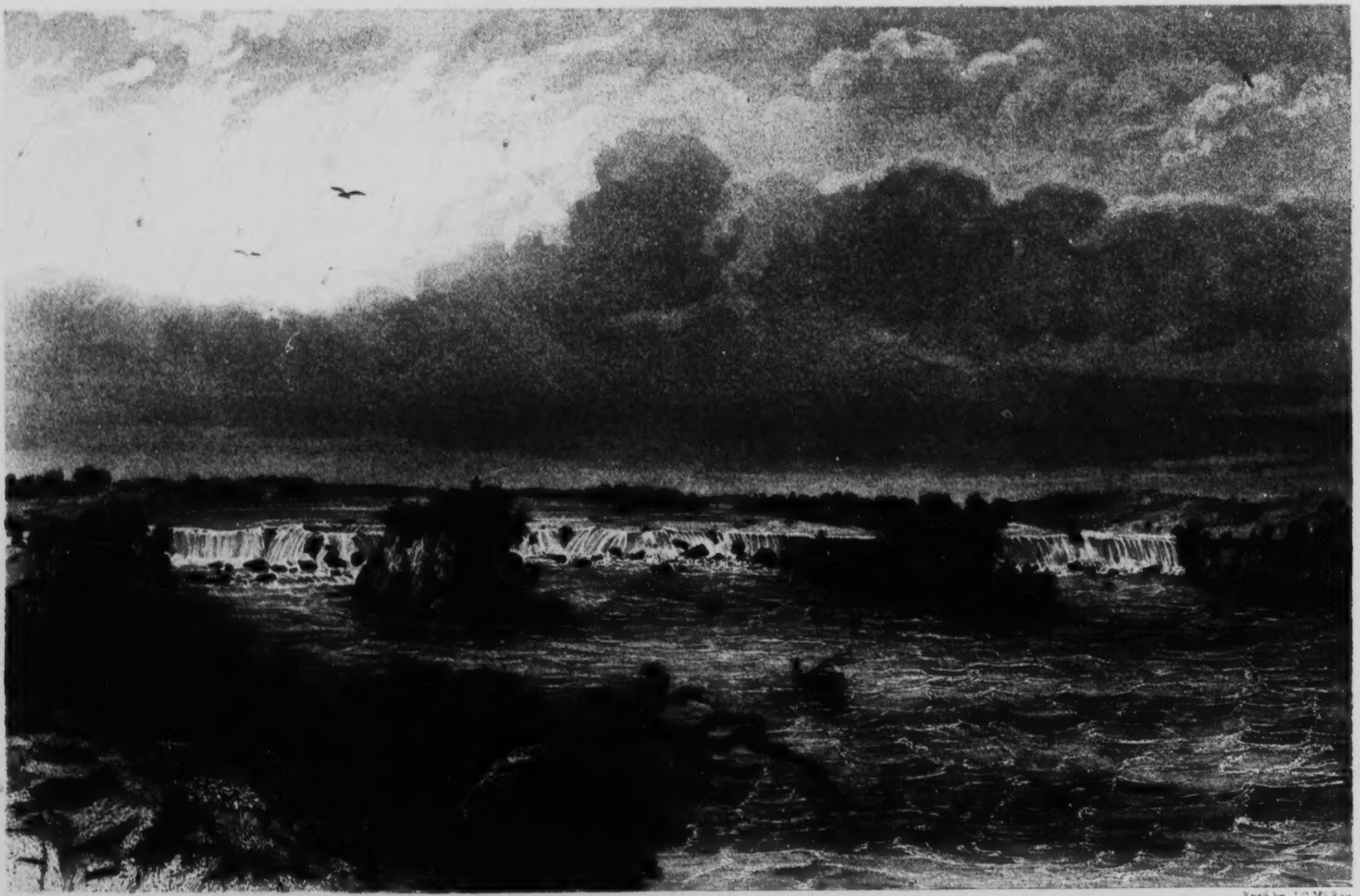
[1] These terms are now superseded. The rocks deemed crystalline are now regarded as igneous, and the silurian strata embraces all the elder secondary, but none of the newest.

"St. Anthony's Falls, a view of which is given in Plate 28, are upon and over the sandstone strata which are overlaid, on the shores, by the metalliferous and carboniferous series. This series rests upon and against the primitive rocks, at, probably, less than half a day's journey above the falls. The Mississippi, at these falls, drops, in fact, into a valley, whose sides form series of picturesque cliffs, embracing wider and wider tracts of the most fertile bottom land, till they reach near to the mouth of the Ohio;—the Cave-in-Rock knobs, and the cliffs of the Grand Tower and the Missouri shore. These form the very expanded geological jaws through which the river pours its waters into its vast diluvial region, constituting that Nilotic delta of which the Balize marks its extreme protrusion into the Gulf of Mexico. Not less than three thousand miles are required for the display and evolutions of this river; and when we revert to its source, it is found to be on a continental summit of less than eighteen hundred feet elevation above the Atlantic. This summit is formed by an upheaval of the crystalline and trap rocks which form such striking displays in the basin of Lake Superior.

FORMATION AT THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

"In order to comprehend the geology of this region, it is necessary to premise, that this continental elevation of the granitic series, moderate as it is, bears a heavy mass of drift strata, all of which are the material of pre-existing and broken-down formations. These appear to have been chiefly sandstones, slates, schistose rocks, amygdaloids, and traps; the latter of which have existed in vast dykes in the underlying ranges, conformably to the system exhibited in the basin of Lake Superior. (Vide Geol. Map, herewith.)



Drawn by Capt S. Eastman U.S.A.

Pl. 28

Engd by J.C McRae

FALLS OF ST ANTHONY

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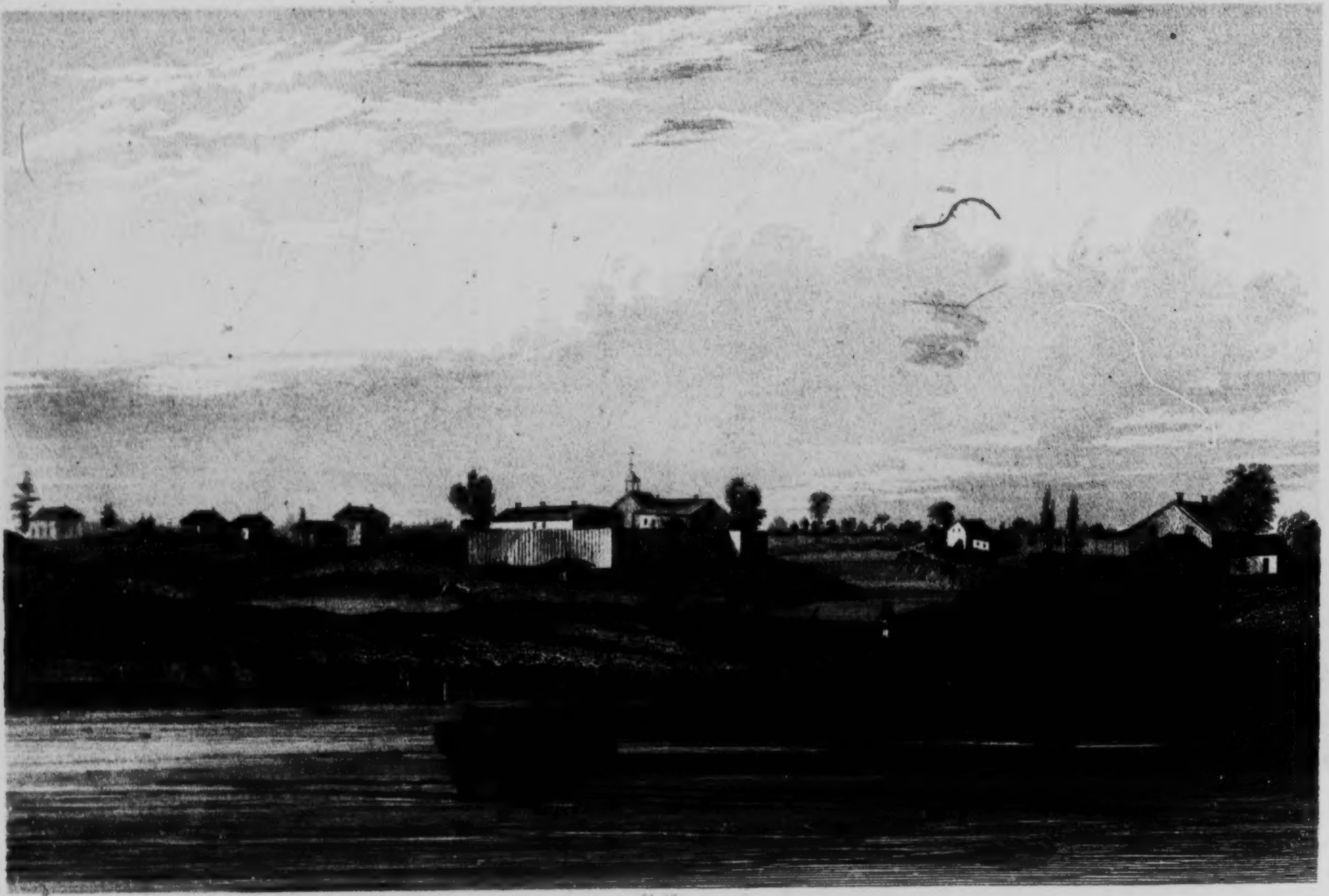

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"This height of land begins immediately west of the basin and river of the Rainy Lake. It subtends the utmost sources of the Mississippi, and reaches to the summit, and continues south, of Ottertail Lake, where it divides the utmost tributaries of the Red River of the North from those of the Corbeau, or Crow-wing river, and the river St. Louis of Lake Superior. This elevated range serves to condense the vapors of the surrounding waters. The drift serves as an admirable filter for this moisture, which is finally arrested by vast beds of clay, resulting from the comminuted clay-slates and schists. To these causes of watery accumulation, are added the usual rains and snows. The effect has been, that the amount of these condensed and atmospheric sources of moisture, sinking into the sandy beds till they are arrested by the argillaceous sub-soil, pours out, in crystal streams and springs, on all sides. It acts, therefore, as the primary water-shed, not only for the Mississippi and the Red River of Hudson's Bay, but is not a small source of supply for the great lakes and the Niagara, and through it, for the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

BASIN OF LAKE MICHIGAN.

"This basin stretches about three hundred and fifty miles, from north to south. It is deeply seated in the lake formation of sandstones, limestones, and schists, including probably the northern edge of the coal strata. The piles of horizontal compact limestone at the entrance of Green Bay;—the solid beds of tertiary clay of Milwaukie;—and the bleak sand-dunes on its eastern shores, extending, with intervals, from the Konomik to the coast opposite the Manito isles, constitute very striking features. At Chicago the wide and level prairie diluvion of the Mississippi valley comes quite to the shores of the lake, forming its southern margin, and developing a striking point of union of the great lake and prairie systems. The sketch of this spot, Plate 27, is drawn from a view taken on the arrival, at that place, of the expedition. It exhibits Fort Dearborn, as it then stood, the house of Mr. Kinzie, the patriarch of the place, the United Indian Agency and shops, and the dwellings of a few traders and residents, who comprised the population of the hamlet."

CHIPPEWA COLONY.

In submitting these remarks on the lake basins and the region at the sources of the Mississippi, occupied by the Chippewas, it may be added, that the latter affords every desirable requisite for a colony of refuge for that nation. The number of its lakes enables the Indians to supply themselves with fish, which are quite abundant in all the larger basins of transparent waters in these regions. The numerous streams by which it is intersected, are scenes of great attraction for water-fowl. They also still afford, in moderate quantities, the small furred animals, whose skins are sought. Most of the lakes, indeed all of them whose waters are shallow, afford the species of native rice on which this tribe has so long relied. And notwithstanding the large sphagenous and worthless tracts in some districts, and arid ridges of sand, or hard gravel and sand, in others, the proportion of fertile soil, which, in its natural state, yields maple, elm, and other hard wood species, far exceeds these bad tracts. Maple-sugar is the product of every considerable district; and this item, with its game, completes the list of the reliances of the Indians while they are in a hunter state. And they must continue to be ever desirable resources to them, while they go through the incipient stages of agriculture, and until they can fully and boldly rely on the latter. In addition to this, it is a region covered with forests, and therefore will long supply them fencing and fuel. The labor of digging wells is not required, as running streams and small lakes are so abundant as to supply their settlements with water until they become quite dense. Above all, it is eminently healthful, and its climatic phenomena of spring, summer, and winter, are such as to commend the region strongly to their approbation, habits, and manners.

Assuming the Chippewa population now there, or which is due to the region by existing treaties, at 7000, the area is most ample, and, indeed, suitable for a large colony. The boundary of an Indian colony, in this quarter, might be included in a line running south from the parallel of 49°, so as to strike the outlet of Red Lake; to be continued till it reaches the outlet of Ottertail Lake; thence due east to the Mississippi river, following its channel upwards to the Falls of Puckaguma; thence due north to the national boundary. This would create a compact and shapely territory, avoiding the intermediate valley of Red river, but securing all the upper parts of the affluents to it. It might, under certain conditions, be made to include the entire area east of the Mississippi, to the British possessions on the Rainy Lake boundary; embracing the mineral coasts of Lake Superior, and thus become an appendage to the commercial system of that interior ocean.

V. TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT. D.

[4TH PAPER, TITLE V.]

TITLE V.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE V.

TITLE V., LET. A., VOL. I. [1st Paper.]

Generic Remarks on the Groups of Tribes in the United States.

1. Shoshonee or Snake Indians.
2. Indians of Oregon, the Rocky Mountains, and Pacific Coasts.
3. Comanches, and Texas Tribes generally.
4. Indian Tribes of New Mexico.
5. Dacotahs of the Mississippi, with respect to their Medical Knowledge.
6. Missouri Valley Indians, as affected by Small-pox.
7. Tribes on the Santa Fé Trail.
8. Muscogees or Creeks.
9. Massachusetts Indians.
10. Indian Population of Kentucky.
11. Menomonies and Chippewas.
12. Mascotins and Assiguaigs.
13. Chickasaws.

TITLE V., LET. B., VOL. II. [2d Paper.]

14. Niuni or Comanche Nation.
15. Ojibwas — their Traditions.
16. Sioux or Dacotahs, (*a.*)

TITLE V., LET. C., VOL. III. [3d Paper.]

17. Iroquois Republic.
18. Tribes of Oregon and California.
19. Sioux or Dacotah Proper, (*b.*)
20. Mandans.
21. Iowas, (*a.*)
22. Iowas and Sacs, (*b.*)
23. Hochungaras.
24. Winnebagoes, (*a.*)
25. Eries, (*a.*)
26. Catawbas.
27. Pimos of the Gila.
28. Moqui of New Mexico.

TITLE V., LET. D., VOL. IV. [4th Paper.]

29. Eries, (*b.*)
30. The Neutral Nation.
31. Navajoes of New Mexico.
32. New Mexican Tribes generally.
33. Root-Diggers, &c., of California.
34. Winnebagoes, (*b.*)
35. Mascoutins — a lost Tribe.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT.

SYNOPSIS OF PAPERS.

1. A Sketch of the History of the Ancient Eries. By H. R. S.
2. Inquiries respecting the Lost Neutral Nation. By J. G. Shea, Esq.
3. An Account of the Navajoes of New Mexico. By Maj. E. Backus, U. S. A.
4. Description of the true State and Character of the New Mexican Tribes. By Lt. Col. J. H. Eaton, U. S. A.
5. Manners, Customs, and History of the Root-Diggers and other California Tribes. By Adam Johnson.
6. Origin, History, and Traits of the Winnebagoes. By Jonathan E. Fletcher, Esq., U. S. Agt.
7. Brief Researches in the Missionary Authors, respecting the Mascoutins of the French Era. By John Gilmary Shea, Esq.

1. A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT ERIES.[1]

Of the tribes who have figured in American history, and who have left their names on the territory, the fate of none has excited a deeper interest than that of the Eries; and they are perpetually brought to remembrance by the noble lake which bears their name. Charlevoix informs us that they were exterminated in 1655.[2] Other authorities place the event in 1653.[3] The territory occupied by them, agreeably to these authors, was the celebrated valley of the Niagara river. On its south banks their limits extended nearly from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie, with an indefinite breadth towards the Genesee river. But on its northern margin, they were found spreading to a certain, but not great distance up Lake Erie, and eastwardly along the northern head-waters of Lake Ontario. According to the most moderate computation, they had twelve thousand souls, and four thousand fighting-men. They are stated to have had twenty-eight villages, and twelve large towns or forts. The country they possessed is described as eminently fertile, yielding the usual articles of Indian production; and it abounded in all the game of its latitudes. They were under the government of a queen called Yagowanea,[1] otherwise called by the French and Senecas, Gegosasa. In 1626, in the outset of the great effort made by New France to civilize and Christianize the Indians, the Eries were visited, and the peculiarity for which they are most celebrated was first brought to notice.

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[1] "302. Who were the Eries? Have we any reason to suppose that we may recognize this tribe under the name of the Kahkwas of the Iroquois, or of the lost 'neuter nation' of the French writers?"

[2] Histoire de la Nouvelle France, Vol. I., p. 322.

[3] Wynne's History of the British Empire in America, Vol. I., p. 334.

This peculiarity was the fact of their neutrality between fierce and powerful contending nations. Hence they were called by the French the Neutral Nation. They spoke a dialect of the Iroquois. By one authority, this is declared to be a dialect of the Huron type of this language;[2] by another, the particular relationship is stated to be Seneca.[3] The neutrality spoken of was established between these two fraternal warring parties and their respective allies, namely, the Wyandots and Five Nations.

The settlement of Canada by the French, produced a split in the great Iroquois family; the Wyandots adhering to the Gallic side, and the Five Nations to the Dutch and English. In this feud of the Iroquois, the Algonquin tribes, (or, as they were called by the confederates, Adirondacks,) who were at war with them aforetime, were glad to make allies of the French and Wyandots. Between these, the Eries occupied a geographical position on the banks of the Niagara. They had already, from propinquity and habits, formed a close alliance with an Algonquin tribe on the west and north of Lake Ontario, called Mississaugies.[4] They were nearly related to both the Wyandots and Five Nations. Neutrality was their only salvation. It was a delicate position, and required great wisdom to preserve it. Neuter nations, when the period for action arrives, are apt to offend both sides. It was certainly so with the Eries. They finally offended both Wyandots and Iroquois; but it was the latter who turned upon them, with great fury and power, and in a short and sanguinary war, extinguished their nationality.

The cause and events of this war are left in obscurity by the French missionary authors, to whom we are so much indebted for facts in the early epoch of our Indian history in the northern hemisphere. It appears, from researches and quotations which are made in the sequel to these remarks,[5] that the Eries were visited as early as 1626, by the two missionaries, Sagard and De la Roche d'Allyon, who earnestly sought to open and consolidate Christian relations with them; but they encountered extraordinary obstacles, and on one occasion a beating, from a misrepresentation of their motives by the Wyandots, who were fearful that such intercourse would lead to a trade with the French of Quebec and Montreal — a trade which they now eminently enjoyed, through the ancient and roundabout way of the great channels of the Ontawa and French rivers, to their advanced position in Lake Huron. Owing to this opposition, Sagard withdrew all his efforts, and confined them exclusively to the Wyandots, among whom he labored, and, in the end, suffered at the stake.

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[1] Cusic's History. [2] Chaumonst. [3] Cusic.

[4] This tribe was formerly adopted as the seventh nation, and is so put down on Evans's map, in 1785. Mr. Gallatin, entirely mistaking them, classifies them (See Vol. III.) as Iroquois. He had previously made the same error in his "Synopsis." Am. Archives, Vol. II.

[5] By J. G. Shea, Esq.

Owing to these causes the affairs of the Eries were not subject to the cognizance of the French missionaries, and when, at the distance of many years later in the century, the way was in some measure opened to their access into the Iroquois country, they found the Niagara valley in the possession of the Onundawaga or Senecas,[1] and the tradition was then fresh that they, the Eries, had been expelled in a bloody war, and exterminated. We have given the traditionary date of this event from the great historian of New France, in a preceding page. It was the enterprise of La Salle that first opened the great lakes to commerce, and by its prestige and consequences, ecclesiastical and commercial, caused geography to recognize the Mississippi river.[2] Sufficient time had elapsed in the new epoch of missionary enterprise in New France, from 1655 to 1678, to cast a dreamy interest over the story of the extinction of the Eries; and their fate and fortunes have ever since continued to be the theme of historic sympathy and regret.

The veil that conceals their history is lifted in a curious, ill-digested, and obscure pamphlet of Indian traditions, by a semi-educated Tuscarora, which was printed in the ancient country of the Iroquois in western New York, in 1825.[3] According to this account, the war was caused by an act of perfidy. Yogowanea, the queen of the Eries, was, in some respects, another Zenobia. She is called the Mother of Nations, (p. 32.) She was placed at the head of the nation, having twelve strong-holds, or forts, under command. Her wampum and peace-pipe were held sacred. The central point of power was at a place called Kienuka,[4] on the Niagara Ridge, and not remote from the present village of Tuscarora. Protected by the sanctity of her character and office, as keeper of the symbolic house of peace, she had a contiguous edifice, where she received messengers and ambassadors from the Five Nations, Wyandots, Mississagies, and others.

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[1] Seneca is not an Iroquois word. It is found, however, on the earliest maps, and is used in some form of orthography by all writers except the French.

[2] The initial discovery of this river at the mouth of the Wisconsin, five years before, by J. Marquette, was emphatically pointed out, in 1820, in my Nar. Jour. Exp. to the Sources of the Miss. We are, at length, just furnished with the details of Marquette's discoveries in an English dress, by Mr. John Gilmary Shea. N. Y., 1852, 1 vol. 8vo: Redfield.

[3] Sketches of the History of the Six Nations, by David Cusic, Tuscarora Village, Lewistown, Niagara County, N. Y., 1825, 18mo., p. 36; a second edition printed in 1828.

[4] Cusic, page 32. Cusic had evidently little idea of the alphabetical value of the letters; as an evidence of which, the name of Kienuka, given to me by the Tuscaroras, in 1845, he writes "Kaukananka."

It is evident that her authority extended not only to the foot of Lake Erie, where the strongest fort, called Kaukathay, was seated, but across the Niagara river and along the head of Lake Ontario, where an outrage occurred, which she caused summarily to be punished, which led, indeed, to the fatal breach of the peace, and had the instant effect to forfeit her character for neutrality. The circumstances were these—Two Canandaigua (Seneca) warriors (p. 32) had been received, and began to smoke the peace-pipe, when a deputation of Mississagies, from the north of the Niagara, were announced. They informed her that the two warriors had just returned from the assassination of the son of their principal chief. They demanded the right of blood, and this demand was yielded, contrary to the sanctity of the refuge which they had sought. The visitors were betrayed and executed by the Mississagies. Intelligence of this violation of her office spread in every direction. The Iroquois tribes, who were the aggrieved party, flew instantly to arms. She despatched messengers to explain her position to Onondaga; to Kaquatka (the modern Buffalo), where the principal commander of the Eries resided; she also sent messengers to form an alliance with a powerful savage tribe, called Waranakarana (probably Andastes), who were encamped on the banks of Lake Erie. She went herself to Kaquatka. She raised a very large force, which proceeded rapidly towards the Genesee river.

In the mean time, she had no sooner left her quarters near Kienuka, than a woman slipped off quietly, taking a canoe along the shores of Lake Ontario, and informed the Canandaigua chiefs of the murder of their warriors. Shorikowani, the leading ruler, despatched two fast runners as spies, to proceed to Kienuka, to ascertain the facts. On coming near the fort, they encountered some boys in an old corn-field shooting squirrels, and easily obtained from them the facts, without exciting suspicion. Not waiting for aid from the Cayugas, Onondagas and other confederates, he immediately marched, in hot haste, with a force of fifteen hundred fighting-men, to attack the Eries at Kaquatka. The warriors proceeded in two divisions, led by different chiefs, the old men and women following with supplies. The bravest leaders were placed in command. Shorikowani led the whole, and had taken the precaution to send runners ahead, to observe the motions of the enemy. When he had reached a small lake east of the Genesee river, which is believed to be Geneseo, the army halted at a fort called Hawnesats. At this place the runners returned, and announced that the Eries had crossed the Genesee river with a large force. Shorikowani immediately planned an ambush on each side of the path. The first division, or young men, was directed to bring on the attack. As a decoy, a man was dressed in a bear-skin and directed to sit in the path, and when pursued to lead the enemy into the ambush. The plan succeeded, and brought them into the midst of the crouching Senecas, who set up a most horrible yell. Yet they were defeated, after a severe contest, and forced to flee. Shorikowani's second division now came up and renewed the fight. Both parties fought with great desperation and obstinacy. At length the Eries gave way and fled, but they gave a proof of their valor by leaving six hundred slain warriors on the field. They hurried to the Genesee and recrossed it. The leader of the Senecas was content not to press so desperate a foe, and returned to Canandaigua.

When the force of the Onondagas and other southern tribes came up to engage in this contest against the Eries, they mustered five thousand men. It was placed under the command of Shorikowani, a Mohawk. With this body, flushed with the victory of Geneseo, he crossed the Genesee river, and pushed on to attack the strong-hold of the Eries at Kaquatka,[1] determined to extinguish their council-fire. But the place made a brave defence. The Eries hurled their arrows from the fort in such showers, that its capture seemed improbable. In this attack, the great chief Shorikowani was killed by an arrow. This disheartened the besiegers much. They carried back the body of the chief, and buried it, with great state and solemnity, at Canandaigua. Meantime, the siege was continued several days. In the end, the Queen sued for peace, which was granted; whereupon hostilities ceased, and the Eries were left in full possession of the country.[2]

Thus terminated the first war with the Eries. How long, or permanently, the peace made on raising the siege of Kaquatka, was kept, is unknown. There is an authority for dating the first outbreak in 1634. The Eries had shown themselves capable of presenting a bold front, and to be effective combatants with the dart and club; expert in action, and subtle in council. In addition to their own forces, it has been seen that the queen, Yogowanea, had engaged savage auxiliaries. There are notices to show that they pushed their detached forays and scalping-parties as far south as Onondaga.

La Moine informs us that in 1653, the war of the Iroquois with the Eries had newly broken out. But it is seen, by reference to a prior author,[3] that the Senecas for the first time attacked them, under the name of Attenondero[illegible] in 1647, when they took with great slaughter the town of Aondironons. This town appears to have been in the present area of Canada, north-east of the Niagara; and the onset of the Senecas was so severe, that, owing also to the outbreak of a pestilence, they migrated across the Niagara into the territory of (what is now) New York. If we apprehend rightly the date of Yogowanea's perfidy, and the true era of the rending of the bands of neutrality of the Erie tribe, sixteen years had now elapsed since the great battle of Geneseo, and little less since the unsuccessful siege of Kaquatka.[4] This was not a comparatively long period of struggling hostility between two powers who were still on an equipoise as to strength and numbers, who both occupied a country of exuberant fertility, abounding with all the resources of aboriginal prosperity, and who were indeed, at best, with a few removes of affiliation, of the very same blood and language. They were on a par in bravery, subtlety, and forest wisdom, and the same in their military and tribal organization; governed by popular will, ready at an instant, marching without baggage, and hazarding all for the glory of warlike renown. This contest of Iroquois with Erie, was indeed like "Greek meeting Greek." For as yet, it must be remembered that the Iroquois, whose confederacy was not very ancient, had not prevailed against their two greatest foes, namely, the Algonquins and the Satanas. This is expressly stated by the most respectable historian of the Five Nations,[1] who declares that it was the triumph of the confederates over the latter nation, that first inspired them with courage to attack successfully the Adirondacks. But it is certainly a misapprehension, in the vocabulary of words and names which precedes his work, to give "Shaonons" as the equivalent of Satanas (devils). By the term Satana, the Dutch, whose trade, at the era, extended as high as Onondaga or the Genesee, described, doubtless, the fierce and subtle Eries, whose deeds were rife on the breath of rumor. The French denoted them as the Cat nation, but also used this term at the same time, as the equivalent for Erie.[2] Breboeuf uses the terms Erice-honons and Châts, as equivalents.[3] These authorities leave no uncertainty on the subject. Besides this, the Shawanees, who were also called, at an after period, *Châts* by the French, and are so called at this day, were in 1653 still living on the Savannah river, in Georgia, and engaged in desperate wars with the Cherokees.[4]

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[1] Believed to have been at Eighteen-Mile Creek, south shore of Lake Erie.

[2] Cusic's History, p. 33.

[3] Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, p. 262.

[4] By the authority of Brebœuf, only twelve years.

Of the final war, which overwhelmed the Eries, and, in Indian phrase, put out their council-fire among the nations, I made inquiries, while engaged in taking the State census of the Iroquois, in 1845. Within ten years of two centuries had passed since that striking catastrophe; yet I found tradition, contrary to my expectation, to be alive and even active on the subject.[5] The Senecas called them "Gwageoneh,"[6] and placed the turning battles on Buffalo and Eighteen-Mile Creek.[7]

Warfare, with the Indian tribes, is ever conducted by stratagem and ambush. There is, it is believed, but a single instance in American history,[8] in which they have boldly marched to battle against a European force. Tradition represents their war with the Eries as having been preceded by feats of running and athletic sports, which had a sanguinary issue. The Eries secretly mustered their force, and marched towards the Seneca country. In this movement they were discovered by a hunting-party of the Senecas, which had ventured west of the Genesee. The alarm was immediately spread, and the Senecas mustered a large force to meet the invaders. The battle occurred west of the Genesee. The Iroquois divided their warriors into two bodies, and made a fierce attack with their principal body, which, after a severe conflict, was driven back. They were, after falling back some distance, supported by a second body, called the young men, who turned the tide of battle against the Eries. Many were killed, in the hard contest, on both sides — many prisoners taken. The Senecas claim to have fought this battle with the Gawagensea alone, and without aid from the southern cantons. It is true that the Senecas always mustered the largest body of fighting-men; but all authorities concur in describing this war of extermination as the result of the whole force of the Iroquois confederacy, who, after a long protracted contest, carried their power completely west of the Genesee, and occupied the country, by conquest, up to the banks of the Niagara. We are told that this final conquest was effected in two years after the renewal of the war, and that it terminated in 1655. That it was the result of many battles, in a region of large extent, lying on both sides of the Niagara river, is evident. It appears from Brebœuf, writing in 1647, that only four Erie towns were, at that date, on the south side of the Niagara — that the Eries and Petuns, or Tobacco Indians, who were Wyandots, had been pursued and slaughtered mercilessly in West Canada—a fact which is confirmed by the large amount of human bones which are found through that district of country. The result of the war might still have been doubtful against a people who were once estimated at twelve thousand fighting-men, had it not been for a pestilence which prevailed in the country north of the Niagara, which swept off greater numbers than even the club or arrow.

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[1] Colden's Five Nations, p. 23.

[2] Vide Hennepin and Le Moyne.

[3] All quoted by J. G. Shea, in the sequel.

[4] Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois.

[5] Ibid, p. 318.

[6] Gegosasch, a wild cat; by E. S. Parker, letter of May 18th, 1848.

[7] The popular terms of Gagwa and Kahkwa, appear to be derivatives from the compound phrase Gwageoneh.

[8] St. Clair's defeat.

Seneca tradition affirms, that after the defeat of the most westerly bodies of the Eries, on the shores of Lake Erie, the survivors fled to the Alleghany river, called Ohēo by them, down which they fled. Some of the French missionary authors distinctly affirm, that portions of them were incorporated with the Iroquois, and that they constituted an increment in the Iroquois missions, and founded that of La Prairie, near the city of Quebec. Their council-fire was, agreeably to the threat of the Onondaga council, put out. Their name was obliterated from the number of tribes. The places where they once dwelt knew them no more. The once sacred peace lodge of Yogowanea was demolished. Niagara ceased to pour its echoes through their lands, to animate them to heroic deeds; and they have left no monument to carry their name to distant ages, but the sonorous epithet of Lake Erie.

The ensuing observations and researches among the folios of the ancient missionary authors, are the result of careful studies. While they present a record of bygone exertions for the advancement and temporary exaltation of a race of men who appear destined to fade away before the firmer and progressive descendants of European stocks, they supply a chain of testimony which was before incomplete, that the long lost "Neuter Nation" of the French missionary fathers was the Eries, whose history and fortunes we have sketched. It is not inconsistent with this view, that some fragmentary portions of the tribe, unwilling to submit to so severe a fate, fled to distant regions in the west and south, as denoted by Evans[1] and Jefferson.[2] But it is to be added, that wherever they went, they were followed with the undying hatred of the Iroquois; and their name and lineage as a tribe are lost.

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[1] Geographical Analogy.

[2] Notes on Virginia.

2. INQUIRIES RESPECTING THE NEUTRAL NATION.

Attinoindarons, Sagard, 351,753; Atiwendaronk, Rel., 1639, '40, '42, '43, '59, '60; Atti-wandaronk, Rel., 1640–1; Ati-rhagenrets, Rels., 1671, '73, '79; (MS.) Creuxius, 1790; Rhagenuatka, Rel., 1674, (MS.)

Among the nations belonging to the Huron-Iroquois family, is one termed by the early French historians, the Neutral Nation, from the fact of their standing aloof in the great struggle between the Iroquois on the one side, and the Hurons (Wyandots) and Algonquins (Adirondacks) on the other.

They were of the same race as the Hurons and Iroquois, and lay between them. The Hurons consisted of four tribes: the Attigñawantan, the Attigneenonguahac, the Arendahronons, and the Scanonaerat, occupying a small tract on the banks of Lake Huron, not exceeding sixty or seventy-five miles in length, and twenty or twenty-five in breadth.[1] They were of three totems — the Cord, Rock, and Bear. West-southwest of these, in the hills, lay the villages of the Tionontotes, called by the French, Petun, or Tobacco Indians, consisting of two totems, the Wolf and Stag. In New York lay the five Iroquois cantons, called by us the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, with the great totems of the Turtle, Wolf, and Bear, and several inferior ones. Between the Hurons and Petuns on the one side, and the Iroquois on the other, lay the villages of the Neutral Nation, called by the Hurons, Attiwandaronk. Their territory lay on both sides of the Niagara river, and extended from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, the great body lying, however, west of the Niagara. As all trace of them has now disappeared, and no band of them exists to give us their dialect and traditions — as they have vanished entirely as a nation, while the Hurons linger at Quebec, and the Tionontates are steadily advancing in wealth and numbers on the upland plains of Missouri, it becomes a matter of antiquarian research to gather what information may be had touching a nation thus faded away.

They were twice visited by Frenchmen, who have left us written accounts, enabling us to form some definite idea of the extent of their country, their numbers, government, and final ruin.

Appealing to Iroquois tradition, we can find merely that a tribe, governed in early times by a queen named Jegasaga, ruled on the Niagara and inhabited twelve well-fortified towns.[2] The name of the queen, which signifies "Wild Cat," became that of the tribe. Such is the vague account which their tradition gives. Champlain, on his first map, makes no mention of them, locating other tribes[3] in their territory; but on visiting the Huron country, heard of them; but on his map errs by placing them south of Lake Erie. In 1626, some years after Champlain's visit to the Huron country, Father Joseph de la Roche D'Allyon, a Recollect or Franciscan friar, proceeded thither, in company with Father John de Brebœuf and Father Anne de Noue, two Jesuits. The latter remained in the Huron country; de la Roche, encouraged by the advice, or guided by the orders of Father Le Caron, the Superior of the Missions, resolved to visit the territory of the Neuters. His object was to explore the country, and especially to discover the mouth of the river of the Iroquois or Niagara, in order to take the Neuters thence across the lake, to trade with the French, and thus furnish the missionaries facilities for entering to preach the gospel. An unbroken forest, five days' journey long, lay between the Tionontates and the Neuters. He reached the first town, and proceeded on through five others to Ounontisaston, the residence of Souharissen, a chief who ruled not only his own village, but all the towns of the Neutral nation, over whom he had acquired supreme authority by his prowess in a war with seventeen different nations. This chief was pleased with the stranger, adopted him, and de la Roche remained three months there, learning the language of the people, and endeavoring to acquire all possible information of the country. His efforts to reach the river which separated the two portions of their territory, excited suspicion. This the Hurons eagerly fanned, prompted by commercial jealousy; for they were loth to see any direct communication opened between the Neuters and French, inasmuch as their importance as traders would fall at once, from the greater proximity of the Neuters to Quebec. By Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, the Neuters, had they wished, could have reached the French post in ten days; while for the Hurons, by French river and the Ottawa, it was a painful voyage and journey of three weeks. The importance of obtaining knowledge of some post or rendezvous on the lake, induced the missionary to brave all, till he was robbed and beaten one day, while alone in the village, during the hunting season, by some men who came from Ouaroronon, their most distant town, only one day's journey from the Iroquois. Narrowly escaping with life, he yielded to the advice of Brebœuf, and withdrew from the country of the Neuters. The people he describes as friends and relatives of the Iroquois; living in twenty-eight villages, all governed by Souharissen. In manners generally, they resembled the Hurons,[1] but did not engage in commerce, and went perfectly naked, not wearing the usual breech-cloth. Their territory, which Sagard in annotating his letter represents as two hundred and forty miles long, de la Roche describes as fronting on Lake Ontario, opposite to the Iroquois, as blessed with a much finer climate than other parts of Canada, and in soil too, better and finer, producing great quantities of tobacco. Game of all kinds was most abundant; deer taken elsewhere. One large one was here taken from a drove, while the woods teemed with moose, beaver, wild cats, and squirrels, and the marshy grounds and water-courses with bustards, turkeys, cranes, and other kinds of wild fowl. This account is corroborated, at a later date, by Brebœuf, who represents the people as raising also the usual crops, maize and beans.

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[1] Rel., 1639.

[2] Morgan's League of the Iroquois, 337. Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, p. 61.

[3] Equichounonton, mouth of Niagara West. Acouriase et Efflux of Lake Erie, western side; Edition of 1613.

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[1] Brebœuf gives some details as to their mode of burial, and their "feast of the dead."

At this epoch they waged no war, except against the Assestagueronons, or Fire Nation, whom the Algic tribes called Maskoutens, and whom the Neuters, as allies of the Ottawas, attacked continually. Another war, however, was on the point of breaking out — they were about to make war on the Hurons for some real or fancied injury; but the difficulty was soon settled, and they continued, in name and fact, neutral for some years longer.

On his return to the Huron, De la Roche wrote a letter, containing a brief account of his visit, which Sagard published in his History of Canada,[1] and Le Clerc, subsequently, in his Establishment of the Faith.[2]

The capture of Quebec prevented any further missionary attempts for some years, and it was not till 1635 that the Jesuits again entered Upper Canada. In a few years, the objects which had impelled the explorations of De la Roche induced a second attempt, as the existence of missions now depended on direct communication with the French colony.

Two Fathers, the celebrated John de Brebœuf and Peter M. J. Chaumonot, the Huron grammarian, at last set out, in 1640, to found a mission in the Neutral land. Leaving Teananstayae, the last Huron town, a march of four days, answering to the one hundred miles of Bressan,[3] brought them to Kandouche, the first town in the Neutral territory, south-west of the Tionontates, and north or slightly north-west of the "so famous river of the tribe;" that is, of the Niagara, where it emptied into Lake St. Louis, or Ontario. Like his predecessor, Brebœuf proceeded to the town of the great chief; but on reaching this village of Andachkhroh, he found Tsoharissen, the chief, absent on some distant expedition; this was unfortunate—for, from the similarity of name, we may suppose him the same who had adopted De la Roche, as it is not likely that another, "raised up in his place," would have succeeded to the extraordinary powers possessed by that chief. In his absence, the two Frenchmen could not be publicly received; and some Hurons accusing them of sorcery, of a desire to bring in the Iroquois, and of other crimes, made every effort to defeat the object of their mission, and excited a general distrust and hostility. In spite, however, of coldness and inhospitality, they went from town to town, visiting eighteen, and preaching in ten, until at last they reached the mouth of the Niagara. Here Brebœuf saw, at once, that a French post must be established, if they wished to save the Hurons from the Iroquois, and extend Christianity and commerce in the west. A vessel on the lake would have changed the destiny of Canada. The Neuters were, however, so jealous of the two missionaries, that Brebœuf durst not take out his astrolabe to find the latitude of the mouth of the Niagara; which, however, he estimated roughly at 42°.

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[1] Sec. 3, chap. 3, p. 892.

[2] Vol. I., chap. 10.

[3] Breve Relatione, Chap. 2.

Alluding to some map published about that time,[1] he says, that the mass of the nation lay west of the Niagara, and not east, as there represented; that only four towns lay on the eastern side, ranging from east to west, towards the Erielhonons, or Chats. The river he mentions as the river of the Neutral Nation, is clearly described. "This river is that by which our great Huron Lake, or Mer Douce discharges; it falls first into Lake Erie, or of the Cat tribe, and then it enters the Neutral ground, and takes the name of Onguiaahra, till it falls into Lake Ontario, or St. Louis."[2] Bressani, who spent some years in the country, and was among the Hurons and Iroquois while the Neuters were a distinct nation, in his Breve Relatione, places them north of Lake Erie, and the Eries south, giving the former one hundred and fifty miles of territory.

Population: In this space were scattered their towns, in ten of which the missionaries preached. Of these, they computed the population at 5000 fires, or 3000 souls, estimating the whole nation at 12,000, one-third being warriors. Brebœuf intimates that former writers had, in their estimates, included other tribes not properly of the nation.

Towns: Of their towns we have Kandoucho, which was nearest to the Hurons,[3] Khesetoa, which received them kindly, Andachkhroh, the capital, Onguiaahra, the frontier town, on the eastern side of the river, only one day's journey from the Sonontwheronons, or Senecas, and Teotoguiaton, a town midway between the Neuters and Hurons, where they wintered.

Name and language: The Hurons, as we have seen, called the Neuters Attiwandaronk, as all the spellings would be pronounced in French; this name Brebœuf explains by saying, that they called this people so from their speaking a Huron dialect, its signification being, "People of a language a little different," and he adds, that the general name given by the Hurons to those whom they could not understand, was Akwanake.

Both he and Chaumonot were masters of the Huron language: they spent the winter in a small village, and there, by the aid of a charitable woman, compared their Huron dictionary and grammar with the Neutral dialect, and drew up comparative tables to enable those who spoke Huron to acquire the other. The result of their labors is lost; but Chaumonot, in his curious and valuable manuscripts, auto-biographical and philological, expressly makes the various Neutral, Huron, and Iroquois dialects, parts of the same language.

The missionaries, in the spring of 1641, returned to Huronia, and would have continued the mission but for the new form assumed by the war in the next year: the French were attacked by the Iroquois; several missionaries were taken, those in Upper Canada were left in the greatest danger and destitution; and from 1646 to 1650, the

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[1] Probably the later map of Chaplain.

[2] Rel. 1640-1, p. 48, &c.

[3] Five or six days' journey from St. Mary's: Garnier MSS.

Huron and Petun country was deluged with blood; the French missionaries fell amid their neophytes; and the remnant of the two nations fled, one band to Quebec, the other to Green Bay.

Amid these scenes, they tell little about the Neuters, yet we can glean some facts. In 1647, the Senecas for the first time attacked the Attiwandaronk, and took with great slaughter the town of Aondironons, now, by the changes and removals, that nearest to the Hurons. After one or two more reverses, they yielded, and emigrated to New York,[1] probably at the same time as the Scanonaerat, a Huron tribe with whom they afterwards resided. The number of the emigrants cannot be ascertained; but, judging by the Hurons, more than half the nation had probably been swept away by pestilential fevers which raged in the country.

From this period, we have no accounts of them from the Huron country; but the French missionaries soon entered New York. In less than four years after the death of Garnier, and the destruction of the Tionontates, Father Simon Le Moyne, one of the oldest Huron missionaries, entered Onondaga. The reports of the Iroquois country now begin; and from the very first, the Neuters are mentioned as living, a kind of Helots, in the cantons of their conquerors. Of their identity with the Attiwandaronk there can be no doubt, as Le Moyne was perfectly familiar with the Huron country, and the tribes around. The first adult baptized at Onondaga, was a Neuter.[2] They were held in a kind of slavery, but bore their chains impatiently; their numbers gave them confidence — they panted for freedom — and at one time formed a plot to cut off their oppressors; but they relied for success on French aid, and when the missionary to whom they applied gave them no hopes of obtaining it, the plot failed.[3]

By the Iroquois they were called Ati-rhagenrets, variously spelled; and sometimes without the prefix, under the form Rhagenratka. As long as the Jesuit Relations last, that is, till 1680, we find them mentioned as forming part of the motley population of the Iroquois cantons; and one town in the Seneca country, Gandongarae, is represented as made up entirely of Neuters, Hurons, and Onnon-Tiogas.[4] The Neuters, too, are mentioned, in 1674, as forming part of the Christian Indian village just formed at Laprairie. The various races have long since been fused into one nation, losing all distinctive trace of origin; and no clue of names can enable us to distinguish the Neutral element in the present Iroquois race.

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[1] Rel. 1648.

[2] Ibid, 1653–4.

[3] Rel.

[4] Ibid, 1669–70.

3. AN ACCOUNT OF THE NAVAJOES OF NEW MEXICO.

BY MAJOR E. BACKUS, U. S. A.[1]

THERE is probably no tribe of Indians, within the limits of New Mexico, which has so signally redressed its own wrongs, or inspired its inhabitants with so great a degree of terror, as the Navajoes. Having no permanent habitations, and being in possession of a hardy and active race of horses, they have usually been prepared to resent or inflict injuries, and to appropriate to their own use the property and persons of their neighbors, the Mexicans. A bitter and mutual feeling of hatred has long existed between them; and many years of friendly intercourse will be requisite to efface the recollection of injuries inflicted, and of wrongs unredressed.

The Navajoes occupy a large extent of country directly west from Sante Fé, extending from near the Rio Grande on the east, to the Colorado on the west; and from the land of the Utahs on the north, to the Apaches on the south. It is nearly bisected by the Sierra de los Mimbres; and presents to the eye a succession of elevated mountain peaks, of timbered table-lands, of dry and unproductive valleys, and of broken fields of lava. (See Plate 1.) There is no considerable stream of water within their borders; and those traced upon the maps as rivers, are usually dry during three-fourths of the year. There are some excellent springs in the valleys and cañons of the mountains; but the water is soon absorbed by the thirsty and porous soil, after having flowed but a few hundred yards upon its surface.

Before the period when New Mexico became an integral portion of the United States, little or nothing had been done towards subjugating the Navajoes. Their depredations upon the citizens of the upper Rio Grande became so frequent and formidable, that in 1846 an expedition was fitted out against them by Colonel Doniphan, who marched into their country, and met their principal men at a place known as the Ojo del oso (bear spring). A treaty was entered into, only to be violated on the part of the Navajoes, as soon as the troops had retired. In the summer of 1849, Colonel Washington marched from Santa Fé, with a suitable force, for the Navajoe headquarters, at the Cañon de Chelle. In a collision which ensued, one of the principal

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WASHINGTON, Feb'y 10th, 1853.

[1] HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, ESQ.,

SIR:—The following brief sketch of the Navajoe Indians, of New Mexico, is respectfully submitted for your examination. I was a resident of their country less than a year, and was too much occupied with official duties, to permit me to devote that time to the subject which it properly merits. If you should deem it worthy of a place in the valuable work which you are now preparing, I shall feel more than compensated for the little labor I have been able to bestow upon it.

Respectfully, your Friend and Ob't Servant,

E. BACKUS.

men, a rich Navajoe, was killed, A satisfactory treaty was finally entered into, and Colonel Washington returned to Sante Fé with ample evidence, that the quiet of the frontier would not be disturbed by the Navajoes, without a new and sufficient cause. Nor was an occasion long delayed. The brutal murder of Chopaton, by Mexicans, near Ciboltetta, added to other offences against the Navajoes, soon rekindled former animosities, and the border was once more in a state of anarchy and confusion. Colonel Munroe, the new Governor, made partial preparations, in 1850, for prosecuting the war; but no decided movement was made against the Navajoes until August, 1851, when Colonel Sumner marched for their strong-hold, the Cañon de Chelle, with the determination of punishing them, in the first place—and, secondly, of leaving a strong garrison *in the very heart of their country.* On the 7th of September, 1851, he arrived at Cañoncitto Bonito, and soon after gave orders for the construction of a military post, to be called Fort Defiance. (Plates 29 and 30.) Its primary object was to enforce the conditions of Washington's treaty of 1849, and its complete success shows the soundness of the policy which induced such a course. I was, at the same time, assigned to the command of the new post, and invested with full authority to effect the objects in view, in such manner as circumstances, from time to time, might dictate. Colonel Sumner proceeded to the Cañon de Chelle, with six companies of dragoons, and a battery of artillery, and after penetrating the Cañon some twelve miles, and finding it impracticable to bring the enemy to a decisive action, he returned to Fort Defiance, and thence to Santa Fé. Several unimportant skirmishes took place, in and near the Cañon, with but trifling injury to either party. While the troops were ascending the Cañon, the Indians were on the top of its vertical walls, at so great a height, that the arrows which they fired at the troops below lost their force, and fell horizontally upon the ground. The highest wall of this Cañon is estimated at 1000 feet above the plain. A small peach-orchard was observed in the Cañon, as well as some patches of wheat, corn, and beans. The Indians subsequently acknowledged a loss of several men killed; while the troops had but one man severely wounded with a ball, and two slightly wounded with arrows. But few of the Indians had fire-arms, and they showed a far greater willingness to steal, than to fight. Several collisions also occurred at Fort Defiance, between our pickets and small parties of Indians, who presented themselves in a thieving attitude; but they never appeared in force, or exhibited any hostile intention, beyond that of appropriating to their own use our property and animals, in which design they met with a signal defeat, and then retired from the field. About the 20th of October, 1851, forty Moqui Indians, headed by their governor, presented themselves at Fort Defiance, and requested an interview on the part of the Navajoes, who, they said, were desirous of living on terms of peace and friendship with the Americans. A favorable answer was returned, and on the 26th of the same month, a formidable body of Navajoes, well mounted, and armed with guns, lances, bows, and arrows, presented themselves in front of the garrison, and solicited an interview. It

Pl. 29

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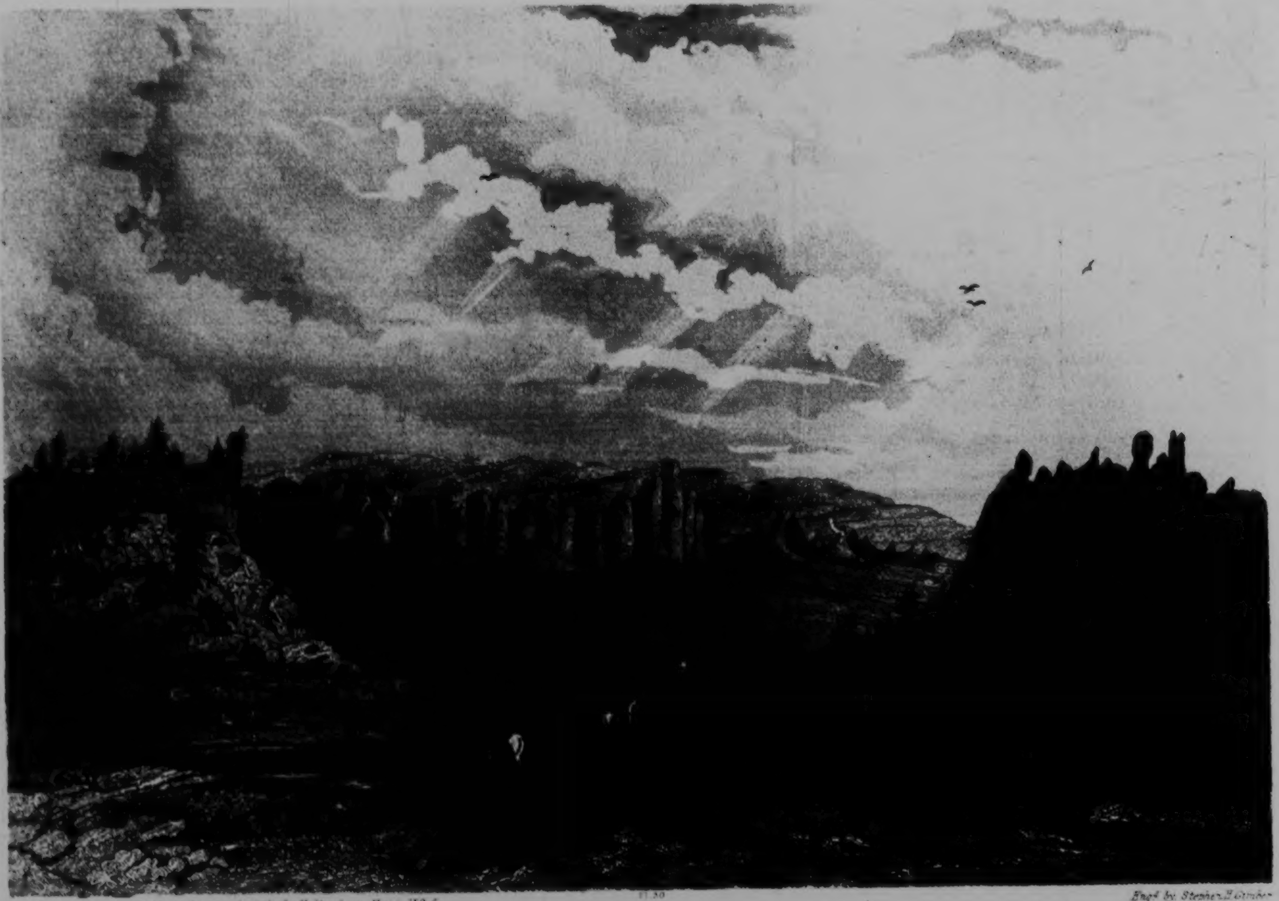

Drawn by S. Eastman U.S. Army, from a sketch by E. Backus Major U.S.A.

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Engd by Stephen H. Gimber

NEAR FORT DEFIANCE, NAVAJO COUNTRY, NEW MEXICO.

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was at once granted, and resulted in an agreement, on their part, to cease hostilities and depredations against the troops of the United States, the citizens of New Mexico, and the pueblas of Tunice and Moqui. From that day to the period of my departure, in August, 1852, not a hostile act was committed by the Navajoes, and not a depredation, of any magnitude, could be traced to their agency. They unquestionably have among their numbers bad men — habitual thieves, who can only be controlled by the strong arm of power; but, in this respect, they differ but little from the rest of mankind, laws and force being requisite to coerce bad men of all nations, be their skins white, black, or red. As a nation of Indians, the Navajoes do not deserve the character given them by the people of New Mexico. From the period of their earliest history, the Mexicans have injured and oppressed them to the extent of their power; and because these Indians have redressed their own wrongs, the degenerate Mexicans have represented them as a nation of thieves and assassins.

The government of the Navajoes seems to resemble more nearly that of the patriarchal, than any other form. There are many rich men among them, whose possessions consist mainly of horses and sheep. Every drove and flock is necessarily attended by its herders. Hence, every rich man has many dependants, and these dependants are obedient to his will, in peace and in war. The only elective office among them, so far as I could learn, is that of War-chief; and such office, I believe, expires with the occasion which created it. Every rich Navajoe may be considered the chief of his clan, or of his own dependants; and these clans are usually friendly with each other, and make common cause against a common enemy. In addition to the clans referred to, there are many Navajoes who recognize no leader, and who live the lives of vagabonds, stealing indiscriminately, as occasion offers, from friends and foes. They are never trusted by the rich Navajoes, who are in perpetual dread of their depredations.

I could never learn that they have any laws for the punishment of offences. I asked a rich Navajoe how they punished their people for the crime of *theft*. He replied, "Not at all. If I attempt to whip a poor man who has stolen my property, he will defend himself with his arrows, and will rob me again. If I leave him unpunished, he will only take what he requires at the time." This reply probably referred only to petty thefts. They will always defend their flocks and herds at any hazard.

The country occupied by the Navajoes is not susceptible of a high state of cultivation, on account of its deficiency of water, and the porous character of the soil. A large spring stream will seldom flow a mile upon the surface of the ground, before it is absorbed. Hence the difficulty of irrigating any large body of land; and without irrigation, it is difficult to raise even the fourth of an ordinary crop. An exception to this rule will be found at Tunice and Moqui, Indian Pueblos within the Navajoe territory, where fair crops are frequently raised on a sandy soil, without the aid of irrigation. Besides the points named, there are other fertile spots, where water and a fair soil are found combined, though very limited in size. At such points the Indians cultivate small fields of wheat, corn, beans, melons, and a few other vegetables. Their most extensive fields are in the Cañon de Chille, where water, if not on the surface, can always be found by digging a few feet in the sand. They have also a few peach trees at this place, but they are too much neglected to succeed well. A small, but agreeable nut, called the Piñon, grows abundantly in this country; and during a period of scarcity, it sometimes constitutes the sole food of the poorer class of natives, for many successive weeks. It has a thin shell, and contains much oil. Its flavor is much improved by roasting. A small wild potato is also found on the plains near Fort Defiance. It resembles the cultivated potato, but is not usually larger than a hickory-nut. It will unquestionably improve by changing its soil and climate. It forms a considerable item in the food of the Navajoes, from April to June.

The domestic animals of the Navajoes are horses, sheep, and goats; also, a few cows and mules.

Of wild animals, they have the brown bear, antelope, black-tailed deer, wild cat, prairie-dog, and a variety of squirrels; one, with a long fringe of black hair upon its ears, and a broad flat tail, is very beautiful. Its flesh is not eaten by the Indians.

Next to the horse, the sheep is the most useful animal to the Navajoe. The flesh is eaten, in the absence of game; and the wool is carefully preserved, and manufactured into blankets and stockings. The blankets are woven so compactly as to be almost impervious to water; and besides constituting an important part of their clothing, are used as a medium of traffic with the itinerant traders from the Rio Grande. Deer-skins are used in making moccasins and breeches. Domestic shirting is purchased from traders. It has been said that the Navajoes and Moquis manufacture beautiful fabrics of cotton. This is partially true of the Moquis; but the Navajoes raise no cotton, while that of the Moquis is of a very inferior quality. Their wardrobes are never extravagantly supplied, and in summer are frequently reduced to a shirt and pair of moccasins.

The habitual position of the Navajoe is on horseback; and few men can be found to equal him in the management of that animal. There are several rich men among them, who have four or five hundred horses; many of which are worth from fifty to one hundred dollars each, and some few will command a still higher price. I was informed, by officers who attended a Navajoe dance at Cienega Juanitto, that they saw at least two thousand horses at that place, feeding on the plains, under the charge of their herders. In addition to the above, at least five hundred Indians were mounted, during the whole day and night. These Navajoe horses are active and hardy, having much endurance, and a fair turn of speed. It is my opinion that, bare-footed and grass-fed, they can out-travel American horses, under the same treatment; but on good roads, with good feed and care, I believe the Navajoe, with all his spirit, would be found sadly inferior to the horses of the United States. The Navajoes ride like the Californians, viz., at a rapid rate; and I am induced to believe their horses are identically the same. Their speed and powers of endurance have, in my opinion, been vastly overrated in both cases.

The Navajoes live much in the open air. Their lodges are exceedingly rude structures of sticks, about four or five feet high, with a triangular opening for ingress and egress. On the outside, against the sticks, are placed flat stones and earth, to cover the intervals, and protect them from the weather. As often as they change their grazing-grounds, so often do they repair and re-occupy some deserted lodge; and as their residence in it is to be but brief, the repairs and labor bestowed upon it are of the most meagre and trifling character.

In the autumn and winter, these Indians are found in the southern portion of their country, where there is but little snow, and where their animals can find good pasturage. Early in the spring, they return to the Cienegas and Mesas of the north, where a majority of them remain during the summer.

I once endeavored to persuade a rich Navajoe to build a house, and to live in it. He replied, "A house will be of no use to me. I cannot live in it. I must follow my flocks and herds, where I can find grass and water." He was then asked where he slept. He replied, "Just like a dog—on the grass or chips."

The Navajoes are ranked as a wild tribe, and do not profess the Christian religion. Although it is said that missionaries were established among them, prior to 1680, yet a want of success has left these people in a hopeless state of paganism.

Like all nomadic and unchristianized tribes, the Navajoes are imbued with superstitions, which influence them in all their social and domestic relations. I will state a few facts by way of illustration.

In a deep and secluded cañon of the mountains, near Fort Defiance, is a spring which the natives approach with much reverence, and for the purpose of performing certain mystical ceremonies. This spring, they say, was once a boiling spring; but at present, it only boils when approached by bad men, or when the appropriate ceremonies are neglected. They also say the water will sometimes leap twenty feet from its bed, to catch and overwhelm a bad Indian; but as bad Indians dare not approach it, its powers of locomotion are seldom put to the test. I once visited it with three other persons, and an Indian doctor; who carried with him five small bags, each containing some vegetable or mineral substance, all differing in color. At the spring, each bag was opened, and a small quantity of its contents was put into the right hand of each person present. Each visitor, in succession, was then required to kneel down by the spring-side, to place his closed hand in the water, up to his elbow; and, after a brief interval, to open his hand, and let fall its contents into the spring. The hand was then slowly withdrawn, and each one was then permitted to drink, and retire.

No Navajo will ever occupy a lodge in which a person has died. The lodge is burned, and the favorite animals of the deceased are usually killed, to accompany him on his intended journey.

They never eat the flesh of the grey squirrel; nor could I induce them to give any reason for declining it. Yet they eat the prairie-dog, which is in no respect prepossessing.

The population of this tribe is stated by Gregg at about ten thousand souls, and I have no reason to suppose his estimate differs materially from the truth.

A Navajo girl is considered the property of her parents until she marries. Prior to her marriage, a contract is made between the father of the girl and the destined groom. The usual consideration paid is five or six horses. Twelve horses is considered an exorbitant price for a wife, and is only paid for one possessing unusual qualifications, such as beauty, industry, and skill in their necessary employments. A female was once pointed out to me, for whom fifteen horses had been paid. She had a tall, fine form, good features, and an agreeable and lady-like expression, with exceedingly quiet manners. Her face was also clean, in which respect it differed from those of most of the Navajo belles, who usually evince a cat-like antipathy to the use of water. When a Navajo woman marries, she becomes free, and may leave her husband for sufficient cause. For this reason, they are treated more kindly than the squaws of the northern tribes, and perform far less of laborious work than the Sioux or Chippewa women; such labor being mostly performed by the poor dependants, both male and female. The females do not usually maintain an elevated character for chastity of sentiment or modesty of manners, a natural result from the nature of their marriage obligations, rather than a fault of the people themselves.

Like many other savage tribes, they are much addicted to gambling. Horse-racing is a frequent amusement, but their favorite game consists of throwing a lance or pole at a rolling hoop, in which they are said to exhibit much skill. I have never seen the game played, and cannot describe its details.

They are usually armed with bows and arrows, and the lance. A few of the rich men only have guns. They are anxious to obtain fire-arms, but it is a wise policy that interdicts the trade, and they only obtain a few from lawless and unprincipled traders, who occasionally infest this frontier.

The Navajoes are not given to intoxication. Some of them have never tasted ardent spirits, and those only ask for it, who have visited the Mexican settlements. They never fail to beg tobacco, which they smoke like the Mexicans, in the corn-shuck.

There are no fixed traders among the Navajoes. The few sent to their country in 1851 and 1852, were itinerants with roving licenses. A worse policy could hardly be suggested. Traders with Indians should not only be reliable men, but they should have fixed positions, that they may be inspected and controlled by the proper authorities. Nothing gives an Indian a worse opinion of white men than the tricks and impositions practised upon them by unprincipled traders. Half the Indian wars of our country have sprung from such causes, and it is difficult to say that the other half had not a similar origin.

The feeling of hostility, which I have said exists between Navajoes and Mexicans, is thus explained by Gregg, in his Commerce of the Prairies. He says: "After the establishment of the national independence, the government of New Mexico greatly embittered the disposition of the Navajoes, by repeated acts of cruelty and ill-faith, well calculated to provoke hostilities." And he cites many instances of cruelty in support of his remark. Gregg was unquestionably correct, and similar outrages, repeated at intervals, have tended to foster the same bitter feeling, up to the present day. The Navajoes have not always been the aggressors, but they have so signally redressed the wrongs inflicted upon them, that their name has become a terror to their pusillanimous and effeminate enemies. Gregg says again (in 1844) about fifteen years ago, the Navajoes were subjected by the energies of Col. Vizcarra, who succeeded in keeping them in submission for some time; but since that officer's departure from New Mexico, no man has been found of sufficient capacity to inspire this daring tribe with respect and fear; so that, for the last ten years, they have ravaged the country with impunity, murdering and destroying, just as the humor happened to prompt them. This was unquestionably true in reference to Mexican troops, who were intimidated at the sight of a Navajo. But the American troops had no difficulty, except in bringing them to action. After the cessation of hostilities in October, 1851, the Navajoes approached us with much caution, and seemed to apprehend some act of treachery from us. This feeling must have arisen from their former treatment by the Mexicans. It required months of uniform kindness to efface these early and well-grounded prejudices.

A partial vocabulary of the Navajo language having been prepared by Dr. Ten Broeck, I have refrained from saying any thing upon that subject. Fort Defiance, (See Plate 79,) is nearly in the centre of this nation; and for all practical purposes, is now the head-quarters of the Navajoes. The establishment of this post has exercised a good influence over them, and in all their troubles and difficulties they habitually go to this place for advice and protection. They have recently shown a strong disposition to cultivate the soil, and take every occasion to supply themselves with hoes, spades, axes, &c.

Their country is, generally, too poor to excite the cupidity of the whites; yet it is well suited to their own wants, and it is to be hoped that the Government which has subdued them will protect them, hereafter, from the incursions of that reckless portion of our citizens, which is but too frequently found hovering upon our remote frontiers.

4. DESCRIPTION OF THE TRUE STATE AND CHARACTER OF THE NEW MEXICAN TRIBES.

BY LT. COL. J. H. EATON, U. S. A.

WITHIN the present confines of the Territory of New Mexico, are found three or four tribes of wild Indians; and interspersed here and there, in various parts of their country, are found small towns or villages of semi-civilized Indians, denominated *Pueblo Indians*, these last all having, to some extent, acquired the language and many of the customs and manners of the Mexican population of the country; they retain, however, most of the ancient rites, ceremonies, and customs of their progenitors, which are still sacredly observed among them.

In the mountain chains eastward of the Del Norte, and extending throughout the whole length of the Territory, from north to south, is found the Jicarrilla branch of the great Apache nation. In the south and south-west portion, and mainly within and near to the valley of the Gila River, is the great mass of this Apache race, divided into the Gilenos, Mezcaleros, Coyoteros, and White Mountain Apaches, who roam over two-thirds of the whole Territory, and subsist chiefly upon the spoils of their incursions among the Mexican settlements. In the western and north-western portions, embraced between the Del Norte and Colorado of the West, dwell the noted tribe of Navajoes, in regard to whom such fabulous and exaggerated accounts have been given to the world. In the extreme northern portion, north and north-east of the River San Juan, is found the Utah tribe, not less enterprising and noted for their plundering incursions than the Navajoes; but who, dwelling farther from the chief Mexican settlements of the Rio del Norte, have directed their depredations, of late years, less upon them than upon unguarded and careless travellers of the plains.

The Pueblos above referred to, are scattered at intervals throughout the country — the chief of which are Acoma, Isletta, Sandia, Taos, Laguna, Zuñi, and Moqui. These are, at the present time, I believe, the most populous and noted for intelligence, and for agricultural and pastoral habits. The inhabitants of these Pueblos, though part and parcel of the great aboriginal race of the American continent, differ in many respects from the wild and marauding tribes, in having the habits, intelligence, and enterprise of a semi-civilized people, and in having been known as such from the period of the expedition of the first Spanish explorers from the city of Mexico in 1541–2. Through what means, or from what source this progression towards civilization has proceeded, still remains, and probably ever will remain, shrouded in obscurity.

The following, drawn from notes taken while residing in the country of the Navajoes, and in travelling through other parts of the Territory, are all the items of the history, customs, and habits of some portions of the aboriginal inhabitants, which I was able to gather.

Of the Navajoes.—They are a branch, unquestionably, of the great Apache tribe, which roams, the most enterprising and formidable of all the Indians in or near to New Mexico. Their language is nearly the same as that of the Jicarrilla Apaches, who live in the mountain ridges east of the Rio del Norte. They cultivate the ground, but to a limited extent, and not enough so as to restrain them from occasional depredations, in winter, upon the Pueblo and New Mexican settlements. They raise corn, pumpkins, and melons, and but little wheat. They raise horses and sheep, with a few cattle. They make blankets—some of them pretty in color, of close texture, and of a very durable quality, though this art may have been acquired from the New Mexicans, or the Pueblo Indians. As warriors, they certainly are not formidable—owing their existence and security to the rude and unfertile country to which they evidently have been driven by more powerful enemies. Instead of being peculiarly brave and daring, they owe much of their repute for prowess to the pusillanimity of the Mexicans, rather than to any particular bravery of their own. If they possess any "civilization of their own," I have yet to know it. They do not live in houses built of stone, as has been repeatedly represented, but in caves, caverns, and fissures of the cliffs, or in the very rudest huts, hastily constructed of branches of cedar trees, and sometimes of flat stones for small roofs. The raising of horses is peculiar to them; but they are of the smallest and most indifferent kind. They never, to my knowledge, make butter or cheese, nor do I believe they know what such things are. They certainly have no well-recognized government among themselves, being preëminently of the most democratic habits, rather mobocratic. The chiefs are simply men of influence by virtue of manliness of character, or of wealth in horses or sheep, and are afraid to enforce a command, or exert any control over their respective bands. They have, therefore, neither hereditary nor elective chiefs. The women do not labor as much as Indian women of other tribes, but are very independent of menial duties, and leave their husbands upon the slightest pretext of dislike. A remarkable superstition seems to govern these Indians in their great unwillingness to make known their own Indian names, or those of their friends, being universally known by some Mexican name given to them on their visits to the settlements. They are notorious thieves, the women more than the men. In the winter season they practise the habit of carrying a firebrand in the hand, when travelling from place to place, like the Indians near the shores at the head of the Gulf of California, as related in Casteñada's narrative of Coronada's expedition. If jealous of their wives, they are apt to wreak their spleen and ill-will upon the first person whom they may chance to meet. Several of the chiefs are doctors—but the curative art, with them, does not go beyond singing with the patient, or in other incantations. The welfare of the whole community is a matter which is never entertained by them, individually or collectively—their organization, if they have any, being the veriest rope of sand. Dishonesty is not held in check among them; but frequent cases occur of their stealing horses from each other, without fear of punishment from the chiefs, or from the nation at large. No such thing as industry is known among them; and a more lawless, worthless tribe is not to be found in any portion of the United States. Hospitality *may*, to some little extent, be observed among them, but it is as much as a white man's life is worth, to be among them, except as a trader; then their interests lead them to treat him with good faith and kindness. It is a very erroneous idea, that the Navajo country is shut in by high mountains, so as to be inaccessible to an enemy, except by limited passes through narrow defiles. Their country, though rude and wild, is readily accessible by very tolerable roads, even into the Cañon of Chelle, their strong-hold and main dependence. The grossest error, however, is that which describes these Indians "as being the most civilized of all the wild Indians of North America." So far from this, I deem them to be among the most rude, least intelligent, and least civilized of all the tribes of Indians I have ever seen. Some trifling improvement has come from their frequent intercourse with the Mexico-Spanish population of the Del Norte, but not to an extent worthy of particular remark.

In regard to the traditionary history of the Navajo tribe, nothing reliable, or of an authentic traditionary account, can be gathered. The following rather puerile stories, obtained during my sojourn at Fort Defiance, are the best I could gather, and possibly may, in the absence of others, prove of some little interest.

They (the Navajoes) say they came from the valley of Montezuma, which is on the other side of the Sierra de los Utahs, far to the north-east of their present country. (This valley, in their language, is called Dee-péu-tsah.) The Sierra Blanca of the Mexicans is on the other side (north side) of this valley.

The Apaches call the Navajoes Yú-tah-kah. The Navajoes call themselves, as a tribe, Tenúai (man). The appellation Návajo was unquestionably given them by the Spaniards. The valley of Montezuma is six days' journey (say 250 or 300 miles) from their present place of abode. The account of their origin is as follows:

At the first, twelve Navajoes, six men and six women, came out of the earth in the middle of the lake, which is in the valley of Montezuma. They were preceded in their ascent through the ground by the locust and badger; the locust being the foremost and boring the hole for the others; but as he was not very successful, the badger came to his assistance and made the hole larger, so as to enable the Navajoes to come out. As the bottom of the lake was muddy, covering the badger's fore-legs with mud, this is the reason they are black. On arriving at the surface of the earth, the Navajoes found themselves without fire; they were provided with it in the following manner: The animals now found on the earth were then already in existence. The coyote, the bat, and the squirrel were the special friends of the Navajoes, and agreed to aid each other in procuring fire for them. The animals (neither deer nor moose being yet created) were engaged in playing the moccasin or shoe game, having a fire to play by. The coyote, having some slivers of gummy pine wood tied to his tail, went to the scene of sport, and whilst the attention of the animals was absorbed in the play, ran quickly into and through the fire, by which the pine slivers were ignited. He then ran off pursued by all the animals, and when tired, by a previous arrangement, the bat took the fire from him and flying hither and thither, dodging first to one side and then to the other, he escaped from pursuit; when, becoming in his turn exhausted, the fire was quickly turned over to the squirrel, who, by great agility and endurance of body, was successful in conveying it to the Navajoes.

After emerging from the earth, one of the six Navajo men died and was placed in the hole from which they all came out. For this reason they burned up his house, and out of fear moved to another place further north. This is the reason why, at the present day, when a man dies, they burn his lodge, or whatever dwelling he may have.

Twelve other Navajoes came out of the ground immediately after the first twelve, and went towards the rising-sun. From these last they think Americans (white people) may be descended. Some time afterwards others came out of the earth, from whom the Pueblo Indians are descended.

The Navajoes became reduced in number by the rapacity of giants and wild beasts to three persons, an old man, an old woman, and a young woman. This last conceived by the sun and brought forth a boy who began to inquire where his father was — the old man and woman replied they did not know. The boy then proceeded in search of his father, and was told by the trees and other terrestrial objects, that the sun was his father. The sun gave the boy a sword with which he killed a giant, the blow from whose death-wound flowed down the valley of the Gallo, (See Map of country between the Pueblo of Zuñi, and Covero, New Mexico, in which, in and near to the valley of the Gallo creek, there is a current or dyke of black lava ten to fifteen miles long,) forming the black wall of rock now found there.

After a time, when the Navajoes were in great numbers, they moved down into the country near the Sierra of Ciboletta (San Mateo Mountain), but were so severely treated by their enemies, the Camanches and other Indians, that they abandoned that country and fixed themselves where they now live, in the country about the Cañon of Chelle, as a secure place of shelter from their enemies. There they have lived ever since.

Many years ago the Navajo tribe was afflicted with smallpox, by which a great many died, and their number became very much reduced. The disease was brought among them in obtaining clothing of the Mexicans. Many of their old men are now marked with the effects of this disease.

At the first it was all night and darkness, and the alternation of day and night by the appearance of the sun was produced as follows: The birds and beasts were engaged in playing the shoe game, and their bet on one side was, that the sun would appear; on the other, that it would not. Of the former, were those beasts and birds which go about by day; of the latter, those which go about by night. Among the latter was the owl, who had disposed of the stone in the shoe, and of the former was the blue-bird, who was hunting for it. The blue-bird found the stone, gaining the game for his side, and the owl lost; this is the reason the owl loves the darkness of night.

The Pueblo of Moqui, and its six neighboring Pueblos, are at an easy distance from the main residences of the Navajoes; the following are the Navajo names for these seven Pueblos: —

Ai-yah-kín-nee (Moqui), Tset-so-kít, Qset-so-kít-pee-tsée-lee, Kiu-ahs-dée, O-zí, Et-tah-kín-nee, these six all speak the same tongue. The seventh, called Nah-shah-shai, speaks a different language.

The Navajo nation does not number more than from 2000 to 3000 of all sexes and every age.

The Indians of the Pueblo of Zuni. (See Plate 2.) The Pueblo of Zuñi is situated upon a small creek called Rio de Zuñi, and having its source in the Ojo Percado, (fish spring,) about sixteen miles to the eastward. In their own language, which is peculiar to themselves, and which is not spoken by the Indians of any other Pueblo in New Mexico, they call themselves as a tribe, Ah-shee-wai. Like all other Pueblo Indians, they wear the hair knotted behind, and bound with parti-colored braid; but in front, it is allowed to grow so as to cover the entire forehead; being cut off sharp and square at the line of the eyebrows: this last, they say, is to enable the Pueblos to distinguish each other when they meet, from the wild Indians. Their only head-covering is a colored handkerchief, passed like a band from the forehead to the back of the head. These Indians resemble in all respects (physiognomically) those of the United States. They say they have inhabited their country since the world was made; that originally they, in common with the wild tribes, came from the west; that as the world grew, they became separated from each other. The Navajoes, being separated the furthest, finally came and established themselves near the Pueblos. The Zuñians have many mean and disagreeable traits, being close and tricky in trade, inhospitable, and given to pilfering and lying. They have no substantial tradition of their origin, except the trivial one above mentioned. They are governed by a cacique or head chief, who is their chief priest also. The succession is hereditary in the family of the cacique. A few miles to the south-east of Zuñi, on the mesa of Gallisteo, is what is called Old Zuñi; but there is no reliable evidence that it was the residence of the ancestors of the Zuñians. On the contrary, I am satisfied that they have been living in their present villages from the time of the Spanish Conquest. They have with them nothing like a traditionary account of the conquest of the country by the Spaniards under Coronado. In a conversation with a very intelligent Zuñi Indian, I learned that the Pueblo of Acoma is called, in the Zuñi tongue, Hah-kóo-kee-ah, (Acuco,) and this name was given to me without any previous question which would serve to give him an idea of this old Spanish name. Does not this therefore seem to give color to the hypothesis that Coronado's army passed by, or near to, the present Pueblo of Zuñi, and that it was their Cibola or one of the seven cities of Cibola? It is plain that from the people of Cibola the Spaniards learned the name of the village to the eastward, situated on an inaccessible rock, and named Acuco. From the same Zuñian, I learned that the seventh Pueblo beyond Moqui is from the tribe or Pueblo of Taos Indians on the Rio del Norte, and that they emigrated to their present abode not many years ago. The Zuñians call Moqui, in their language, Ah-mo-kái.

The people of Zuñi pay much attention to the culture of large fields of corn, melons, and pumpkins. Since the establishment of Fort Defiance, a United States' station sixty-five miles beyond them, the public animals have been supplied with all their corn from this Pueblo, purchased from them by the Government. They cultivate also small gardens, surrounding the hill upon which the Pueblo is built, with onions and a few other vegetables. They have large herds of sheep and goats, with great numbers of jackasses or donkeys, of which, for travelling and for the gathering of wood for fuel from the mountains, they make great and continual use.

The fact of there being some four or five Albinos among them, has given rise to the statement that they, as well as the Moqui Indians, are of white origin. These Albinos doubtless owe their white skin, not to dwelling in underground habitations, as has been supposed, but to some cutaneous disease affecting them.

[August 3, 1853.]

5. THE CALIFORNIA INDIANS—THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND HISTORY.

BY ADAM JOHNSTON.

BONAKS, OR ROOT-DIGGERS.[1]

THIS name seems to embrace Indian tribes inhabiting a large extent of country west of the Rocky Mountains. As the name imports, it was undoubtedly given to that portion of Indians who dig and live on the roots of the earth. This practice is common to all the Indians of California as well as those of the Great Basin west of the South Pass. With these tribes, roots are, for the great portion of the year, their main subsistence, and to procure them is the work of their females. Hundreds of women may be seen at a time, scattered over the hills, with heavy inverted conical-shaped baskets swung on their backs, and long sticks in their hands with which they dig. Thus they toil throughout the day in "root-digging" for their subsistence, while the men of their tribe are lounging in the shade, or engaged in some of their games. From day to day the females pursue this drudgery, and are mostly enabled to procure, not only enough for present subsistence, but to lay up quantities for future use. With the early sun they ascend the hills, and continue diligently working until towards evening, when they return heavily laden with the fruits of their labor.

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[1] This name, when applied to the Indians of the Utah Territory, denotes a people who speak the Shoshonee language, belonging to the fifth group of these investigations.

Of the roots used by the Indians for food, the pap-pa, or wild potato, is in many parts, the most abundant. They also gather great quantities of berries of various kinds. The manzaneto or little apple is most used by them. These, with pine-seeds, grass seeds and green clover, with, at times, small quantities of fish and small game, constitute the entire food of the Indians inhabiting the regions of the Sierra Nevada. I have frequently seen those of the San Joaquin valley eating green clover with great avidity. This class of Indians, the Root-diggers, are always found in mild or warm climates which produce quantities of such natural products of the earth as they make use of. Those of them who live in the mountains during the summer season, descend into the valleys, and locate on the streams during the winter.

There are deep valleys, even in the centre of the Sierra Nevada range, where but little snow falls at any time. An account is given of one such of great extent and fertility, in the region of mountains from whence flow the waters of the Mercede river. It was discovered by the volunteers under Major Savage, who pursued a tribe or band of Indians into it who were called the Yo-semety; their object being to bring them before the United States Indian Commissioners. After ascending the mountains for several days, they were obliged to pass through a region of snow, in many places quite deep. When they had reached the summit of the mountain, the Yo-semety valley, (for such they then named it,) broke upon their view a great distance below. In descending, they soon left the snows, and, on reaching the valley, they found a warm climate and plenty of grass and good water. The scenery is described as grand and picturesque in the extreme. The climate is mild and balmy; the soil covered with rich growths of green grass and fragrant flowers of every hue. Majestic pines of immense growth skirt the valley and its water-courses. Magnificent water-falls of over seven hundred feet in height, dash into the valley and wind away to some unknown outlet. The mountain sides are rugged, and rise almost perpendicularly all around to a great height. While the climate is mild and balmy at their base in the valley below, their conic peaks glisten in continued snow. In this isolated spot these wild people had taken refuge, supposing themselves secure from the white man's approach. How greatly were they surprised, when suddenly surrounded by a band of soldiers, bearing in their own hands weapons of death! The Indians were captured, and forced to cross, through the deep snow, that portion of the mountains which lay between them and the valley of the San Joaquin. They were told they must go and meet the agents of the Great Father, who had been sent to see them. On meeting the Indian Commissioners, they were told they must not return to the mountains, but continue in the San Joaquin valley. Fearing to refuse, and sorrowing for their mountain home, they reluctantly consented. A few days, however, served to satisfy them with civilized life, and they broke over their compulsory agreement, and returned to the Yo-semety valley of the mountain.

As I have before said, it is the habit of all the Indians who have come under my observation, west of the Great Salt Lake, to "dig roots" to subsist upon. I have myself seen hundreds of females together, bending under their baskets, with their sticks in their hands, wandering over the hill-sides in search of that kind of food. It is rather a novel sight to see a crowd of those half-naked and half-starved creatures thus engaged. In warm climates, where the Indians know nothing about cultivating the earth, and are without ability to get game of any account, they naturally sink back into a life dependent upon the natural products of the earth—the fruits, the seeds, and the roots.

"Root-digging" is common to all the Indians inhabiting mild latitudes in this region; and their present indolent and degenerate condition I take to be the effect, to a great extent, of the mild and enervating climate, under which they have been gradually giving way, or sinking back, for perhaps centuries past. The general characteristics of the Indians of this region are much the same; they are cowardly, treacherous, filthy, and indolent.

Their manner of building lodges is much the same. In the northern, and more cold regions of the country, they excavate the earth several feet deep, the size they wish their lodges. They then sink substantial poles in the ground, around the edge of the excavation, which are bent over and drawn together at the top, forming a dome-like covering. This is then covered with earth, entirely over, to the thickness of several inches, and sometimes over one foot; leaving a small aperture in the centre of the top, for the smoke to escape. Another small aperture on one side, of sufficient size to admit the body feet foremost, completes the structure. These lodges are intended for cold or wet weather; and they generally have others, more temporary, which they use in pleasant weather. In the valleys and warm regions they seldom erect such lodges, except their *sweat-house*, and "*Hung-ie*," or *large house*, for council, the dance, and gambling. All other lodges are but temporary, consisting of bushes, or tule, constructed in conic shape; and appear more as if intended for shade, rather than shelter or protection from the weather.

The females wear their hair short, and the males wear theirs quite long. The custom of tattooing is also common among them, as among the inhabitants of the Polynesian Islands, and New Zealand. I have never observed any particular figures or designs upon their persons; but the tattooing is generally on the chin, though sometimes on the wrist and arm. Tattooing has mostly been on the persons of females, and seems to be esteemed as an ornament, not apparently indicating rank or condition.

The Indians of California have no marriage ceremony, except when a man fancies a female, he speaks to her parents, talks to her, &c. Afterwards, he goes to bed to the girl; and if they remain together agreeably, they are considered man and wife, or rather, she is considered as his property. If she gets up and leaves the man, it is no match; nor has he any claim ever after on her. The females are sometimes sold by their parents for blankets, beads, or other consideration; but this is of rare occurrence. They are also sometimes taken in battle from other tribes, and appropriated by the chiefs or captains of the conquering tribe. An Indian man may have as many wives as he can keep; but a woman cannot have a plurality of husbands, or men to whom she owes obedience. Sometimes conflicting claims arise between two or more men in regard to a female. These were usually settled by the chiefs, before I went among them. Since that, such cases were submitted to me, as *the official*. I universally decided that she belonged to whichever she liked most, and I would cause her to make public choice between the claimants. This was in all cases satisfactory to all concerned. They readily acquiesced in the decision, and never after interfered with each other. There is one remarkable fact connected with the wild Indians of California; that is, they have their *rutting* seasons as regularly as have the deer, the elk, the antelope, or any other animals.

I suppose each tribe or band of Indians have their peculiar notions regarding their origin. I have heard several of their traditions in regard to it, one of which is as follows. The "Po-to-yan-te" tribe say they came from the coyote, or wolf. I once had a conversation with the chief of that tribe, in regard to the idea the Indians entertained of their origin, existence, &c. As they are always slow to communicate, especially anything touching their superstitions or traditions, I have usually excited them, in advance, by telling something in regard to the whites. On this occasion, I told them of the creation. This interested them greatly; and, for some time after I had got through, they maintained perfect silence, as if running it over in their minds again. The chief asked me if that was the same that the padres believed. On being informed it was, he said it was a strange story, and it was very strange he had not heard it before; that he had lived at the mission of St. John, under the care of a padre, but he had never told him that. Having interested him in this manner, he then told me what the Indians believed touching their origin and existence, as follows:

The first Indians that lived were Coyotes. When one of their number died, the body became full of little animals, or spirits, as he thought them. After crawling over the body for a time, they took all manner of shapes; some that of the deer, others the elk, antelope, &c. It was discovered, however, that great numbers were taking wings, and for a while they sailed about in the air; but eventually they would fly off to the moon. The old Coyotes (or Indians), fearing the earth might become depopulated in this way, concluded to stop it at once; and ordered that when one of their people died, the body must be burnt. Ever after, they continued to burn the bodies of deceased persons. Then, said he, the Indians began to assume the shape of man; but at first they were very imperfect in all their parts. At first, they walked on all fours; then they began to have some members of the human frame — one finger, one toe, one eye, one ear, &c. After a time they had two fingers, two toes, two eyes, two ears, &c. In all their limbs and joints, they were yet very imperfect; but progressed from period to period, until they became perfect men and women. In the course of their transition from the Coyote to human beings, they got in the habit of sitting upright, and lost their tails. This is, with many of them, a source of regret to this day, as they consider a tail quite an ornament; and in decorating themselves for the dance, or other festive occasions, a portion of them always decorate themselves with tails.

I then inquired what they thought became of them when they died, now since they have become human beings. He said the Indians knew nothing about it, but the old women told them that the Spirit neither went up nor down, but took a straight direction over the earth (I think towards the east), and went rapidly on until it came to a great water, where there was a large boat to take the departed across. The good all crossed over in safety, but the bad were carried to the middle of the water, when the bottom of the boat falls out, and they go down and are lost for ever. The good, on reaching the shore, go first into a very large house, where they enjoy themselves in eating, drinking, and gambling until they get tired, and then they scatter away under the shades of the trees of that country.

These Indians have had more or less intercourse with those who have lived at the missions of California, and no doubt have gotten from them these vague ideas of futurity. I have been told, by several aged Indians, that before the Padres came among their people, they were very ignorant—that they only knew, when a child was born, it would grow up like the rest; and when any of their people died, they thought that was the last of them.

On the death of one of their people, they give way to deep grief and mourning. The females black their chins, temples, ears, forehead, and hair with pitch or tar. Indeed, sometimes they black their entire head, face, and breasts, down to the waist.

Their mourning is wild and impressive. I have frequently been present at their funeral rites. On one occasion, Major Savage and myself were overtaken by night at an Indian ranchora or village, on the head-waters of the Chow-chille river, where we were obliged to remain for the night. One of their females was at the point of death, though we were not aware of it when we lay down. Some time after midnight, we were awakened by a single voice of lamentation, in loud and mournful wail. These solitary notes were continued, at breathing intervals, for several hours. Then other voices broke in from time to time, as the females joined in the mourning. On day breaking, I found the whole camp in great grief, jumping and howling in a most pitiful manner.

After sun-rise, the body of the deceased was tied up in her blanket and rags which she possessed when living, and borne to a spot some hundred yards distant, where her funeral pyre was being raised. The entire camp followed, most of whom were crying and wailing greatly. The body was laid on the ground while the pyre was being built. This occupied considerable time, owing to the difficulty the Indians had in getting wood and bark for the purpose. During this time the mourning was kept up in loud and wild wailings. The females were blacked around their chin, temples, ears, and forehead, and jumped and cried like Methodists under excitement, as they uttered their wild lament. They often prostrated themselves upon the ground, and not unfrequently on the body of the deceased. The pyre being finished, the body was placed upon it, with all her baskets, beads, and earthly effects. This done, the pyre was fired all around, and as the blaze enveloped the body, the mourners, who had continued jumping and wailing, seemed to give way to unbounded grief. During this scene, I observed the females, as they jumped about, pointing in several directions, and ejaculating something I did not understand. On inquiry, I learned they were pointing towards places where they had been with the deceased in childhood — gathering food, feasting, or on some other occasions of pleasure, and they were crying, "no more yonder," "no more yonder," "no more yonder."

During the whole time, from the death of the individual, there was one who gave utterance to his sorrow in loud and broken strains. He was naked, as were most of the men, except a small girdle round the middle. As he half cried, half sung his sorrow, he would occasionally speak something distinctly, but without appearing to address himself particularly to the people, or any portion of them. I learned he was the speaker, or what might, perhaps, on this occasion be termed, the priest of the tribe. In the course of the ceremony, groups of Indians would occasionally gather around him. On one occasion, I observed him drawing marks in the sand as he spoke. He said, "we are like these lines — to-day we are here, and can be seen; but death takes one away, and then another, as the winds wipe out these lines in the sand, until all are gone." And drawing his hand over the marks, he continued; "they are all gone even now—like them, we must all be wiped out, and will be seen no more." I witnessed the burning, until the body was almost consumed, and during the whole time the mourners kept up intense feelings of grief and anguish.

After death, the name of the departed is never breathed among them. When death takes one away, the living suppose the name has gone also, and should not be spoken. I am told, that when the name of a deceased person happens to be pronounced among them, there may be observed a shudder to pass over all instantly. They seem to know but little of the past of the living, and endeavor to forget everything connected with the dead.

In all my researches among the Indians of this country, I have not found a single relic to mark the past. They have no monuments, mounds, or tumuli, such as exist in the valley of the Mississippi — no traces of art or architecture of former times — no paintings, or any other relic of antiquity—no war-club, tomahawk, or battle-axe. The manufacture of the bow and arrow is the only item of art to be found among them. They seem to have lived in this simple style for ages past, depending on the natural products of the earth for subsistence, and without a single means of recording thought or action—without idols, sacrifices, prayers, or priests.

6. ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE WINNEBAGOES—THEIR TRADITIONS OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD AND OF MAN—BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THEIR LIVING CHIEFS—INCIDENTS OF THE BLACK-HAWK WAR—TRIBAL RANK—GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES—WILD ANIMALS—FABULOUS MONSTERS—KNOWLEDGE OF ASTRONOMY, ARITHMETIC, AND MEDICINE.

BY JONATHAN E. FLETCHER, ESQ., U. S. IND. AGT.

1. Origin: It is difficult to arrive at the correct history of a people who have no written language. When reference can only be had to oral traditions, always vague and often contradictory, much difficulty arises in deciding on the relative claims of such traditions to authenticity. Such are the traditions of the Winnebago Indians, and such is the foundation on which is based the authenticity of what is here related respecting their origin, early history, and migrations. No hieroglyphics, artificial landmarks, or pseudo monuments, can be referred to as proofs on these points, with reference to this tribe; and no information respecting them can be obtained from white persons now living with them. The traditions here given were obtained from the chiefs, and old persons of the tribe.

On the subject of their origin, the Winnebagoes can communicate nothing entitled to credence or respect; unless we give to their traditions such allegorical interpretation as will make them conform to probable facts.

The residence of the Winnebagoes at a place they call the Red Banks, on the west shore of Lake Michigan, and north of Green Bay, appears to be the earliest event preserved by their traditions relative to their history.

The Winnebagoes claim that they are an original stock; and that the Missourias, Iowas, Otoes, and Omahas, sprung from them.

These Indians call the Winnebagoes their elder brothers; and the similarity of their language renders it probable that they belong to the same stock.

Nothing can be gathered from the traditions of the Winnebagoes, to show from what stock of men they sprang.

2. Tribe and geographical position: O-chunga-raw is the name by which the Winnebagoes are called among themselves; also by the Otoes, the Iowas, the Omahas, and the Missourias; they are called O-ton-kah by the Sioux; the Sacs and Foxes, the Potto-

watomies, the Menomonies, the Chippewas, the Kickapoos, and the Ottowas, call them Winnebagoes. These names have no particular meaning.[1]

The traditions of this tribe extend no further back than their residence at the Red Banks, some eight or nine generations since; and from the fact that the Winnebagoes believe that their ancestors were created there, it is probable that they dwelt at that place for a considerable length of time.

If the traditions of this tribe be correct on this subject, the Winnebagoes had formerly a much larger population than at the present time; and their number was put down vaguely at four thousand five hundred, in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in 1837; now their actual number is but little over twenty-five hundred. The population of this tribe has increased during the last three years.

Prior to the treaty of August 19th, 1825, the Winnebagoes appear to have had no very definite boundaries to the territory they claimed or occupied for hunting purposes. Said treaty has proved a great benefit to the tribes participant therein, by settling and preventing disputes about their respective boundaries; and has relieved the government, in subsequent treaties with them, from the embarrassment of such disputes.

The Winnebages, in disposing of their lands to the United States, have generally exchanged a large for a smaller quantity; and received for the difference in value, a consideration in money, provisions, and goods. The country they now own contains an area of about 850,000 acres, bounded principally by the Crow-wing, Watab, Mississippi, and Long Prairie rivers. (See Plate 31, Part II.)

3. Ancient or modern location: The Winnebago Indians believe that their ancestors were created by the Great Spirit, on the land they formerly occupied on Lake Michigan; and that their title to said land originated in the gift of it to them by their Creator.

They cannot recollect the first interview with the whites. The first sale of their lands to the government was made in 1829. Some of the signers of the treaty are yet living. Fire-arms, woollen goods, cooking utensils of metal, and ardent spirits, were introduced among this tribe prior to the recollection of the oldest persons now living.

4. Vestiges of early tradition: The Winnebagoes have traditions of the creation and the deluge; but it is impossible to determine what was the character of their traditions of these events, previous to their first interview with the whites. It is not improbable that the traditions of the creation and the deluge, now held by this tribe, are based in part on the scripture account of these events, communicated to them by the whites.

The character of the traditions held by the Winnebagoes, will be seen from the following specimens. Sho-go-nik-kaw (Little Hill), one of the chiefs of the tribe, relates the history of the creation as follows: "The Great Spirit at first waked up as from a dream, and found himself sitting on a chair. On finding himself alone, he took a piece of his body, near his heart, and a piece of earth, and from them made a man. He then proceeded to make three other men. After talking awhile with the men he had created, the Great Spirit made a woman, who was this earth, which is the grand mother of the Indians. The four men which were first created are the four winds—east, west, north, and south. The earth, after it was created, rocked about; and the Great Spirit made four beasts and four snakes, and put them under the earth, to steady and support it. But when the winds blew, the beasts and snakes could not keep the earth steady, and the Great Spirit made a great buffalo, and put him under the earth; this buffalo is the land which keeps the earth steady. After the earth became steady, the Great Spirit took a piece of his heart, and made a man; and then took a piece of his flesh, and made a woman. The man knew a great deal, but the woman knew but little. The Great Spirit then took some tobacco and tobacco-seed, and gave them to the man; and gave to the woman one seed of every kind of grain, and showed her every herb and root that was good for food.

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[1] For the etymology of Winnebago, see Vol. III., p. 277.

The roots and herbs were made when the earth was made. When the Great Spirit gave tobacco to the man, he told him that when he wanted to speak to the winds or the beasts, to put tobacco in the fire, and they would hear him; and that the Great Spirit would answer him. After the Great Spirit gave these things to the man and woman, he told them to look down; and they looked down, and saw a child standing between them. The Great Spirit told them that they must take care of the children. The Great Spirit then created one man and one woman of every tribe and tongue on the earth; and told them, in Winnebago, that they would live on the centre of the earth. The Great Spirit then made the beasts and birds for the use of man. He then looked down upon his children, and saw that they were happy. The Great Spirit made the fire and tobacco for the Winnebagoes, and all the other Indians got their fire and tobacco from them; and this is the reason why all the other tribes call the Winnebago their dear brother.

After the Great Spirit had made all these things, he did not look down on the earth again for one hundred and eighteen years. He then looked down and saw the old men and women coming out of their wigwams, grey-headed and stooping, and that they fell to pieces. The Great Spirit then thought that he had made the Indians to live too long, and that they increased too fast. He then changed his plan, and sent four thunders down to tell the Indians that they must fight; and they did fight and kill each other. After that the Indians did not increase so fast. The Good Spirit took the good Indians who were killed in battle to himself; but the bad Indians who were killed went to the West. After a while, a bad spirit waked up, and saw what the Good Spirit had done, and thought he could do as much: so he set to work and tried to make an Indian, and made a negro. He then tried to make a black bear, and made a grizzly bear. He then made some snakes, but they were all venomous. The bad spirit made all the worthless trees, the thistles, and useless weeds that grow on the earth. He also made a fire, but it was not so good as the fire that the Good Spirit made and gave to the Indian.

The bad spirit tempted the Indians to steal, and murder, and lie; and when the Indians who committed these crimes died, they went to the bad spirit. The Good Spirit commanded the Indians to be good, and they were so until the bad spirit tempted them to do wrong."

After relating the foregoing tradition, which he said had been handed down from his forefathers, Sho-go-nik-kaw, in reply to inquiries on the subject, said he believed the earth had been destroyed by a flood, and that he believed it would be destroyed again; that the Good Spirit and the bad spirit will fight; that there will be darkness for four days and nights; that there will be thunders and lightnings; and that the wicked will go to the bad spirit. He said that he believed the Good Spirit will always live, and that after the earth is destroyed he will repair it again.

Taw-nee-nuk-kaw, one of the oldest chiefs of the tribe, gives the following tradition of the Creation:

The Great Spirit created the earth, and looked down upon it, and it was bare. He then made the trees and grass and herbs to grow. After the earth was made, it rolled about; and the Great Spirit made four spirits, and placed them under the four corners of the earth to keep it steady. He then put four kings under the earth, to support it. The four kings were two snakes and two Waw-chuk-kaws. The Great Spirit then created animals, and, after making the earth and animals, he thought of making people to live on the earth; and took a piece of his body, and of it made an Indian. He made him in heaven, and sent him down to the earth. The Great Spirit told the Indian to go down very slow; but the Indian came down like thunder and lightning, very fast; and when he landed on the earth, at the Red Banks on Lake Michigan, he had a war-club in one hand, and articles to make fire with in the other. This Indian was the first chief. The Great Spirit saw that this man was alone, and he made a woman, and sent her down to him. The Great Spirit then made another man, and sent him down to the earth to be a brother to the first man. This man came down in a thunder-storm, and the rain put out the fire which the first man had made. The first man then kindled another fire, and told his brother to keep it. The last man sent down, was the first war-chief. The Great Spirit then made another woman, and sent her down for a wife for the war-chief. The birds that fly in the air, were next made by the Great Spirit: and he then thought that he would make a man to spring from the earth. On a fair day, a man was seen springing from the middle of Lake Michigan. This man was the first land-holder. The Great Spirit then made a man from a he-bear, and made a woman from a she-bear. The man made from a bear was a runner to carry news. After these men were created, they held a council; and it was agreed that the second man that came down from heaven should be the war-chief; and that the man made from a bear should be his second in command.

After the Winnebagoes had lived a long time, the Great Spirit looked down upon them, and saw that they worked very hard with their stone axes and other tools made of stone; and he created the white man to make tools for the poor Indians.

Taw-nee-nuk-kaw said that his father had told him the story of the Deluge, which had been handed down by their forefathers; but said he did not believe it was true, because he could not believe the Great Spirit would destroy the people and animals on the earth, after taking the trouble to create them. The tradition of the Deluge is believed by a majority of the tribe. Naw-hu-hu-kaw, one of the chiefs, in speaking of the Deluge, gave it as his opinion that it was produced, in part, by a heavy rain, but principally by a strong wind blowing the waters out of the great lakes, and overflowing the land.

The Winnebagoes have no tradition of their ancestors having lived in other lands; or of any quadrupeds which are foreign to America; nor have they any tradition of a more civilized race having occupied the continent before them.

5. No direct term applicable to, or signifying the entire continent, is used by the Winnebagoes. Hitherto, they have considered the country they inhabit as an island. When they speak of the whole country they say Mo-me-nug-raw, the land we live upon; or, Wuck-aw-nee-wee-naw, our island.

6. Reminiscences of former condition: The traditions of the Winnebagoes furnish but a vague and unsatisfactory account of the history and condition of the tribe prior to the time they were visited by the whites; they represent, however, that previous to the time that the French came among them, and introduced wine — and, subsequently, the introduction of rum by the British — they were more prosperous and happy than they have been since; that then they were living in peace among themselves, and at peace with the neighboring tribes, excepting the Sioux; but that, since the whites came among them, they have had many wars. Their traditions also say, that the Winnebagoes made leagues of friendship with the Menomonies, and the Sacs and Foxes; and that the Sacs and Foxes broke the league by making war upon them, and that the Winnebagoes built a fort — that it was constructed of logs or pickets set in the ground. The Winnebagoes know nothing of the origin of the large mounds found in the west; they give it as their opinion, that the numerous small mounds now standing on the prairies in the valley of the Upper Mississippi, were built for dwellings — they say that some Indians formerly lived under ground.

7. Names and events, as helps to history: No very important events, as epochs in the history of this tribe, are spoken of in their traditions. In their wars they have

suffered losses, and gained victories; but it does not appear that they have ever subjugated another tribe, or that they have ever been subjugated by their enemies.

The old people of the tribe say that the smallpox has prevailed amongst them three times, since their remembrance; they say that this disease was first brought among them by the English. More than one-fourth of the population of this tribe died of smallpox in 1836.

8. Present rulers and condition: Waw-kon-chaw-koo-kah is head-chief of the Winnebagoes. Waw-kon-haw-kaw, Watch-na-ta-kaw, Maw-kuk-souch-kaw, Maw-hee-koo-shay-naw, Zhu-kaw, Sho-go-nik-kaw, and Baptiste Lassallier are next to the head-chief in influence in the tribe. She-go-nik-kaw and Baptiste Lassallier were appointed by the government agent; the others are hereditary chiefs. Waw-kon-haw-kaw is the orator or speaker of the tribe. Taw-ne-nuk-kaw holds the rank of head war-chief.

Waw-kon-chaw-koo-kah, generally known by the name of Wee-no-shik by the whites, succeeded to the chieftainship of his band while a young man; he is now of middle age, and is, both physically and intellectually, a fine specimen of an Indian. In person above the medium height, well-proportioned, faultless in symmetry of form, easy and graceful in manner, he is decidedly the most accomplished and handsome man in his tribe. In respect to mental, social, and moral qualities, it may be said of him, that as a man he is modest, kind, and courteous; as a chief, he is dignified in demeanor, firm in purpose, and just in the exercise of authority towards his band and tribe; but in the transaction of business with the government, he is suspicious, obstinate, and faithless; as a politician, he is plotting, crafty, and cautious; as a warrior, he is brave in battle, and calm and self-relying in danger. Wee-no-shik seems to have cherished hatred to the Americans from his childhood, and has twice taken up arms against them. In the Winnebago war of 1827, he was taken prisoner by General Dodge, on the dividing ridge between the forks of the Pekatonika river in Illinois. His father, and the rest of his band, escaped: Wee-no-shik, then a boy fifteen years old, when surrounded, refused to surrender; he sat on his horse with his gun cocked in his hand, and eyed his foes with defiance and hate. The soldiers had become greatly exasperated by the cruelties perpetrated by the Indians, and, but for the sympathy of bravery, that moment would have been his last. General Dodge saw and admired the intrepidity of the boy, rode up and wrested his musket from him, and thus saved him from the death he at once courted and defied. On being assured by General Dodge that he wished to settle amicably the difficulty between the Indians and the whites, Wee-no-shik consented to guide him to his father's village, which stood where the town of Freeport is now situated: on arriving at the village, they found it deserted. Wee-no-shik was then requested to devise some way to inform his father of his position — to accomplish this he drew, on a piece of bark, a map of the country, and pictures of fifty-seven white men armed, on horseback, and also a picture of himself with them, as their guide, and designated the route they would take. This bark he set up in a conspicuous place, and the village was left undisturbed.

In 1832, Wee-no-shik joined Black Hawk, at the head of a band of Sacs, when he invaded the State of Illinois, and commenced the "Black Hawk war." He guided Black Hawk's army from the head of Milwaukie river by a difficult route, crossing the Kickapoo hills to the Bad-axe river, Wisconsin, and subsisted for some three weeks principally upon horse-flesh. He was faithful to the ill-fated band which he had joined, and was taken prisoner near the battle-ground, the day after the fight at Bad-axe, in which fight he was severely wounded in the arm. When brought before General Dodge, and asked whither Black Hawk had fled, he refused to tell. General Dodge said to him, "I saved your life when you were a boy, and I have a right to expect that you will tell me the truth." Wee-no-shik replied, "It is true—you did save my life, but it would have been better for me had you permitted your men to kill me."

Wee-no-shik was made head-chief of the tribe in 1845; this appointment was made chiefly for the purpose of facilitating business transactions, and does not affect his position as chief of his particular band. Like most Indians, he is fond of intoxicating liquor; but unlike most Indians, he sometimes keeps it in his lodge, and drinks with moderation. In regard to his domestic affairs, it will suffice to mention that he has four wives, one of whom is the reputed daughter of Colonel Morgan, late of the United States Army. Wee-no-shik is a believer in the religion of his fathers, and is, apparently, a devout worshipper of the Great Spirit.

Waw-kon-haw-kaw has, for many years, held the position of principal orator of his tribe. He is one-fourth French, and is possessed of good sense and much shrewdness. He has great influence in the tribe, and sometimes takes a fee, as attorney for the traders. He is between seventy-five and eighty years old, and although dissipated, is still robust and healthy.

Watch-ha-ta-kaw is about eighty years of age—has an iron constitution—never was sick; but some twenty years since he lost his right eye. This chief has had twenty-one wives, by whom he has had thirty children—twelve sons and eighteen daughters; five of his sons and fifteen of his daughters are now living. He has six wives living with him at the present time—the youngest is fourteen years old. He is a man of good sense, and great firmness and decision, and has the reputation of great bravery; he has fought the Chippewa and Sac and Fox Indians, and also fought against the United States under the command of Colonel Dickson, a British officer.

Maw-keek-souch-kaw is a middle-aged man: he is the son of a chief, and was, during the life of his father, promoted to the head of a large band on the death of Big Thunder, his uncle.

Maw-hee-koo-shay-naw-zhe-kaw is an honest man, and deservedly respected and highly esteemed by all who know him.

Sho-go-nik-kaw (Little Hill) is not an hereditary chief; but some fifteen years ago was put at the head of a small party that collected in the neighborhood of the school. By energy and good management he has acquired an influence equal to that of any of the hereditary chiefs, and has now the largest band in the tribe. His mother was a Menomonie, and his father half Winnebago and half Sioux, consequently he is but one fourth Winnebago. In person he is below the medium height, but strongly built and very athletic. He is now about forty years old, is an industrious man, has been a very successful hunter, but has lately turned his attention chiefly to farming, and has done more than any other chief to advance the civilization of the tribe.

Warm-hearted, generous and brave, Sho-go-nik-kaw is the idol of his friends; intelligent, shrewd, ambitious, crafty in design and bold in execution, he is one of the leading spirits of the tribe; raised from the common ranks of the people to his present position, he understands thoroughly the elements of public sentiment, on which he relies to sustain himself, and while he would be considered as the fountain and guide of public sentiment, he is generally content to be its organ, and is careful not to deviate far from its clearly indicated path. Sometimes, inspired by a noble impulse, he will fearlessly advocate and sustain justice and right against any odds, regardless of opposition or consequences; anon he will be found playing the demagogue, and pandering to the worst passions and prejudices of the mob. Ardent in his temperament, he has more energy than firmness, and is guided more by impulse than by principle. As an orator, he is bold and fluent in style, rapid in utterance, and energetic but not graceful in manner. He has twice visited his Great Father at Washington as a delegate from his tribe, and was speaker for the delegation in negotiating the treaty of 1846, in which negotiation he displayed talents highly creditable as a diplomatist. Sho-go-nik-kaw has uniformly been an advocate and patron of the school established in his tribe; from which school his band have received great assistance in the support of their children. In his religious belief he adheres to the traditions of his fathers, although he occasionally attends divine service with the Protestants, and considers himself an honorary member of the Roman Catholic Church. In his domestic arrangements, he approximates nearer to the usages of civilized life than any family in the tribe, the credit of which is, in a great measure, due to his amiable, excellent, and virtuous wife.

Baptiste Lasallier is a half-breed—his father was a Frenchman, his mother a Winnebago, and he exhibits traits characteristic of his parentage. In person, tall and well-formed; in his manner, graceful and somewhat accomplished; in features and complexion, resembling the white more than the red man, and possessing the vivacity and wit of the Frenchman, tempered with the stoicism and shrewdness of the Indian, he can, at pleasure, join the social and festive circle with the whites, or assume the taciturn dignity of a chief in the councils of his tribe. He has an extensive acquaintance with the whites, with whom he is a favorite. His associations with the whites, and his extensive travels among various tribes of Indians, have afforded him a wide field for observation. He speaks the English, French, and nine different Indian languages; and here it may be suggested as a matter of curious speculation, whether this untutored child of nature, who, unable to read or write, and without books or teachers, has mastered so many languages, might not have shone conspicuously in the halls of literature, had his lot been cast in civilized life.

This man is now in the prime of life. In the year 1845, he was, by the Government Agent, placed at the head of the most degraded and badly governed band in the tribe. His appointment was an experiment, made with the hope that ambition, if not principle, would lead him to exert himself to elevate the character, and improve the condition of his band. The experiment has mainly failed; he lacks the force of character, and moral principle, and courage, requisite for a benefactor of his race.

Taw-ne-nuk-kaw, is recognised as the principal war-chief of the tribe. His English name is "Gull," and like most of the chiefs he is better known by his English name among the whites. He is now about eighty years of age—has a giant frame, and was, in the prime of his life, the most powerful Indian in the tribe. This man formerly exerted great influence in the tribe; but, morose in his disposition, and overbearing in his manner, he was feared rather than respected. Dissipated in his habits, and unbridled in his passions, his sins have been visited fearfully upon his children; he has buried ten sons, all of them powerful men, and all of them, with one exception, died by violence; six of them were killed in drunken broils. One of his sons was killed by his brother. The old man immediately ordered the murderer to be arrested and slain before him. It is possible that excited passion may have had some agency in stifling the voice of parental affection in the old chief, while acting the part of an inexorable judge in the sentence and execution of his child; but that the conflict in his bosom between affection and duty was agonizing, is fully proved by the impress it made. Crushed to the earth by the stroke, the old man mourns the loss of his sons, and is fast sinking to the grave, with little to console him either in memory or in hope.

The Winnebagoes removed to the Neutral Ground in the Territory of Iowa, in 1840, having, by the treaty of 1837, relinquished their title and right of occupancy to the country they formerly occupied east of the Mississippi river. A part of the tribe manifested great reluctance in leaving their old home, and it became necessary for the Government to remove them by military force.

9. But one language is spoken by the Winnebagoes, consequently but one interpreter is requisite in transacting business with them. Aged persons relate the traditions of the tribe, but this service is not specially assigned to any particular person or class.

INTERNATIONAL RANK AND RELATIONS.

The Winnebagoes bear a respectable, say a medium rank with other tribes. Their tradition assigns them a superior rank, and this relationship appears to be acknowledged by the Omahas, Otoes, and Missourias, who call the Winnebagoes their elder brother, and are by them called younger brother. In the absence of authentic tradition or history, it is difficult to decide on their pretensions to original rank and affinities of blood. The name by which they are called by themselves and others, is no certain criterion in deciding this matter; a comparison of the physical and mental characteristics and the religious dogmas of the different tribes, assists in determining their relationship and affinities; but a comparison of their language is the best criterion by which to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion.

11. Proof from monuments: This tribe have no monuments to prove the existence of ancient alliances, leagues, or treaties. They have formed alliances and made treaties with other tribes, in which they have exchanged pipes and wampum as pledges of friendship.

12. Proof from totems: It appears that this tribe was anciently divided into clans or primary families, known by the names of bird, bear, and fish families, &c. These clans have not, at the present day, any badges designating their order or rank.

13. Tradition assigns the scarcity of game and rivalries of chiefs and bands as causes of division of tribes.

14. The traditions of this tribe refer to the Red Banks on the western shore of Lake Michigan, as the first and great geographical feature connected with them. Their migrations since, have been south-west and north.

15. Geography: The Winnebagoes have no correct ideas of the natural divisions of the earth, except such as they have gathered from the whites. Many of them suppose the earth to be oval; more believe it to be flat, and all formerly believed it to be stationary, and that the sun revolved from the east to the west during the day, and, at night, returned under the earth to the east. Their ideas of the earth's size correspond with the extent of their travels.

16. The Upper Iowa, Turkey, Wapsipinicon, and Red Cedar, are the principal rivers running through that portion of the Neutral Ground which has, for several years past, been occupied by the Winnebagoes; all of which rivers have their rise north of the Neutral Ground, through which they run in a south-eastwardly direction, and empty into the Mississippi. None of said rivers are navigable within the limits of the country occupied by the Indians.

17. There are no large lakes in the eastern part of the Neutral Ground. The country abounds in excellent springs, one of which, having its rise fifteen miles north-east from

Fort Atkinson, is the largest in the State of Iowa. It gushes from a cavity in a rock, at the base of a high bluff, runs some two miles, and empties into the Iowa river. This stream is stored with speckled trout, and is sufficiently large for a valuable water-power.

18. The surface of the country in that portion of Iowa which has been occupied by the Winnebagoes, is generally undulating; some portions of it, in the neighborhood of the Iowa river, are hilly and broken. Between the east fork of Red Cedar and Wapsipinican rivers, the country is level, and some portions of it wet and marshy. The bottoms on the Red Cedar, Iowa, and Turkey rivers, are narrow but fertile. The upland prairies are generally fertile, and bear the fruit raised elsewhere in the same latitude. The agricultural advantages of the country are good, with the exception that the prairies are large and some portions of them distant from timber, which is found chiefly in the neighborhood of rivers. The Indians raise oats, beans, peas, potatoes, and garden vegetables to some extent. Corn is their principal crop.

19. The Neutral Ground is well adapted to the raising of stock. Cattle, horses, sheep, and hogs thrive well, the prairies and woodland affording spontaneously an abundant supply of herbage. Horses owned by the Indians subsist, during winter, by grazing. Springs and rivulets generally supply sufficient water, and wells can be had at an average depth of twenty-five feet. This portion of country has, for several years past, had the best home market in the State. The removal of the Indians and the garrison, will affect the market injuriously.

20. It is believed that the practice of burning the prairies has a beneficial effect on the health of the country, by preventing the decomposition of vegetable matter; but it injures the surface of the soil, kills the young timber, and thus circumscribes the native forests.

21. There are no extensive barrens, deserts, or swamps in this section of the country.

22. No mountains are found in the eastern part of the Neutral Ground; and the quantity of arable land is not materially diminished by rocks and hills. There are a few ridges of small extent, so broken as to be unfit for anything but pasture. No volcanic tracts are found, and no tracts of sand worthy of notice.

23. The climate in this section of the country is healthy: the atmosphere is less humid than in regions further south. Sometimes the streams are swollen by heavy rains so as to overflow their banks and injure the crops in the low bottoms. Tornadoes

and heavy thunder-storms are not frequent. The variations of heat and cold, and the prevailing winds, will be seen from meteorological tables.

24. No salt springs. Saltpetre-earth or beds of gypsum have been discovered.

25. The Indians discovered lead-ore near the Turkey and Iowa rivers, and formerly smelted the ore for their own use. The furnaces which they constructed for this purpose are still to be seen in several places. These furnaces were constructed by digging in the side of a hill, and placing flat stones edgewise, so as to form a crucible in the shape of an inverted pyramid, with a small aperture at the bottom, from which a spout is dug in the ground for the purpose of draining off the metal. Neither stone-coal nor iron-ore has been found here.

26. Wild game is scarce in this district. The Winnebagoes derive but a small part of their subsistence from the proceeds of their hunts, within their own country. There are a few deer, elk, bear, otter, muskrat, and minx. The fur trade, by creating a market for furs, increased for a time the proceeds of the Indian hunts; but it has had the effect of diminishing the value of the country for the purposes of hunting, by inducing a greater destruction of game than its increase. The buffaloes decrease and disappear earliest. The Indians say that a few years ago the beavers were nearly all destroyed by some disease or pestilence.

27. The traditions of this tribe make no mention of gigantic animals in former periods.

28. No tradition corresponding with the story told by Mr. Jefferson.

29. The Winnebagoes have peculiar notions respecting the rattlesnake, wolf, bear, turtle, and some other animals. For instance, they believe that an evil spirit dwells in the rattlesnake, and that it can send disease when, and to whom it pleases; hence, they seldom kill this snake, even when found about their lodges.

30. This tribe has no tradition respecting the horse, except that they first obtained this animal from the Sioux. They call the horse "shoon-hutta-raw," which means big dog or big servant.

31. Some individuals in this tribe can draw maps of the country which they occupy, which, in the general outlines, are tolerably correct; but their rude drawings evince but little knowledge of the laws of proportion.

47. These Indians had no correct knowledge of astronomy until a school was established among them. A large majority of the tribe believe that the earth is a plane; some few believe it is oval on the top and flat at the bottom. They believe that the earth is larger than the sun, and have in general no correct ideas of the relation it bears to the sun and planetary system. All the notions they have that approximate to correctness on the subject of astronomy, have been derived from the whites. When asked if they believe the planets are inhabited, they answer, "We don't know."

48. Their ideas of the universe, and their conceptions of the vast field of space, are as erroneous and contracted as their means of information have been limited. They profess to believe that the Great Spirit made the earth, the sun, moon, and stars, for the benefit of mankind. They appear to limit space by the extent of their vision, and not to have discovered that the infinity of space is beyond their comprehension.

49. Their opinion of the nature and motions of the sun is that it is a body of fire, made to keep them warm: that it starts from the east in the morning, goes to the west, and, during the night, returns under the earth back to the east. They have capacity, and can be made to comprehend the correct system of astronomy.

51. The Indians' theory of eclipses is a compound of ignorance and superstition. Some of this tribe believe that when the sun is eclipsed, a bad spirit has seized upon it, and they fire guns at it to frighten it away. Others believe the sun is dying, when eclipsed. They all believe an eclipse ominous of evil.

52. The Winnebagoes reckon twelve moons for a year. They do not keep an account of the days in a year, and have made no attempt to compute a solar year. They divide the year into summer and winter; and subdivide the summer into spring, summer, and fall. They call it winter while there is snow on the ground. The season between the time of the melting of the snow and the commencement of hot weather, they call spring. During the continuance of hot weather they call it summer; and from the appearance of frost to the falling of snow, they call it fall. Spring is the commencement of their year. Their method of dividing the year into twelve moons, brings them at fault in their reckoning, and they frequently have disputes about the matter, These disputes are sometimes referred to the Agent, when occasion is taken to explain to them the cause of their difficulty. They differ somewhat in the names of their twelve moons. The following, however, is the common almanac among them.

1st Moon . .	Me-tow-zhe-raw	Drying the earth.
2d " . .	Maw-ka-wee-raw	Digging the ground, or planting corn.
3d " . .	Maw-o-a-naw	Hoeing corn.

4th Moon	Maw-hoch-ra-wee-daw	Corn tasselling.
5th "	Wu-toch-aw-he-raw	Corn popping, or harvest time.
6th "	Ho-waw-zho-ze-raw	Elk whistling.
7th "	Cha-ka-wo-ka-raw	Deer running.
8th "	Cha-ka-wak-cho-naw	Deer's horns dripping.
9th "	Honch-wu-ho-no-nik	Little bear's time.
10th "	Honch-wee-hutta-raw	Big bear's time.
11th "	Mak-hu-e-kee-ro-kok	Coon running.
12th "	Ho-a-do-ku-noo-nuk	Fish running.

53. The Winnebagoes take no notice of the summer and winter solstices, or of the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.

54. The opinion prevails among this tribe, that the Indians will be destroyed at the expiration of thirteen generations from the creation, or at the expiration of three generations after the present. They are now making extra feasts to propitiate the Great Spirit, and supplicate him to extend their time.

55. They have no name for the year, as contradistinguished from winter—no division of time resembling a week—and no division of the day into hours. They reckon time by winters, moons, and nights.

56. They have names for some particular stars.

57. They have nothing resembling the ancient signs of the zodiac, and do not attach personal or other influence to the stars. The moon is not considered by them as having influence on men, vegetation, or animals, and no regard is paid to the particular time of the moon's phases, in planting corn and other seed.

58. The Winnebagoes believe the Aurora Borealis is produced by a bad spirit, and that it is ominous of death. They call the Milky Way death's road, or the road of the dead. They have no theory of the origin or causes of clouds, rain, hail, and winds and tornadoes, except the general one, that they are made and caused by the Great Spirit. They cannot account for comets or meteors, but are superstitious respecting them, and consider them ominous of calamities. They do not attempt to account for the rainbow.

60. A part of the Indians in this tribe believe the paradise of souls is above, but do not define its particular location in the heavens. Some say that good Indians will, after death, go to the paradise above, and that bad Indians will go to the west; others believe that this paradise is located in the west, and that all will go there. Those that believe in the latter theory generally locate their land of souls on an island far in the west.

61. Arithmetic: The enclosed tables will show the names of the digits used by this tribe, and their method of computing numbers. Some in the tribe can compute as high as millions — they have no occasion for a higher computation. Indefinite and countless numbers they represent by the terms, "leaves on the trees — stars in the heavens—blades of grass on the prairie—and sands on the lake shore." (Vol. II., p. 214.)

62. Wampum was formerly used by this tribe as currency, and a standard of exchange, and is still, to some extent, used as currency. Gold and silver are their principal currency, and standard of value and exchange, at the present time. They understand the denominations of federal money.

66. Medicine: The uncultivated Indian knows nothing of science. The general character of the theory held by the medicine-men of this tribe is a compound of quackery, ignorance, and superstition, added to some practical skill derived from experience and observation. Their practice corresponds with their theory. They administer a few simple remedies, sometimes judiciously, and use incantations, sacrifice dogs, sing, dance, and fast, to aid in effecting a cure; and they sometimes set up toads, turtles, and snakes on sticks around the bed of their patient, to drive away the bad spirits. Taking into consideration the harmless nature of the remedies used, and that they are generally aided by the simple habits, good constitution, and strong faith of the patient, it is not strange that these medicine-men acquire great reputation for skill and success. And Indian specifics (so called) used by empirics among the whites, no doubt owe their efficaciousness chiefly to the same causes. These Indians are careful and tender of their sick. Old people, when sick, are generally nursed with kindness and affection by their children and relatives; but here, as in civilized life, the strength of parental over filial affection is manifest — no nurse is so unwearied, and no watcher so anxious, as the mother by the sick-bed of her child.

The doctors or medicine-men of this tribe usually charge exorbitant fees, and require payment in advance for their services; but when they undertake the cure of a patient, they devote themselves night and day to it, for the term of time agreed on

67. The medical practitioners in this tribe have no exact knowledge of the anatomy of the human frame. They have no professors or demonstrators of anatomy among them, and their knowledge of this subject is probably no better than is that of white men who have never made it a study. By cutting up the game taken in hunting, the Indian acquires a general knowledge of the comparative anatomy of animals. The limited knowledge they have of the circulation of the blood, has evidently been obtained from the whites; the medicine-men of this tribe say that the blood flows in the veins — but when questioned on the subject, they appear to be wholly ignorant of the agency of the arteries in producing this current — ignorant of the agency of the lungs

and air in renovating the blood, and, in fact, ignorant of the entire economy of the system. In view of the conflicting theories advocated by pathologists among the whites, and in the absence of a certain and acknowledged standard on this subject, it is difficult to determine how far the Indian theory of the nature and causes of diseases is entitled to respect. If the success of their practice is considered a fair criterion of the correctness of their theory, the Indian doctor can claim a respectable rank among the disciples of Esculapius. The pathology of the medicine-men of this tribe is based chiefly on a belief in the supernatural agency of evil spirits.

68. They treat fevers, pleurisy, obstructions of the liver, constipations and congestions, nearly in the same manner. Their remedies are bleeding, emetics, cathartics, and cold and vapor baths, together with incantations, drumming, singing, dancing, rattling the gourd, and snakes, toads, turtles and lizards set up on sticks around the patient. This tribe has, from time to time, suffered severely from dysentery, their physicians having not been successful in their treatment of this disease, for which their remedies are principally astringent decoctions of bark and roots. The Chippewa physicians have a higher reputation for skill than have the medicine-men of any other tribe in the north-west. It is said, by good authority, that they have succeeded in curing consumption of the lungs, in some cases in which the disease had become seated and far advanced. Powerful emetics is the remedy they first use in such cases. The seneca snake-root is an important article in the materia medica of the Chippewas, and is much used by the Winnebagoes as a remedy in fevers. (Vide Dr. Pitcher, Title XIII.)

69. It is difficult to ascertain what species of plants and roots are used by Indian doctors for emetics and cathartics, as they are not communicative on this subject. They use the bark of the white elder, both for an emetic and a cathartic; when it is intended to operate as an emetic, they scrape it from the stalk from the root upwards; but when they design it to operate as a cathartic, they scrape it from the boughs downward.

70. Bleeding is generally resorted to as a remedy in fevers. The operation is performed sometimes by using a phlegm made by fixing a piece of flint, or the point of a pen-knife, in a stick; but is more commonly performed by the use of a spring-lancet. The temporary benefit which persons of plethoric habit derive from bleeding, induces them to resort to this remedy often. Sometimes six or eight Indians, apparently in health, may be seen being bled at the same time; the operator, after opening the vein, leaves his patient to bleed as long and as much as he chooses.

They frequently cup a patient for headache, and other local pains. The operation is performed by scarifying with a flint, knife, or lancet, and applying the tip of the horn of the ox or buffalo; a vacuum is next produced by the operator applying his mouth to the small end of the horn, and exhausting the air; the operation is thus performed as efficaciously as by the use of cupping-glasses.

Indians, when greatly fatigued by walking or running, sometimes scarify their legs, to obtain relief by bleeding.

71. The bark of the sumach is used as a styptic, besides which they have several other vegetable styptics, which they consider valuable; they also use alum and blue vitriol. They make healing and drawing plasters, which prove efficacious. Bandages and lints are applied skilfully, but are generally removed and replaced oftener than is necessary. A bad wound is seldom suffered to heal by the first attention, but kept open in order that it may heal, as they say, from the bottom.

72. The eminent success which attends their treatment of cuts, stabs, and gun-shot wounds, is owing to the skill and care of the surgeon, aided by the constitution and temperament of the patient. In the first place, they thoroughly cleanse the wound, and if a gun-shot, they extract the ball, if practicable; then, by applying the mouth, and long-continued sucking, they extract clotted blood and extraneous matter that may have entered the wound; then make applications to allay inflammation, and induce suppuration. In addition, generally, to a good constitution, the temperament of the patient aids his recovery; the Indian, when wounded, throws himself on his power of endurance; and submits to confinement and pain, without suffering that nervous irritability which often retards the recovery of the white man.

73. The Winnebago surgeons never amputate a limb; and their practice proves that amputation is not always necessary when declared so by white surgeons. In simple and compound fractures they use splints; and sometimes confine the limb, after reducing the fracture, by tying it fast in an extended position, and thus keep the patient until the bone unites.

They usually remove their sick and wounded from place to place, on litters carried by two or more persons. These litters are constructed by fastening a blanket between two poles. When it is necessary to remove the sick a considerable distance, these litters are suspended on and between two horses, one walking directly behind the other. (Vide Plate 25, Vol. II., p. 180.)

74. Theory of diseases, and their remedy: This subject was referred to Dr. Andros, physician for the Winnebagoes, and his report is herewith submitted.[1]

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[1] Vide Vol. III., p. 497.

7. BRIEF RESEARCHES IN THE MISSIONARY AND OTHER AUTHORS, RESPECTING THE MASCOUTINS OF THE FRENCH ERA.

Assistagueronon, or Fire-Nation, Sagard, 201, Rel., 1640–1; Assistaqueronons, Champlain; Attistaeronons, Rel., 1639–40; Ontouagannha, or Fire-Nation, Rel., 1659–60; Mascoutens, or Assistaeronons, Rel., 1670–1, p. 169

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, ESQ.

The earlier French writers, when acquainted with the Hurons in Upper Canada, mention the Assistaeronons, which in the Huron tongue means Fire-Nation. They were at war with the Ottowas, or Cheveux relevez; the latter being supported by the Neutral Nation. Sagard represents them as trading over a distance of 500 leagues, and as dwelling nine or ten days' canoe journey (about 200 leagues) beyond the Ottowas. The latter are placed in Manitouline, at that epoch. Champlain, in his Map of 1632, seems to place them south of Lake Huron; but this is not clear.

The Relation of 1639–40, the next to describe the west, lately explored by Nicollet, mentions several tribes on Lake Michigan, all afterwards better known; but does not speak of the Assistaeronons, or Mascoutins. The only tribe mentioned by him, not afterwards known, is the Rasaouakoueton. The name Attistae, given in this Relation, is from a Huron map by Ragueneau, which has not been preserved. They are occasionally mentioned, down to the ruin of the Hurons, in 1649.

In 1659–60, a nation is mentioned, in a list, under the name of Ontouagannha, or Fire-Nation; but the former epithet is an Iroquois term for those who did not speak their language. (See Rel., 1661–2.) The first European who has recorded a visit to them, is Father Claudius Allouez (Rel., 1669–70, p. 92); he found the Mascoutins on the Wisconsin river, and in the following year (Rel., 1670–1, p. 169), expressly states that they are the tribe formerly called by the Hurons Assistaeronons, or Fire-Nation. Whether Mascoutins had the same meaning, he does not state. Marquette, the next to visit them, speaks in doubt — "It may mean fire." Dablon subsequently treats this as an error, and gives Prairie as the meaning of Mascoutins. In this he is followed by Charlevoix, and confirmed by Schoolcraft. As to situation, Marquette, in 1673, found them mingled with Miamis and Kickapoos, on the head-waters of Fox River, near the portage. (Journal, § III.) Hennepin places them, in 1680, with the Miamis and Foxes, on Winnebago Lake; though Membré, at the same time, places them with the Foxes on Melleoki (Milwaukie) river, about 43° N. (Discovery of Mississ., p. 150.)

In 1712, Father Marest writes that a short time before the Mascoutins had formed a settlement on the Ohio (Ouabache), but that it had greatly suffered from contagious disorders. (Lettres Edif., Vol. XI.)

In the same year the upper Mascoutins, together with the Kickapoos, joined the Foxes in their plot against the French; but they were surprised by the Ottowas and Pottawatomies, and one hundred and fifty were cut to pieces. (Charlev., IV., 95.) They probably suffered still more in the ultimate defeat of that nation.

A few years later, in 1736, a list in the Paris Documents (N. Y. Doc. Hist. I.) reckons the Wolf and Stag tribes of the Mascoutins, on Fox river, at sixty men; but is silent as to any on the Ohio.

In Sir William Johnson's list, 1764, in the same volume of the Documentary History, no allusion is made to them; but Bouquet, in 1764, puts them down at 500 on Lake Michigan; and Hutchins, in 1768, includes them with other tribes in a pretty high estimate. (Jefferson's Notes, 172.) This is the last mention of the Mascoutins of Wisconsin.

In June, 1765, Colonel Croghan was attacked near the Wabash by eighty Indians, chiefly Kickapoos and Mascoutins. (Reynolds' Illinois, 59.)

Under the name of Meadow Indians, we next find the Mascoutins mentioned in Colonel Clark's journal. During a council held by that officer at Cahokia, in 1777, a party of this tribe attempted to cut him off by treachery, but were foiled, and Clark availed himself of their defeat to acquire a complete mastery over them. (Dillon's Indiana, 144. Western Annals, 205.) The last mention found of this part of the tribe, is in 1779, when Dodge estimates the Mascoutins on the Wabash with the Piankeshaws and Vermilions, at 800. (Jeff., 173.)

As will be seen, they seldom appear alone, but almost always in connection with their kindred, the Ottagamies or Foxes and the Kickapoos, and like them bear a character for treachery and deceit. The three tribes may have in earlier days formed the Fire-Nation, but, as Gallatin observes in the Archæologia Americana, it is very doubtful whether the Mascoutins were ever a distinct tribe. If this be so, and there is no reason to reject it, the disappearance of the name will not be strange. The Mascoutins in Illinois were mixed with the Kickapoos, and at last confounded with them. The latter alone are mentioned in late accounts,[1] and yet seem to be in the same location as the Mascoutins.

The upper section were, in all probability, similarly absorbed in the Foxes after the French war on that tribe.[2]

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[1] Dillon (1785), 201. Western Annals (1786), 295. Am. State Papers, V. 13. 84. Western Annals (1790), 364. MSS. Hist. Col., VIII. (1812.) Hunter's Narrative. Morse's Report, 1820.

[2] There is nothing in De la Potherie counter to this, nor, as far as I have been able to examine, in Perrot's MS. work on the Indians.

VI. INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER. D.

[4th Paper, Title VI.]

TITLE VI.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE VI.

TITLE VI., LET. A., VOL. I. [1st Paper.]

A. ABORIGINAL MYTHOLOGY, AND ORAL TRADITIONS OF THE WIGWAM.

1. Iroquois Cosmogony.
2. Origin of Men — of Manabozho — of Magic.
3. Allegory of the Origin of the Osages from a Snail.
4. Pottawatomie Allegories.
5. Story of the Hunter's Dream.
6. Story of the Red Head.
7. Story of the Magic Ring in the Prairies.
8. Story of the White Feather.

B. AN ESSAY ON THE INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY, OR SYMBOLIC WRITING.

Chap. 1. Preliminary Considerations.
" 2. Extreme antiquity of Pictorial Notation.
" 3. Elements of the Pictorial System.
" 4. Symbols employed in the Kekeenowin and Medawin.
" 5. Rites and mode of Notation of Wabeno Songs.
" 6. Symbols of Hunting, and Feats of the Chase.
" 7. Symbols of the Prophetic Art.
" 8. Symbols of Love, War, and History.
" 9. Universality of the Pictographic System, with the Explanation of Bark-roll inscriptions presented from Lake Superior.
" 10. Comparative Views of the Symbols of the Samoides, Tartars, and Laplanders.—Iroquois Pictographs.

TITLE VI., LET. B., VOL. II. [2D PAPER.]

A. POWER OF INDIAN NUMERATION.

1. Choctaw.
2. Dacotah.
3. Cherokee.
4. Ojibwa of Chegoimegon.
5. Winnebago.
6. Chippewa.
7. Wyandot.
8. Hitchittee.
9. Comanche.
10. Cuchan or Yuma.

B. ART OF PICTOGRAPHY.

1. Census Roll of the Ojibwas.
2. Medicine Animal of the Winnebagoes.
3. Haökah, a Dacotah God.
4. Indian Signatures, by Symbols, to a Treaty.
5. Menomonie Symbols for Music.

C. ABORIGINAL ALPHABETICAL NOTATION.

(*a.*) Cherokee Syllabical Alphabet.
(*b.*) Story of the Prodigal Son in this Character.

D. ORAL IMAGINATIVE LEGENDS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. Allegory of the Transformation of a Hunter's Son into a Robin.
2. Allegory of the Origin of Indian Corn.
3. Fraternal Cruelty, or the Allegory of the Wolf-Brother.
4. Wyandot Story of Sayadio, or the Sister's Ghost.

TITLE VI., LET. C., VOL. III. [3D PAPER.]

A. ORAL FICTIONS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. Hiawatha, or the Iroquois Quetzalcoatl.
2. A Fairy Tale of the Boy-man, or Little Monedo.
3. Trapping in Heaven.
4. The Story of the Great Snake of Canandaigua — an Allegory of the Origin of the Senecas.
5. Shingebiss — an Allegory of Self-reliance in the Forest.

B. POETIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIAN MIND.

6. Song of the Okögis.
7. Chant of the Hawks.

TITLE VI., LET. D., VOL. IV. [4TH PAPER.]

A. INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY.

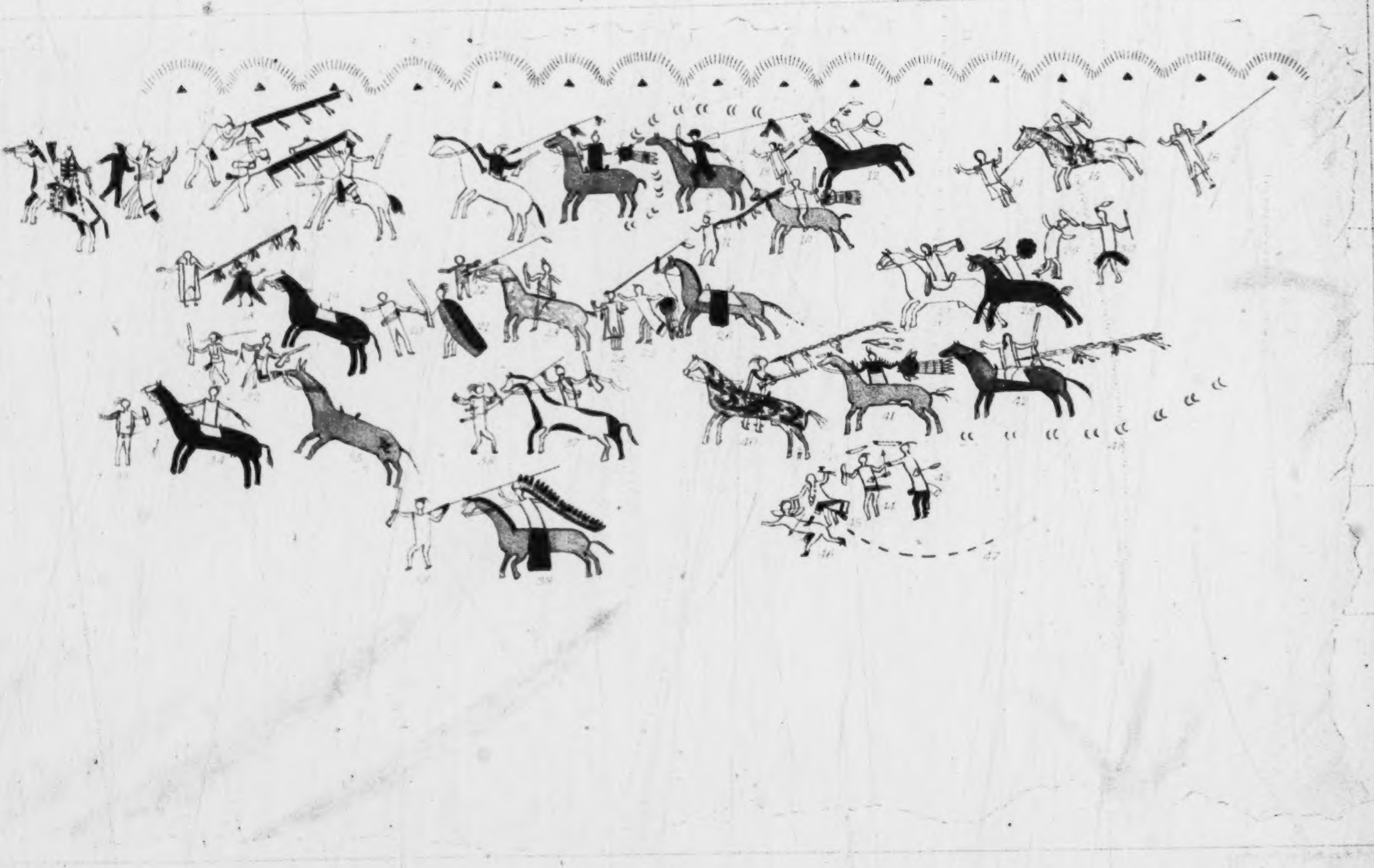
1. Ogellala Inscription on a Buffalo robe.
2. Comanche Inscription on the Scapula of a Bison.
3. Symbols on the trunk of a Tree in California.
4. Symbols from a Sandstone Rock on the Little Colorado, in New Mexico.
5. Symbolic Transcript from a Rock in New Mexico, in Lat. about 34°, 40′.
6. Symbolic Characters from the Valley of the Gila.
7. Pictographic Inscription from Utah.
8. Mixed, or Indo-European Inscription by a Utah Indian.

B. ORAL TRADITIONS AND FICTIONS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. A Shawnee Tradition purporting to be Historical.
2. Thanayeison, a Western Iroquois, to Conrad Wiser at Kaskaskia, in 1748.—An Allegorical Account of the first coming of the Whites.

C. INDIAN SHREWDNESS AND BUSINESS TALENT IN PUBLIC SPEAKING.

1. Wabashaw before the British Commanding Officer at Drummond Island, at the close of the war of 1812.
2. The Shawnee Prophet before the U. S. Agent at Waughpekenota, Ohio, on agreeing to migrate to the West, in 1827.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LIBRA
UNIVE

INTELLECTUAL CAPACITY AND CHARACTER.

A. INDIAN PICTOGRAPHY, FROM ROCKS, TREES, ANIMALS, BONES, AND DRESSED SKINS.

1. Ogellala Figures on a Buffalo Robe.

Plate 31.

By the term pictography, it is intended to designate that mode of ideographic notation which is peculiarly characteristic of the United States Indians. The term picture-writing has been applied to that improved form of it which was common to the Toltecs and Aztecs, and which excited such attention on the conquest of Mexico. This advanced state of the art consisted chiefly in a more systematic position, and exact and uniform size of the symbols, in their being generally colored in deep and bright hues, and in the invention of sub-symbols, to denote the several tlilpalli, and other periods of their astronomical system. But there was no evidence that it had extended, in this improved form, farther north than the limits of the semi-civilized tribes of Mexico. It was already the peculiar business of picture-writers and pictorial clerks, who devoted themselves to this branch of native scriptography, which is, in itself, a proof of the progressive state of civilization among them.

Amongst the forest and prairie tribes of the United States, there were symbols invented, at the earliest known dates, to represent and identify families. These were denominated TOTEMS by the Algonquins, and the term has come into general use, for the same thing, among all the forest tribes. Such marks were rudely cut or painted on blazed trees, inscribed on bark rolls or wooden implements, and sometimes cut on the smooth faces of remarkable rocks. The successful hunter thus advertised his tribe of his prowess. The successful war-captain did the same. The native priest was more elaborate, and drew his symbols on tablets of wood, or scrolls of bark. His sacred songs were noted down, in this way, by a series of symbols, which recalled to his memory the words and choruses. In this way he sings his score of forest notes.

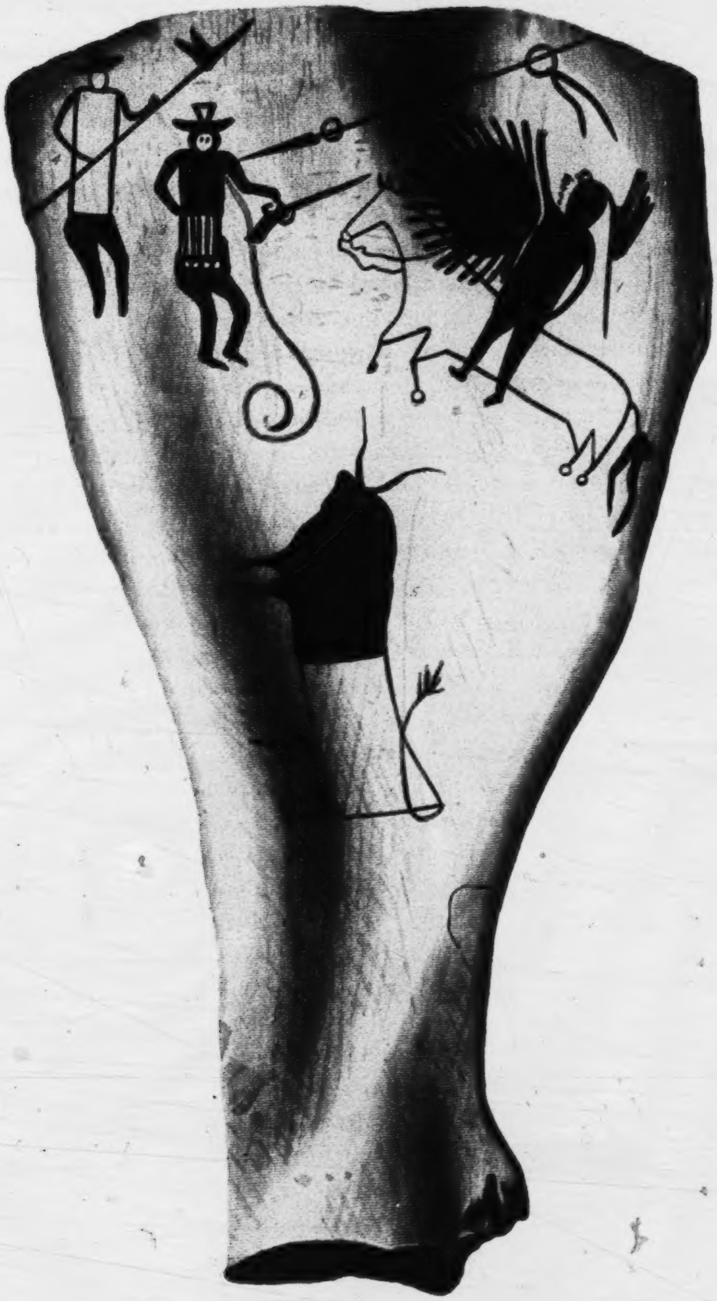
These are also, if the historical portions of these rude pictographs are closely scrutinized, perceived to be some symbols for days, months, or years, and for numbers. Thus, plain perpendicular or diagonal strokes denote, ordinarily, the number of men or things, or events. A cross above the skull has been interpreted to mean forty — and a series of interlaced crosses a multitude. A small circle near the principal symbol indicates days, months, years. Vague as this mode is, it gives a species of information in inscriptions, which, without them, would be still more vague.

In examining pictographs of the United States tribes, it is easy to discriminate those of the forest tribes, and the higher northern and temperate latitudes, from those of the prairie tribes, and southern and intertropical latitudes, and these two species, also, from the mountain tribes. There are thus three styles of pictography.

In the prior volumes, we have submitted several specimens of the pictographs, in their varieties, from the Atlantic coast, forest, and lake tribes. We now, in Plate 31, give one of these pictographic drawings, copied from the dressed skin of a buffalo. It is from the Ogellalah band of the Dacotahs, who dwell on the prairies of the banks of the Missouri, whence it was brought by Lieutenant Gunnison, on his trip with Captain Stansbury, to the Great Salt Lake. It denotes a series of combats, chiefly on horseback, by a tribe possessing guns and lances, fighting with others who are armed with bows and arrows, and shields. (Fig. 1 to 42.) In these drawings, the owner of the robe from which they are copied, clearly records his achievements. There are, in this drawing, nineteen figures of the horse. No. 1 is the war-chief leading the party, in grand costume — a capote. In Fig. 5 he denotes himself, on a mission of peace, bearing an ornamented peace-pipe, and armed with a gun. One of the naked, or extreme barbarous tribes, shoots an arrow into the breast of his horse. He dismounts, strips the savage of his bow and pipe, and seizes him by the hair of his head (2). Meantime a combat with arrows takes place between two footmen (3 and 4). No. 7 wheels in from one side (9), (a series of checks to denote a path,) and armed with a shield, spears his adversary (6) in the neck, although the latter defends himself with a gun. Meantime 8 interposes with a bow and arrow, but is himself speared; 13, a footman, is speared by 12, a horseman. He and 16 are wounded in precisely the same manner by 15, a horseman, who is armed with a gun and lance. These appear to be the leading events of this battle.

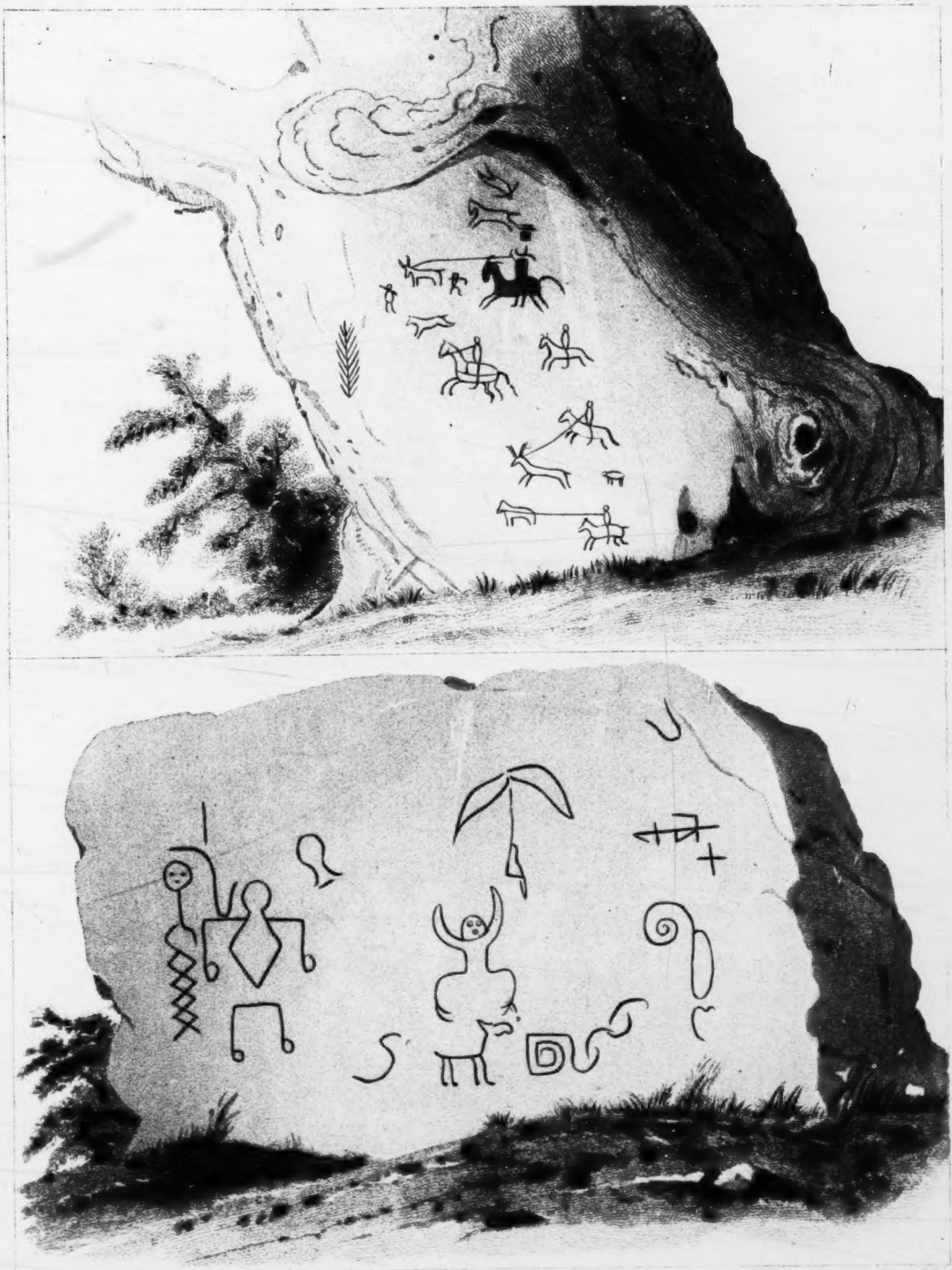
In the second conflict, 26, who is recognized by his dress as 5, and also the captor of 2, is followed by 27 and 28, mounted bowmen. He dismounts, with his shield and pennon, decorated with scalps, to hold an interview with 24, an Indian well-clothed. Meantime 30 disarms 29, being both footmen, of his arrows; and 23, a horseman with a bow, riding a dappled horse, pierces 22 with two arrows. The peace-pipe is held up by 17, a man in long clothes, and the gun taken amicably from the naked savage, 20, by 21, an Indian in long robes of the dressed buffalo.

In Scene 3, No. 5, who is the robe-chief, reappears in Fig. 32, having dismounted 35, being wounded by 31, a footman, whom he puts to flight. 34, a horseman, armed with a gun, shoots 33, a horseman, through the body. 27, a horseman, pierces 26 in the breast with a lance. 40 and 42 bear the ornamented peace-pipe. 41 comes



COMANCHE INSCRIPTION ON THE SHOULDER BLADE OF A BUFFALO

Pl.



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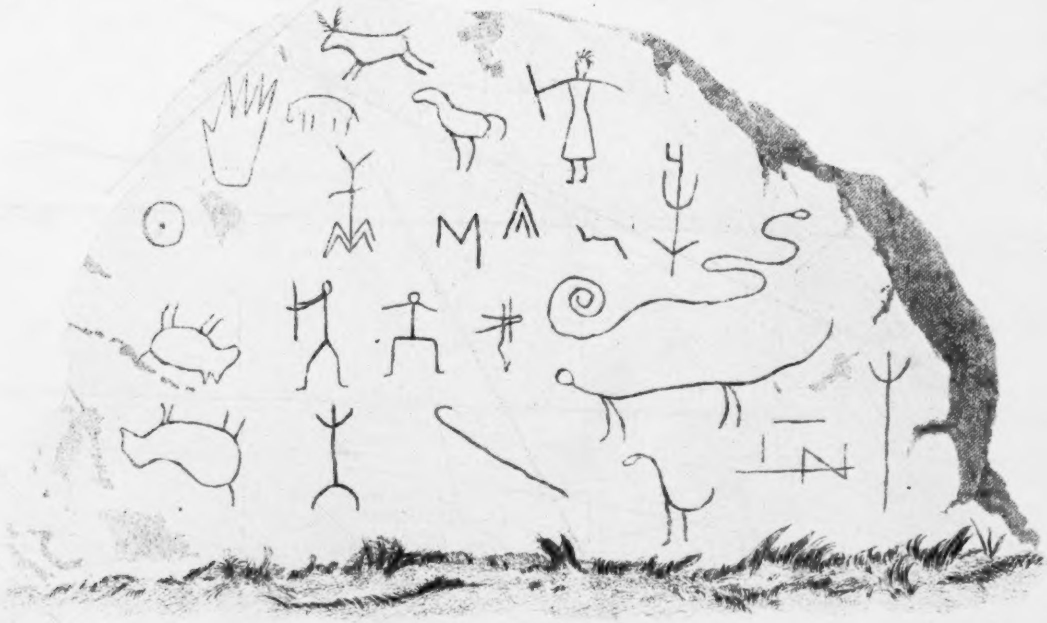

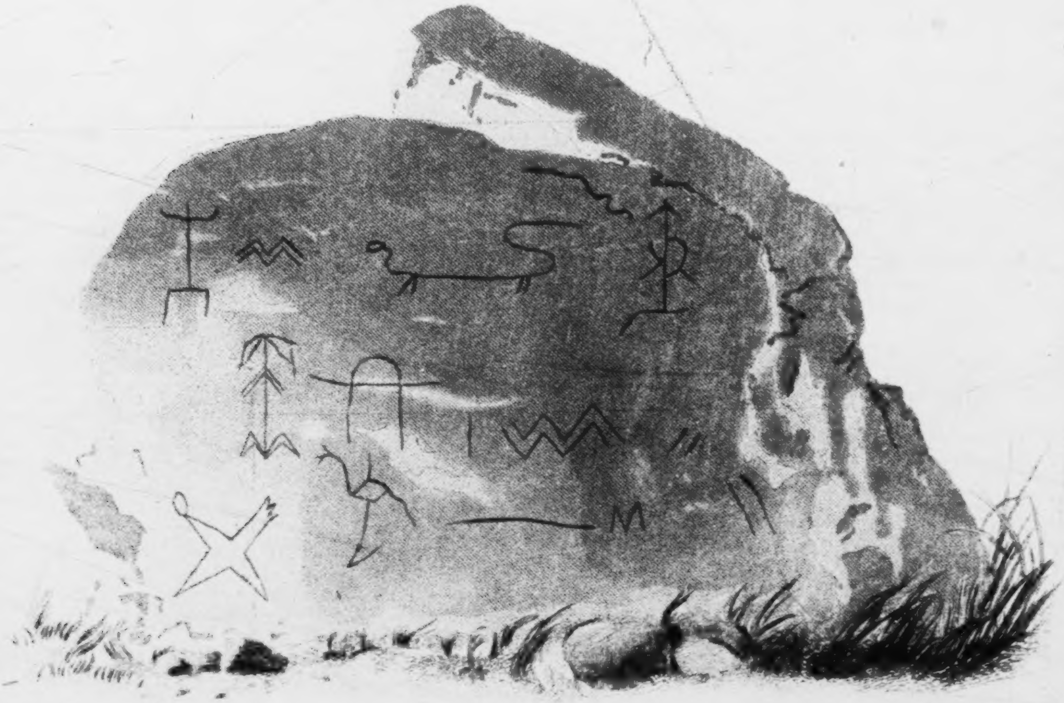

ROCK INSCRIPTIONS on the LITTLE COLORADO, NEW MEXICO

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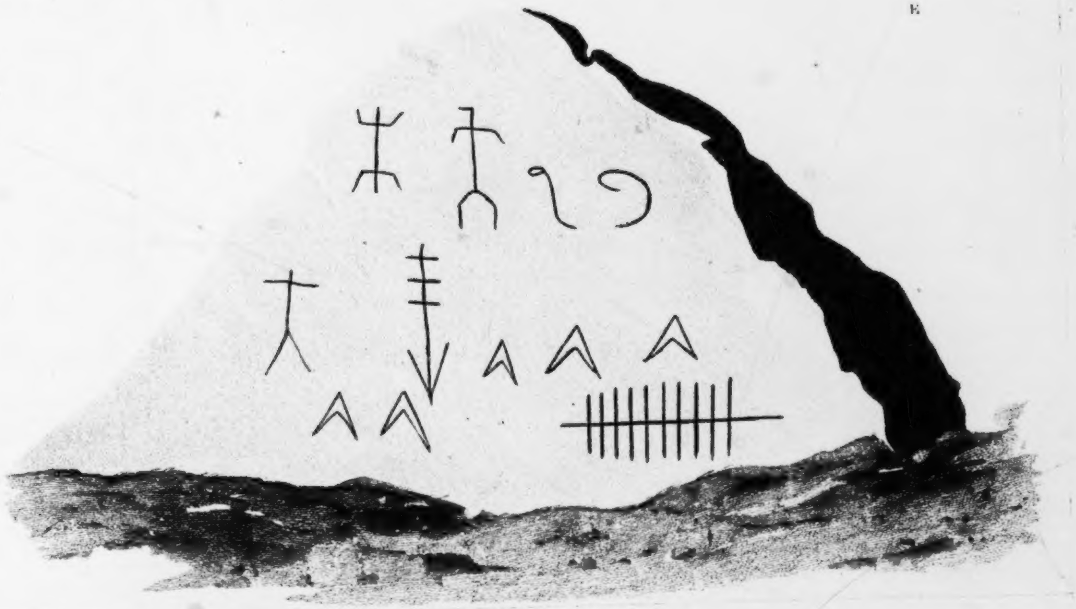

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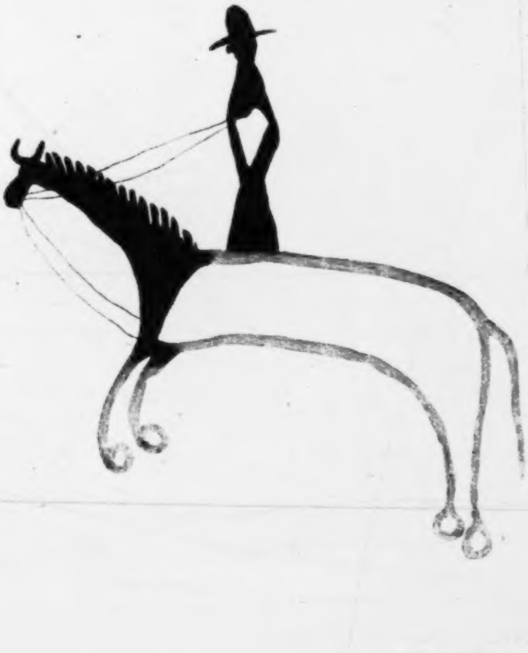

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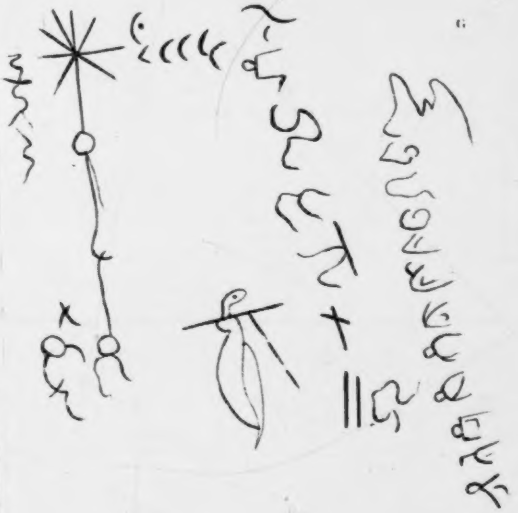

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from a distance, denoted by check 48, and the result, it is inferable, is another reconciliation.

Scene 4 denotes the robe-chief on horseback, and crowned with his head-feathers, driving a lance through the neck of an armed adversary, on foot. In 45 we behold the crowning act of the robe-chief, denoted by his dress, who comes in on foot from the prairie (47 check), to engage in a personal combat between three footmen, two of whom are shot through the breast with arrows, and the third knocked in the head with a club. Such appear to be the leading scenes of this record, and such, indeed, is prairie life.

2. Comanche Inscription.

Plate 32.

This inscription is taken from the shoulder-blade of a buffalo, found on the plains in the Comanche country of Texas. Fig. 5 is a symbol showing the strife for the buffalo existing between the Indian and white races. The Indian (1), presented on horseback, protected by his ornamented shield, and armed with a lance, kills a Spaniard (3), the latter being armed with a gun, after a circuitous chase (6). His companion (4), armed with a lance, shares the same fate.

3—8. Pictographic Inscriptions from New Mexico.[1]

Plates 33, 34, and 35.

When the pictography of the northern latitudes of the United States is compared with the inscriptions herewith given, from the elevations and wild gulfs and cañons of New Mexico, the attentive observer will notice a striking difference in the two species of ideographic signs. There is no longer seen that free and plain juxtaposition of the symbolic figures of animals and birds, by which the Indian names of the actors are so

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[1] Washington, *March 19th*, 1853.

Sir:—Of the accompanying copies of Indian drawings, Fig. A, Plate 33, was found on the trunk of a cotton-wood tree in the valley of King's river, California, and evidently represents the manner of catching different wild animals with the lasso.

Fig. B, Plate 33, C and D, Plate 34, and E, Plate 35, were found on some sandstone rocks in the valley of the Little Colorado river, New Mexico, about longitude 104° 45', and latitude 34° 40'.

Many of these figures are similar to those found on Inscription Rock near the Pueblo de Zuñi, (Vide Lt. Simpson's Report of Expedition, Sen. Ex. Doc.,) and on the Gila, (Vide Maj. Emory's Report, Sen. Ex. Doc., 30, 1, 7.) Of their meaning I am ignorant. Figs. F and G, Plate 35, were drawn in one of my sketch-books, by some members of the band of Taos Utahs, who killed the old guides, Williams and Dr. Kern, in the spring of 1849.

Very respectfully, your Ob't Servant,

Mr. H. R. Schoolcraft.

Richard H. Kern

readily ascertained. The lines have a mathematical stiffness which reminds one of the Tartaric drawings on rocks, of which examples are given in Plates 64, 65, 66, and 67, Vol. I. Among these are figures resembling a trident; and a double, and even a triple trident occur. In compartment E, Plate 35, and C, Plate 34, a figure resembling the arrow-headed character is repeated many times. The human figure is not, as with the United States' tribes, an elongated cross, surmounted with a ball to signify a head, but something very much resembling a man a-straddle. The wild animals introduced are drawn after the clumsy and inartistic style of the Asiatic figures referred to. The parallel zig-zag points, the cougar in single outline, the divining circle, the posture of the running deer, and certain alphabet-like figures, are quite noticeable, and separate these pictographs widely from those of the north.

In the pictograph copied by Mr. Kern from the expanded root of the linodendron in California, we behold a very modern attempt to depict the lassooing of animals. Very different are the impressions created by the figures in compartment G, Plate 35. These characters, done by a Utah of Taos, create, by their compact linear arrangement, the idea of an attempt to commit the sounds of the vowels to pictographic symbols.

B. ORAL TRADITIONS, AND FICTIONS FROM THE WIGWAM.

1. An Ancient Shawnee Tradition.

The following tradition is taken from the Letter-Book of the U. S. St. Louis Superintendency, Missouri, wherein it is indexed, "A Traditional Story concerning the Shawnee and Kickapoo Nations." It is recorded, May 8th, 1812, as being received from the lips of a Shawnee named Louis Rodgers. It is here published as an original and authentic element of Indian opinion, and is, probably, one of their symbolical modes of narrating old events. From the St. Louis record, no practical object appears to have been designed to be effected, or was obtained by the speaker in telling it, unless, perhaps, he attached importance to the tradition. It reminds one of the traditional matter recorded by Mr. Johnston, the Shawnee Indian Agent, of Piqua, Ohio, in 1819, which is referred to particularly, in Vol. I., p. 19.

In a people whose history is wholly verbal, it is only by closely watching and comparing what falls from time to time from the lips of their old speakers, that the archæological student is likely to gain a true insight into their beliefs, mythological or historical; and where there is, from the peculiar mental habits of the tribes, so little to be got, the obligation seems the greater to put that little on record.

Further traditions of this nature will be introduced in subsequent parts of this work.

SHAWNEE TRADITION.

"It is many years ago since the numbers of the Shawnees were very great. They were, on an important occasion, encamped together on a prairie. At night, one-half of them fell asleep; the others remained awake. Those who kept awake abandoned the sleepers before morning, and betook themselves to the course where the sun rises. The others gradually pursued their route in the direction where the sun sets. This was the origin of the two nations, the first of which was called Shawnee, and the other, Kickapoo.

Prior to this separation, these nations were considered one, and were blessed with the bounties of heaven above any blessings which are now enjoyed by any description of mankind. And they ascribe their present depressed condition and the withdrawal of the favors of providence, to the anger of the Great Being at their separation.

Among the many tokens of divine favor which they formerly enjoyed, was the art of walking on the surface of the ocean, by which they crossed from the east to America without vessels. Also the art of restoring life to the dead, by the use of medical arts continued for the space of six hours. Witchcraft and prophecy were with them at their highest state, and were practised without feigning; and, in fine, such were the gifts of heaven to them, that nothing fell short of their inconceivable power to perform. And after the Shawnees have wandered to the remotest west, and returned eastward to the original place of separation, the world will have finished its career. It is believed by the Shawnees, that the consummation of this prophecy is not far distant, because they have, in fulfilment of the prophecy, reached the extreme western point, and are now retrograding on their steps."

The words Shawnee and Kickapoo, introduced in the foregoing tradition, may be examined as archæological facts. Shawano, or Oshawano, in one of the oldest mythological traditions of the Algonquins, is the name of one of the brothers of Manabozho, to whom was assigned the government of the southern quarter of the earth. To the English ear, which chooses the least possible quantity of syllables, the word has become fixed and anglicized as Shawnee. It originally required a final *ng* for plural, and carried to the Indian ear the meaning of Southerners. It, apparently, expresses nothing more in that language. Thus, Oshawanepenasee is the name of the south, or yellow, bird. It is not an uncommon Indian name for a man. In this phrase, the final *o* is replaced by the connective *e*, and the word penasee, a bird, simply added. Shawanoong, the term for the south, consists of the same binal root, with one of the inflections for place (*ong*) which are so common and multifarious in the Algonquin.

They were called Satanas, in 1747, by the Iroquois and English, agreeably to Colden's History of the Five Nations (Preface, xvi.); a term which means Devils. In the comparative tables of 1736, obtained from France, and published in Vol. III., p. 553, they are called Chauenons; and are vaguely said "to inhabit the south shore of Lake Erie, towards Carolina." To Carolina and Florida, indeed, their own traditions carry them; and they are never heard of, at early periods, to the west. They came into the Ohio valley, about 1640, from the Apalachian range through the Kentucky river, which Johnson says (Arch. Am.) is a Shawnee word; while others of the tribe, who were defeated by the Catawbas and Cherokees, in Carolina, had settled previously in the hunting-grounds of their kindred, the Delawares, in Pennsylvania.

To the word Kickapoo, named by Louis Rodgers in his tradition, no great antiquity appears to attach. It is mentioned in the Paris tables above referred to, under the orthography of "Kicopoux;" and a position is assigned to the tribe, exactly corresponding to the (now lost) Mascoutins, to whom their history appears closely allied. The word Kickapoo, to the Algonquin ear, appears like a contraction from Neg-ik-abo, as if the tribe had been called, derisively, Otter's Ghost.

2. Speech of Thanayeison, an Iroquois.—1748.

AN ALLEGORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH IN AMERICA, AND AN ALLUSION TO A MURDER COMMITTED BY AN IROQUOIS.

Brothers: When we first saw one another, at your first arrival at Albany, we shook hands together, and we became brethren. We tied your ship to the bushes. After we had more dealings with you, more and more, and finding that the bush would not hold your ship, we tied it to a big tree, and ever since, good friendship has continued between us.

Afterwards you told us, a tree may happen to fall down, and the rope by which it is tied to rot. You then proposed to make a silver chain, and tie your ship to the great mountain in the Five Nations' country; and that chain was called, the chain of friendship.

We were all tied by our arms together with this silver chain, and made one, and ever since a good correspondence has been kept up between us. But we are sorry, that at your coming here, we are obliged to talk of the accident that lately befell you in Carolina, where some of our warriors, by the instigation of the evil spirit, struck a hatchet into our own body—for our brothers the English and we are of one body, and what was done we utterly abhor, as a thing done by the evil spirit himself.

We never expected any of our people would do this to an Englishman. We, therefore, remove the weapon which, by the evil spirit's order, was struck into your body, and we desire that our brothers, the Governor of New York, and Onas,[1] may use their utmost endeavors that the thing may be buried in the bottomless pit—that it may never be seen again—that the silver chain, which is of so long standing, may be preserved bright and unhurt.

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[1] William Penn, or the Governor of Pennsylvania.

(C.) INDIAN TALENT IN PUBLIC SPEAKING.

During the time that a European population has been placed in contact with the aboriginal tribes of America, they have given many evidences of their capacity for public speaking, which have commended themselves to admiration. The specimens of this vigorous off-hand talent of the sons of the forest, which have appeared from the time of Vittachucco to that of the Seneca orator, Red Jacket, while they denote the danger of their being altered, and the tribes themselves infringed on, by direct contact with the antagonistical races of civilization, are by no means deficient in keenness of perception, just sentiment, or power of illustration.

It is no part of the present design to collect the known examples of oral thought for consideration as an element in their intellectual character; but rather to present some new matter, from original and authentic sources, of the oratorical capacity of the Indian mind for transacting their ordinary public business. Eminent positions, whether in civil or forest life, are a stimulus to eminent and pithy thought; but the mind that is called to grapple with the daily emergencies and every-day realities of the narrow range of forest-life, must needs consider well its positions, to give force and appositeness to words; yet it is from this narrowed intercourse that we are most likely to obtain the best evidence of the course and power of thought and reasoning capacity of the Indian mind.

The American Indian is not a man of anticipations. His field of thought lies rather in reminiscence, and his glories are of the past. He is manifestly aware that his prospect is clouded by continual contact with a superior civilization. The arts by which he is surrounded are appalling to him; and while he turns a stoical and disdainful eye on the evidences of a higher invention and industry, he actually despairs of reaching them. He submits to the great mutations and rapid destruction of hunter-prosperity around him, without truly comprehending events; and at last yields with a spirit of submission and philosophy, in which he often recognizes the hand of an over-ruling Power. These ideas are forced on his mind by beholding the great spread of the power of the civilized and industrial race which is sweeping from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and it will be seen that he often alludes to them, and acknowledges their superior power, in the transaction of his tribal and national affairs. Example is more powerful with him, in forming changes, than theory; and its effects on the aboriginal mind, in a few favorable positions, are actually producing the most benign influences.

1. WABASHAW'S SPEECH TO THE BRITISH COMMANDING OFFICER AT DRUMMOND ISLAND, AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF 1812.[1]

Wabashaw was a Dacotah. To understand the force of this speech, it is necessary to observe, that efforts were made by Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet Elskatowa, as early as 1806, to assemble the Indians on the Wabash, and to draw them into a confederacy to act against the United States. For this purpose, The Prophet was the great agent. He had the reputation of great sanctity and religious power amongst the tribes. It was believed that he could both foretell and produce events. He addressed himself to the credulous Indians by arguments suited to their knowledge and beliefs. To some of the tribes who occupied northern latitudes, he threatened deep snows and starvation, if they did not go; to the southern tribes, he predicted droughts; to all he promised the favor of the Great Spirit, and the rewards due to a brave and united people, who were willing to engage in a great enterprise. Some of his Indian opponents he took up by charges of sorcery and witchcraft. The great Shawnee chief Tarhe, who stood in his way, was condemned to the stake as a wizard. A large number of Indians collecting, in a short period, on the Wabash, General Harrison, the governor of Indiana, marched to disperse them, in 1811. He was treacherously attacked, about three o'clock in the morning, at Tippecanoe, and a sanguinary battle ensued.

Other events were hasting forward. War was openly declared in 1812; and the western Indians, who had assembled in large numbers, were stimulated to the highest acts of cruelty and bloodshed. For two years, the American armies on the frontiers suffered defeat. Before the end of this period, the tide rolled back, and victory ensued along the whole frontiers, from New Orleans to the River Thames, in Canada. Every hope for which the tribes had combined was blasted — their leader fell — the treaty of Ghent made not even a provision for them. It was under this view that Wabashaw, a celebrated Sioux chief, uttered the following speech, at the post of Drummond Island — a new post occupied by the British government on surrendering Michilimackinac, after the treaty of Ghent. Colonel Robert McDuall was the commanding officer.

My father: What is this I see before me? a few knives and blankets? Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war?

Where is the fulfilment of those high speeches of promise you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi?

You told us you would never let fall the hatchet till the Americans were driven beyond the Alleghanies!

You said we should again be put in possession of our ancient hunting-grounds! You said that our British fathers would never make peace without consulting his Red Children! Has this come to pass?

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[1] Mr. Joseph Rolette, of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

We never knew of the peace! We are told it was made by our Great Father beyond the big waters, without the knowledge of his officers and generals here.

We are told it is your duty to obey his orders! What is this to us?

Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost in battle, and on the road? Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises?

For myself, I am an old man! I have lived long and always found the means of support! And I can do so still!

Perhaps my young men may pick up the presents you have laid before us!

I do not want them!

2. Speech of the Shawnee Prophet Elskatawa.

To comprehend the following speech, it is necessary to state the circumstances under which it was delivered. The renowned speaker, Elskatawa, was the brother of Tecumseh.[1] He had been the great author and agent in scattering those political and religious opinions among the western tribes, which roused them up in that formidable combination which they assumed as allies of the British Government, in 1811. The war-cry was raised at Tippecanoe, and the war of 1812 followed. If this war was waged essentially for maritime rights, it assumed a most terrific and sanguinary character along our interior frontiers, from Michigan to Louisiana. The treaty of Ghent, when its terms were explained by the British interpreters to the Indians, was, in a high degree, distasteful and unsatisfactory to them. Their brave and energetic leader, Tecumseh, had fallen in the unsuccessful struggle to roll back the tide of civilization, and prevent it absorbing the Mississippi valley; and the Prophet, a very shrewd and designing man, (the ecclesiastical agent in this combination, and who evinced many of the traits of a Mahomet,) was left crest-fallen and crushed in Canada after the war, separated from his tribe in the United States. But he was not denied the privilege of rejoining them, when he applied to the American Government for it, and of uniting with his nation at Wapokenotta.

The pass to which matters came in the difficulties between Georgia and the Creeks; the results of the attempts of the tribes and fragments of tribes to live independently as nations, surrounded by the settlements of the States; and the impossibility of averting their destruction if not removed to a territory set apart for their exclusive use, led Mr. Monroe to submit a plan to Congress, in 1825, for such removal beyond the confines of the Mississippi. To that region, without going beyond the western bounds of Missouri and Arkansas, a part of the Cherokees had voluntarily gone as early as

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[1] The final syllable of this word is pronounced *th* by the Shawnees. But it is left in its usual popular orthography, for obvious reasons.

1817, and portions of the Delawares and some others, still earlier. The plan had wise foresight and true benevolence to recommend it. It was much misapproved by portions of the community, at the time, as a benevolent plan for their refuge and preservation. The Shawnees, who had their political capital at Wapokenotta, in Ohio, were one of the first of the western tribes to embrace the offers of the Government to accept new lands as a permanent home in the West.

The old men shook their heads at such a removal. But the younger part of the Shawnees favored it. They had seen their country denuded of game, and believed such a transference, while it gave them fertile lands, would place them on the confines of the buffalo and game country. Elskatawa yielded to these reasonings of the young men; and, after every preparation, the general exodus of the tribe took place in 1827. On their migration, they went down the Wabash in canoes a distance. They crossed the prairie-lands to the waters of the Kaskaskia, where they were received by the Western Agent, Col. Menard. It is under these circumstances—a war lost; a territory surrendered by treaty; a new home promised in the West; wearied with travel, and under the necessity of new supplies, that the speaker entered the council-chamber, and spoke to this effect.

Johnson[1] told us, some time since, that he had heard from the Secretary of War some news—that he would tell what the President said, not what he said himself. He wanted to know how many wished to move west of the Mississippi. He said that the President and Secretary of War wished to do good for the Indians; that if they went west of the Mississippi, they would have a home where they might live happy and grow to be a great nation again.

He said the Secretary of War wrote to him, that those who wished to go west of the Mississippi, should be furnished with every necessary for their subsistence, because it was the wish of the President that they should not suffer. He said—What I have said to you is from the Secretary of War: it is not what I say myself: it is his wish that you should move west of the Mississippi. Shawnees, you will hear what he says again. He will not let you alone now. He wishes to get all the Indians west of the Mississippi.

When Johnson first talked to us about going over the Mississippi, the chiefs objected to it, because they did not know the country, and were afraid it would not suit them. Johnson spoke to us again, sometime afterwards. He said that he had received a letter from the Secretary of War, that he wished the Indians to move west of the Mississippi, that it would be for their good if they removed, and reminded us, that he had told us the Secretary of War would not let us alone until he had persuaded us all to go. The Secretary said, that we were on a small piece of land, surrounded by the whites—

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[1] Agent at Piqua.

that we should be happier if we moved, and that he advised it. He advised the nation to go and look for a piece of land on the west side of the Mississippi, where they might prosper and grow, and be a great people. He said, that when they had selected it, he would recommend to Congress to give it to them.

Johnson said the War Secretary had written to him, that the Indians were poor and miserable, and in want of every thing. And what made them so? It was because they were surrounded by the whites, and they were the cause of it — that he had looked towards the Great Spirit, thinking he would throw some great calamity on the whites for it. That the whites came, with their families, fast upon the Indian lands, and that they grew so rapidly, that they shoved the Indians off their lands. That he pitied them, and was trying to do something for them. That he wished to give them lands that would be always their own, where they would never be molested, and would live on for ever, and grow to be a big and happy nation. He said, this is what the Secretary of War said, since he had taken his place. (Referring to Mr. Barbour.)

A council was called. Some of the old chiefs opposed going, saying they could not live on the new lands. But many of the young chiefs said it was better to take hold of the words sent to them, and agreed to go. They called themselves the young band. I joined them, and you see me here a suppliant before you.

When we left Wapokenotta, Johnson furnished us with ten barrels of flour, and meat for four days. He gave us twenty horses, forty saddles and bridles, twenty-one rifles, powder, and lead, and clothing for our men, women, and children. He sent two men with us, Roderick and Parks, to take care of us when we were in want, and to assist us in finding our horses, when we should lose any. At Conner's, we were furnished by Roderick with six hogs, and one thousand pounds of flour. At Vincennes, six barrels of flour, and two barrels of salt. These were furnished by the men Johnson sent with us. Roderick came to Embarrass River, and Park as far as Little Wabash. We were delayed by sickness and loss of horses. We have made all good haste. We have got thus far. You see us before you. We hope to get to the land where we will all live happy, and which will never be taken from us. There are now with us two hundred persons, who have taken the road recommended by our Father, and fifty-five who started just before us, and who are now in this country. One of our number, who went back, and has just returned, reports fifty-five more who were to start immediately, and whom we suppose will soon be here. There will be left at Wapakanata one hundred and seventy-eight.

Johnson said, on our quitting Ohio, that he would give us a piece of advice. That there was a large and wide road, and on that road there were painted boards hung up, and a rope to pull us in. That we must not look at these boards, but pass by them, and not do as our grandfathers the Delawares did — they looked at these boards, they were drawn in, and lost their horses, and a great deal of property; but to go straight forward, and we should find friends who would be glad to see us. If you follow my advice, he said, they will give you a little treat when you are thirsty. You will find friends where you are going. You will have another father (superintendent) over you, who will treat you well, and not suffer your women and children to want. You shall be paid for your improvements, and what you leave behind. Governor Cass is not now here to refer to; but where you are going Governor Cass has the same authority, and he will see that you get the value of your improvements, and the hogs, corn, kettles, ploughs, axes, &c., you have left behind. Some of us had orchards — most of us had cattle and farming utensils. Molest nobody on the way. Touch nothing that does not belong to you.

This is the reason of our journey. You see us as we move to the land. We have suffered on the way. We are in want. Pity us, and aid us. And let us know if we shall be paid for those things left behind.

VII. TOPICAL HISTORY. C.

[3D PAPER, TITLE VII.]

TITLE VII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, TOPICAL HISTORY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE VII.

TITLE VII., LET. A., VOL. II. [1st Paper.]

1. Mandans.
2. Pontiac Manuscript — a Journal kept by a Civilian within the Fort, during the Siege of Detroit, by the Confederate Indians, in 1763.
3. Traditionary Gleams from the Island of Hayti (the ancient San Domingo) of Anacoana, the unfortunate Queen of the Caribs.

TITLE VII., LET. B., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

1. Strength of the upper Posts of 1778, from a Manuscript found in his own Hand-writing, among the Papers of James Madison.
2. Memoranda of a Journey in the Western Parts of the United States of America, in 1785. By Lewis Brantz — from the Original MSS.
3. Relation of the Voyages and Adventures of a Merchant Voyager, in the Indian Territories of North America, in 1783. By John Baptiste Perrault. From the unpublished MSS.

TITLE VII., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

1. Diary of Matthew Clarkson on a Commercial Excursion West of the Alleghanies, in 1766. From the Original MSS.
2. Passages of the Incidents of a Tour in the Semi-Alpine Region traversed by De Soto, in 1542, West of the Mississippi River, from the Original Journal. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. [Deferred from Vol. III.]
3. Narrative of a Journey, in 1737, from Tolpehocken, in Pennsylvania, through the Forests to Onondaga, the Seat of the Iroquois Power in New York. By Conrad Wiser, Esq., Indian Agent and Provincial Interpreter. From the translated MSS.
4. Remarks concerning the Savages of North America, in the European Magazine, Vol. VI., A. D. 1784. By Dr. B. Franklin.
5. Seneca Traditions of the Era of the Revolutionary War. By Asher Tyler.

TOPICAL HISTORY.

[This title embraces brief and personal memoranda of exploratory journeys in the Indian country, and other papers, illustrative of the manners and customs of the Indians, here first published from the original manuscripts.]

SYNOPSIS OF PAPERS.

1. Diary of Matthew Clarkson, West of the Alleghanies, in 1766. Com. by W. Duane, Esq.
2. Passages of a Tour in the Country of the Osages, traversed by De Soto in 1542. By H. R. S.
3. Narrative of a Journey from Pennsylvania to Onondaga, in 1737. By Conrad Wiser, Esq.
4. Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. By Dr. B. Franklin.
5. Traditions of the Senecas respecting the Battle of Oriskany, and the Massacre of Wyoming—Brandt exonerated. By Asher Tyler.

1. DIARY OF MATTHEW CLARKSON, WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES, IN 1766.

The author of this diary was, at the date of it, connected with one of the most noted commercial houses of the city of Philadelphia; a firm which carried on the fur-trade with the Indian tribes of the Mississippi valley, making its head-quarters at Fort Chartres, in "the Illinois." Seven years only had elapsed at the date of his journal, after the taking of Quebec and the consequent fall of Canada, but not more than four or five since the surrender, by the French, of the western posts. It was not, indeed, till 1764, that Col. Bouquet penetrated with an army, to the banks of the Muskingum, and brought the principal western Indians to terms; rendering it safe for merchants and business men to visit that newly-acquired region. The British flag had been successively hoisted on forts Pitt, Vincennes, Massac, Chartres, and Detroit, and the tribes who had, in 1763, been led by that bold and energetic leader, Pontiac, to combine for resistance against English authority, still looked with distrust and suspicion on the English and Americans, whenever they appeared west of the line of the Alleghanies.

Mr. Clarkson, who was subsequently Mayor of Philadelphia, was then a young man, and impresses the reader as having been a bold, shrewd, observing, and effective agent in these early operations, which he appears to have carried from Fort Pitt, by the line of the Ohio and Mississippi, to Fort Chartres, the then military and civil capital of Illinois.[1] His notes, though made for no higher purpose than to refresh his own memory on main points, and to give the firm an outline of his transactions, are valuable, as embracing the current impressions of the times on the topics noticed. As such, they become valuable materials for obtaining a correct view of the period, and such as cannot but be sought hereafter with avidity. It is with this impression that the prior papers under this head (Topical History) have been published; and we are inclined to believe that they comprise an important part of these illustrations of the Indian history.

"*Wednesday, Aug. 6th*, 1766.—Set off from Philadelphia between six and seven o'clock. Mr. Robert Levers accompanied me to the ferry, where I took leave of him, and proceeded with my servant. On the road, about half-past one, before I came to the sign of the ——, met a wagon, loaded with skins, belonging to Joseph Simons. At the sign of the Spread Eagle found a wagon, loaded with pork, going for the King's use to Fort Pitt; and a little after, met three wagons loaded with skins from Pittsburg, for Dr. Bond. Overtook Samuel Young about ten o'clock; at twelve, got to George Ashton's, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia, and dined there. Met a wagon loaded with skins from Virginia, for Samuel Purviance. Overtook our four Germantown wagons about twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, and Capt. Moore's people about a mile further. Lodged at the Ship, thirty-five miles from Philadelphia.

Thursday, Aug. 7th.—Mounted at half-past five. Breakfasted at Miller's, forty-seven miles from Philadelphia. Met three wagon-loads of skins from Fort Pitt, for Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. The wagoners inform me that the nails left by Donolly at Bedford, are forwarded on pack-horses by Mr. Morton. Overtook three wagons loaded with pork for Fort Pitt. Stopped at the Duke of Cumberland's, ten miles from last stay, and dined there. Here I met three wagons with skins, for William West, from Pittsburg. Got to Lancaster in the evening. Lodged at Joseph Bond's.

Friday, Aug. 8th.—Breakfasted at Joseph Bond's; got his bond for £75, the money due from him to me. Wrote to my wife and sent her the bond. Articles of agreement with Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, and articles with Duffield and Hillegas, inclosed by Mr. Samuel Miles. At eight o'clock left Lancaster, and at half-past eleven crossed the Susquehannah, at Wright's Ferry. Was forty minutes in crossing over. Dined at the Ferry, and at sundown arrived at Yorktown. Put up at Greber's. An extremely hot day.

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[1] St. Louis was founded by Leclade, in 1764.

Saturday, Aug. 9th.—Mounted at six o'clock. Travelled over a very hilly, mountainous road. Crossed Conewaga Creek, and, at ten o'clock, found myself no further than fifteen miles from York, at Stevenson's tavern, which is half-way between York and Carlisle. Here Mr. Spear overtook me. Rode in company with him to Carlisle, where we arrived about four o'clock. Put up at Pollock's.

Sunday, Aug. 10th.—Went to Mr. Steele's meeting. Heard him preach.

Monday, Aug. 11th.—Was at meeting again this morning. In the afternoon went to visit Col. Armstrong. Had a long conversation with him about the Ohio scheme of Mr. Hazard, which he did not seem entirely to approve of.

Tuesday, Aug. 12th.—I swapped my portmanteau-horse with Alexander Blaine for a stronger horse, and drew an order in his favor on Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, for seven dollars, the boot agreed on. At half-past 11 o'clock, set off in company with Benjamin Kendall and son. Dined at Shippensburg about 4 o'clock. Here I met with Mr. Robert Cummings, going to Philadelphia, by whom I wrote to B., W., and M., and informed them that Mr. Duncan had purchased thirty head of cattle for them, which would set off for Fort Pitt, to-morrow, or next day, at farthest. I wrote them likewise this morning from Carlisle, and to Mrs. Clarkson. Left the letters at Pollock's to be forwarded. I desired Mr. Cummings to take them with him if they were not gone before he got to Carlisle. Went as far as James Finley's, seven miles from Shippensburg, and lodged there.

Wednesday, Aug. 13th.—Set off at 5 o'clock. Breakfasted at Campbell's, ten miles from Finley's. Met eleven horse-loads of skins for the company at Conegojig Creek. At the Burnt Cabins, overtook thirty-two horse-loads of flour, going to Fort Pitt, for the king's use, from Mr. Thompson and Mr. Blane. Three miles further, met five horse-loads of skins, for the company, from Pitt. At 5 o'clock, arrived at Bird's, at Littleton. This day's journey has been extremely tedious and fatiguing. The road from where we set off in the morning, except the first ten miles, was nothing but hills, mountains, and stones, until you pass the Burnt Cabins, where it is tolerable, though hilly. At Littleton, are four soldiers posted, who have been there above nine months. This day, came thirty-four miles.

Thursday, Aug. 14th.—Set off at half-past 5 o'clock, at eight got to the foot of Sideling Hill, and got breakfast. Dined at the crossings of the Juniata. Got to Bedford in the morning and put up at George Woods. Enquired here after the provisions Mr. Wharton had engaged Captain Line to purchase for the company. Found he had bought fifteen barrels of pork here, which was sent off in three wagons, and nine barrels of pork he bought at Ligonier, which are to be forwarded when the wagons return from Fort Pitt.

Friday, Aug. 15*th.*—This day, halted at Bedford to rest myself and horses. Entered into an agreement with George Woods about five tracts of land, three of them in Cumberland valley, about seventeen miles from Bedford on the road to Fort Cumberland—one on the waters of Dunning's Creek, about three miles to the north-east of Bedford, and one other in Woodcock valley, about forty miles north of Bedford, and two miles west of Standing Stone—amounting together to 1800 acres, one half of which I am to have on paying him £90 three months after they are warranted and accepted at the Surveyor's office; provided Edward Duffield, of Philadelphia, agrees thereto in that time. Was obliged to borrow of George Wood, £3 10*s.*, to assist the batteaux-men on to the fort, as they had spent all their money. Drew an order on B., W., and M., in favor of Wood, for it.

Saturday, Aug. 16*th.* — Set off at 9 o'clock on my journey. Bated at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains at Higgin's. On the hills, met a party of Indians encamped, gathering and drying huckleberries, under the command of Captain Green, a noted villain. Got to Atkins', at Stony Creek, and lodged there — a most scandalous dirty house, or rather, hog-sty. Was almost devoured with fleas.

Sunday, Aug. 17*th.*—Mounted by daybreak, and proceeded ten miles to Mr. Mahon's and bated. Dined at Legonier at Bonjour's, and got to William Proctor's at Twelve Mile Run, and lodged there. Proctor gave me a location of some land, as on the other end of this book, (see also a memorandum of some land I rode over, that begins at the Nine Mile Run from Legonier.)

Monday, Aug. 18*th.*—Proceeded on and halted at Byerly's, at Bushy Run. Stopped again at the crossings of Turtle Creek, at ——, and dined there. About a mile after passing the first crossing of this creek, you pass through the finest land I ever saw, being a continuous bottom, prodigiously rich, covered with locust, black walnut, &c., and continues of that quality until after I passed the house where I dined. Got to Fort Pitt just after dark, was stowed away in a small crib, on blankets, in company with fleas and bugs, and, of course, spent a night not the most comfortable. As soon as I arrived, I waited on Capt. William Murray, commander of the garrison, and delivered his letters.

Tuesday, Aug. 19*th.* — Took a walk to the ship-yards. Found four boats finished and in the water, and three more on the stocks; business going on briskly. Met with Maj. Murray, who had been at the store to wait upon me with an invitation to dine with him to-day. Was extremely polite and obliging; took me into the fort. I requested he would give orders to the sutlers not to trust any of our people, which he very readily promised. Dined with him at the mess-room, in company with Capt. Belneavis, Lieuts. M'Coy, M'Intosh, Charles and George Grant, Hall, Dr. Murdock, and Mr. M'Cleggan the chaplain — the officers in garrison at this post. Maj. Murray offered me a room in the barracks, which I accepted of. Lodged this night in Mr. John Reid's room, the Commissary.

Wednesday, Aug. 20th. — This day wrote letters to the Company, (see copy thereof,) and to Mr. Duffield about the lands of G. Wood, and to Mrs. Clarkson. Dined, or, rather, endeavored to eat, at the store — dirty beyond endurance, without the least necessary utensil or convenience. Lodged in my new apartment.

Thursday, Aug. 21st.—Eat a bowl of milk and bread at the store. Sent my letters by Steele and Armstrong, two batteaux-men, who went down with Mr. Jennings. Sent the horses by them to George Wood's, at Bedford, with directions to sell them for account of the company. Mr. M'Intosh sent his compliments to me to dine with him to-day, which I did at the mess; and, as is the custom at Fort Pitt, supped there also.

Friday, Aug. 22d. — Breakfasted with Mr. M'Coy. Dined in my room on victuals from Mr. Piety, conductor of the train, who is to supply me as often as I have occasion. Employed this day principally in protracting a draught of the Ohio from Mr. Ramsay's Journal. Afternoon, rode with Maj. Murray, Mr. M'Coy, Mr. Charles Grant, and Dr. Murdock, to Mr. Croghan's place, about four miles from the fort, up the Alleghany, a most excellent piece of land or rich bottom, extending all along from the fort to this place, and is bounded by a ridge of hills, at the distance of one-quarter to three-quarters of a mile from the river. Above this place of Mr. Croghan's, at — miles distance, is an Indian settlement of the Mingoes. On our return, found Kayashata, a Seneca chief, who had been with Mr. Jennings to the Illinois, returned with a packet from the commander at Fort Chartres, for Maj. Murray, in which was one for Messrs. Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, which I took care of. Find, by the advices, that provisions are very scarce and dear. Indian flour £5 sterling per hundred, and ordinary buffalo meat three shillings Pennsylvania money per pound. The French on the opposite side of the river in plenty — prospect of fine crops — Indians somewhat unruly. The Ontdwawies had taken a soldier prisoner at the distance of half a mile from the fort. Kayashata and his party had been after them and discovered their tracks, but could not come up with them. The letters 21st of June. Supped with the officers. Gust left this night.

Saturday, Aug. 23d. — Breakfasted at the store on bread and milk. Wrote to the company, informing them of the arrival of the packet from the Illinois. Wrote also to Mrs. Clarkson and Mr. Hillegas, apologizing for having opened a letter to him from Mr. Jennings. Enclosed his letter in mine. Dined at my room. Afternoon went down to the ship-yard, and found that S. Young had appropriated one of the boats to his own use, and had given the carpenter directions to finish her with a cabin and other accommodations to his own fancy, without having consulted or given me the least intimation of his design. I told the carpenter (Welsh) that I did not understand that any of the boats were to have cabins, but to be finished agreeably to the directions they had received from Mr. Wharton. Young very pertly told me that I had nothing to say to that boat, and told the carpenter not to mind, &c., but to go on as he had directed him, for that he was in no way under my direction. I thought it necessary, as my authority was thus publicly struck at, before a number of workmen, to order Welsh to go on as he had with the boats already built, for that I would have no cabins built to any. Young, however, thought proper to continue to contradict those orders, and Welsh went and brought to me his Articles of Agreement with the Company, and desired me to read them, which, after I had done, I desired to know what he would have me particularly remark in them. He said that his contract was expired, and desired a discharge. I enquired how it happened, that at this time he should insist upon a discharge, when he had said nothing of it before; to which he could return no satisfactory answer, and went to his work. I find Young is a relation of his, and seems to have influence over him. I consulted Captain Smith and Mr. Irwin on the occasion, who think that no alteration should be made to the plan on which the other boats are finished, without my consent. Had Young advised with me about making accommodations different from the rest, I should have made no objection to anything reasonable; but as he has publicly called in question the charge with which I am entrusted by the Company, I think it for their interest that it should appear whose directions are to be observed, lest anarchy ensue. Supped at my room on bread and milk. Mr. M'Coy and I went into the Mononghahela to wash. The water rose about a foot by the rains.

Sunday, Aug. 24th. — Breakfasted in my room. Went and heard Mr. M'Cleggan preach to the soldiers in *Erse* — but little edified. He preaches alternately one Sunday in that language, and the next in English. Dined in my room, and supped with the mess. A little rain at night.

Monday, Aug. 25th. — Delivered the letters from the Illinois with those I wrote to the commanding officer, to forward by the Express, who sets off directly with the monthly returns. They are forwarded by soldiers to Shippensburg, where they are put in the post-office, and forwarded to Philadelphia. The returns are made up the 24th of every month. Kayashata came to see me, with Mitchell the interpreter. I enquired of him whether he would be willing to go down with me to Fort Chartres. He said he had no objection, but that he must first go and see his family at the White Mingo town, and he would go and warm the hearts of his nation, and know how things stood with them; for this purpose, he wanted a couple of bottles of rum, for which I referred him to the Major. He says that the Indians along the river are friendly, except the Ontdwawies, who endeavor to make uneasiness. He will inform me what passes among his people, as soon as he returns, which will be shortly. Breakfasted with Doctor Murdock in his room. This morning, fifteen horses with flour, from Captain Line, arrived. Weigh 29 cwt. Dined with the mess — employed great part of the day in drawing the Ohio. Afternoon, about six o'clock, a shower from the south-east. The river is about two feet higher, than when I came here. There appears to have fallen some quantity of rain towards the upper parts of the rivers, though little at this place. This day and yesterday very hot; find a considerable disappointment in breaking my thermometer, which happened some how or other on the road coming up, by throwing my portmanteau down with too much violence, as I suppose. Supped with the mess.

Tuesday, Aug. 26th. — Breakfasted in my room. Employed drawing the Ohio. Dined in Mr. Reed's room. In the afternoon received letters from Mrs. Clarkson, and from the Company, by Kennedy, and four other men, who are come up for the batteau service. The river still continued to rise. Desired Captain Smith to have the batteaux that are sunk cleared from the water, that we may begin to load to-morrow morning. A dispute happened this evening between two, Smith and James Tull, the carpenter, at which the latter was so much chagrined, that he seemed bent on quitting the work, and going off for Philadelphia. Supped with the officers. A considerable quantity of rain has fallen.

Wednesday, Aug. 27th. — Rose early this morning. Found it raining, a constant rain. Went after the batteaux — found them bailed out. Got the batteau-men together, to begin to load. Turned out a number of casks of liquor for the purpose—then, and not till then, was I informed that there were no rudder-irons fixed to the boats, nor any made. This obliged me to delay the loading. Went with Vaughan the carpenter to a smith, and bespoke some, which he is to finish immediately. A great neglect this. Am very apprehensive of losing the advantage of this freshet. A great part of the cargo not yet arrived—no ropes for painters here, and no prospect of being able to supply this defect. Set the cooper to trimming the cargo. Dined with the mess — was employed in getting things ready for loading.

Thursday, Aug. 28th.—Began early to load the boats, and completed them this day. Set bakers to work to have some biscuit for the people that are going down. Much troubled with a set of unruly fellows of batteaux-men.

Friday, Aug. 29th.—Wrote to Mr. Morgan, and prepared the bills of lading, &c., for the cargoes in the two boats. Appointed John Irwin to have the care of this fleet, and Pat Kennedy to steer the other boat. With great difficulty procured such necessaries as were wanting to send them off. Dined in my room. At half past four o'clock shipped off the boats, with a favorable current, and plenty of water. Supped with the mess.

Saturday, Aug. 30*th.*—Breakfasted at the store. Attended at the counting-house, where Captain Murray had a conversation with Kayashata, the White Mingo, and sundry other Six Nation chiefs. They showed a couple of strings of wampum, which they said Mr. Croghan had delivered at Scioto, and (which) were sent to the Indians of the Six Nations that are settled about the Ohio, desiring them to be strong, and sit still till he returned. These strings they said they had accepted; and as they had engaged not to stir, desired Captain Murray to furnish them with some powder and lead, &c.

They likewise conversed about the white people who are settled on their lands at Red Stone Creek, of which they had formerly complained, and whom Captain Murray had sent to remove, but was prevented by some of the Indians. He now told them that if they would send some of their people with such a detachment as he would order up to remove the intruders, that he would do it. This they at length agreed to, only four houses excepted, which the Indians desire may remain, to furnish their young men and warriors with corn as they pass and repass. Dined with the mess.

Sunday, Aug. 31*st.*—Was engaged this morning in writing to the Company and Mrs. Clarkson, by Daniel Rambo, the carpenter, by which I was prevented from attending the sermon. Dined with the mess.

Monday, Sept. 1*st.*—Rode with Major Murray, Mr. M'Coy, and Mr. Hall, to view Braddock's Field; could discover nothing of the ruins of that campaign, on account of the thickness of the weeds. Met with Mr. McIntosh there, who went up the Monongahela in a boat. Dined in the field—rather in the wood—on provisions sent up by the boat. Major Murray, Mr. McIntosh, and I, came down the river in the boat. I supped with the mess.

Tuesday, Sept. 2*d.*—Caused the boats to be loaded, ready to receive the goods by the wagons, which are hourly expected. Dined with the mess. Afternoon and evening writing letters to the Company and Mrs. Clarkson, per Mr. Davies. Supped with the mess.

Wednesday, Sept. 3*d.*—This morning the wagons arrived. Received their loads, finished my letters, and gave directions for completing the loading of the boats. Could not prevail on the wagoners to haul any logs; they were out of fodder, and their wagons not fit for the service, as they could not be lengthened. Dined at the store. Afternoon at the yard. Supped with the mess.

Thursday, Sept. 4th.—This morning, agreed with Kayashata to go down with me. He desired to have Chaquitteh with him as a companion, and to allow them forty bucks each for their service. Hired Hugh McSwain as an interpreter, at 12 dollars per month. He is also to act as a batteaux-man. Dined with the mess. This afternoon, launched a small batteau, to serve as a tender.

Friday, Sept. 5th.—Captain Murray and Mr. George Grant went down with me in the small batteau, to the lower end of Chartier's Island, to examine the water, if fit to pass. Found it so shoal that the batteau touched in several places, and that one of the larger ones could not be got over with half a load. On my return found the cooper's shop, in which Duncan was at work, is burnt down, with all the stuff and some barrels. This has reduced us to a dilemma, as we have no other way of procuring casks to pack the flour in. Not a barrel of provisions is there to go down with me; and when those which Captain Line is to send from Legonier will arrive, is uncertain. Dined with the mess. Afternoon, busied in having my boat finished off. This evening, Mr. Beatty and Mr. Duffield arrived, on a message among the Indians to preach the gospel. Supped with them at the mess.

Saturday, Sept. 6th.—Dined with the mess.

Sunday, Sept. 7th.—Mr. Beatty preached this morning in the fort, and Mr. Duffield in the town. Dined with them at the mess. Afternoon, went to hear Mr. Beatty in the town.

Monday, Sept. 8th.—Dined with the mess.

Tuesday, Sept. 9th.—Went with Mr. M'Coy over the river to the Coal Hill, from which there is a most beautiful prospect of the fort, and the land adjacent, with part of the Alleghany river. On the top of the hill is a level spot of excellent land, the ground covered over with pea-vines, and plentifully timbered with abundance of hickory, &c. Dined at Mr. Piety's, with Messrs. Beatty and Duffield. This evening Mr. Duffield preached in the town a very judicious and alarming discourse. Supped at Piety's. Sixteen kegs spirits arrived on pack-horses.

Wednesday, Sept. 10th.—Finished protracting the draught of the Ohio. Dined with the mess. Afternoon, wrote to the company and Mrs. Clarkson, by Mr. Blane, who sets off early to-morrow. This afternoon, Messrs. Beatty and Duffield set off on the embassy among the Indians. Supped with the mess.

Thursday, Sept. 11*th.*—Breakfasted with Dr. Murdock, as usual. Not in good health to-day. Could do nothing but walk about. Dined in my room, and spent the evening and supped there.

Tuesday, Sept. 16*th.*—Embarked from Fort Pitt.

[SCENE CHANGES TO THE MISSISSIPPI.]

Nov. 26*th.*—Monsieur Maisonville informed me that one ———, from Detroit, was at Jaconte, about thirty leagues from post Vincennes, where he had brought a parcel of goods which he sold at the prices—or told Maisonville he had orders to sell at—a blanket of 2½ points for 8 raccoons, or 2 beavers.

Dec. 11*th,* 1766.—The boats arrived at Fort Chartres, from the mouth of the Ohio.

Dec. 13*th,* 1766.—Boats went from Fort Chartres to Kaskaskia.

Dec. 16*th,* 1766.—I went to Kaskaskia.

Dec. 21*st,* 1766.—Returned from Kaskaskia.

Dec. 16*th.*—A number of Osages and Mingo Indians came to the fort. Had some talk with them.

Dec. 23*d.*—Another party of Osages came to the fort, about fifteen in number. Tawanaheh the chief.

Shakewah, an old man who interpreted into the Illinois language.

Saheshinga, another Indian.

Mons. Jeredot, the elder, who has been a trader for many years among most of the Indian nations about the River Mississippi, informed me, December 22d, 1766, that the Osages live on a river of the same name, which falls into the Missouri from the southward, at the distance of about sixty leagues from its conflux with the Mississippi; that they have about —— men capable of bearing arms. He says that they have a feast which they generally celebrate about the month of March, when they bake a large [corn] cake of about three or four feet in diameter, and of two or three inches in thickness. This is cut into pieces from the centre to the circumference, and the principal chief or warrior arises and advances to the cake, where he declares his valor, and recounts his noble actions. If he is not contradicted, or no one has aught to allege against him, he takes a piece of the cake and distributes it among the young boys of the nation, repeating to them his noble exploits and exhorting them to imitate them. Another then approaches, and in the same manner recounts his achievements, and proceeds as before. Should any attempt to take of the cake to whose character there is the least exception, he is stigmatized and set aside as a poltroon.

Words in the Osage Language.

Nonebaugh . . .	A pipe.
Noneheugh . . .	Tobacco.
Noneusheugh . .	A pouch.
Mohee	A knife.
Haaskah. . . .	A shirt.
Weeh	A skin match coat.
Mohispeh . . .	A tomahawk.
Kahtoho. . . .	A stroud.
Shehagahatcha .	A breech-cloth.
Hendingeh . . .	Leggings.
Hompech . . .	Moccasins.
Mosescah . . .	An arm band.
Nocurot-eh . . .	A looking-glass.
Wasseuge . . .	Paint.
Wanepehomgreche	Beads.
Ograngesheah . .	A hat.
Wahotah	A gun.
Neebheujeb. . .	Powder.
Chaheh	Powder-horn.
Mosemoh . . .	Ball.
Mobeseuh . . .	A flint.
Ocurachera . . .	Water.
Neeh	Water.
Pe-ech-he . . .	Fire.
Pegene	Rum.
Wanomon . . .	To eat.
Werechree . . .	The head.
Poheugh. . . .	The hair.
Ishtah	[illegible]e eye.
Pah	The nose.
Eh-kah	The mouth.
Eh-reh-seh . . .	The tongue.
Heeb	The teeth.
Nottah	The ear.
Nompeeb . . .	The hand.
Seeh	The feet.

Shapeh	A beaver.
Tahtongah . . .	A buck.
Wasaben . . .	A bear.
Seau-cah. . . .	A turkey.
Shonng-eh . . .	A dog.
Meh-has-hah . .	A swan, or goose.
Seucdseuche . .	A cock.
Mange-eshe . . .	Wine.
Tanhè-ranganhè .	It is good.
Wanaingreche . .	Wampum.
Hah, cou, rah. . .	How do you do?
Iwiekeah, ranganhè tan hashon	I am glad to see you.
Wietah courah. .	Friend.
Ragone shung . .	Good.
Piechers	Bad.
Wabuske . . .	Bread.
Patcheak . . .	Yes.
Paretatha . . .	No.
Weightachche . .	A string.
Wauspinasonche .	A belt.
Masoche	A reed.
Meache	One.
Noombaugh. . .	Two.
Raabonch . . .	Three.
Tobaugh. . . .	Four.
Pahtogh	Five.
Shawpegb . . .	Six.
Perombongh . .	Seven.
Perawboreh. . .	Eight.
Shouchehd . . .	Nine.
Crebonach . . .	Ten.
Shanebebene . .	A keg.
Ehebgateho. . .	A razor.
Paheureuseh . .	Scissors.

With the Indians at Fort Chartres,

Four raccoons	are equal to one beaver.
Two foxes or two cats	“ “
One dressed buckskin	“ “
Two dressed doeskins	“ “
One otter	“ “
One large bear-skin	“ “
Two middle-sized bear-skins	“ “
One fisher, very good	“ “
Eight minks	“ “

Prices of peltry, to deal with the French at peltry prices.

Beaver	at 40	shillings	per pound.
Dressed leather	at 20	“	“
Otter, per skin	at 60	“	“
Red or short-haired buckskins	at 20	“	per skin.
Fox or cat	at 15	“	“
Large bear	at 40	“	“
Muskrats	at 2	“	“
Fishers	at 30	“	“
Minks	at 10	“	“
Wolves or panthers	at 20	“	“
Martens	at 20	“	“
Raccoons	at 15	“	“

Memoranda of sundry affairs to mention to the Company when I write to them.
The mistake of Long's cargo, it being shrub instead of New England rum.
Send proof of the loss of my boat. The bills of exchange we have drawn.
About negroes. Best Madeira. Notes of hand. Maisonville. Rum.
No traders employed. No assortment; cannot, therefore, deal of cargoes.
Supplying the garrison with grain. Skins. La Grange. Provision receipts.
Power of attorney. Mr. Jennings has credited me 1190 by Mons. Carpentier.
See how much I charged Mons. Charleville for curry-comb and brush.
An arpent of land is 180 French feet square.

Capt. Long has a box of Mr. Morgan's, No. 117, which is marked 150 livres in figures, and in the body of the bill but 100, which Capt. Long took of Placade for 150 livres.

Jan. 15*th*, 1767.—Bought, at Mons. La Grange's auction, one snuff-box and spying-glasses, forty-four livres; two Indian calumet-staves and an otter-pouch, eighteen livres.

Jan. 17th.—George Gibson and Kayashata arrived at Kaskaskia with intelligence of Capt. Smith's arrival at Fort Massac on the 5th instant. Smith left Fort Pitt on the 15th of November.

Jan. 16th.—John Irwin set off for Fort Pitt. Returned on the 20th; could not proceed for the snow.

Jan. 21st.—La Grange's horse sold for £132.

Jan. 22d.—Agreed with Mons. Jannies to furnish us with bread for the family use; that is to say, he is to give 120 pounds of bread for 100 pounds of flour, and I am to pay him besides, five livres per hundred.

Jan. 14th.—People passed the Mississippi on the ice.

The boats from New Orleans, of the largest size, carry eighty hogsheads of claret, twenty-two to twenty-four men, who have about 400 livres each, per voyage. Three months are accounted a good passage. A hogshead of claret on freight pays 300 livres.

Feb. 17th.—John Irwin set off for Fort Pitt with Bourson Rickard, a Frenchman, who is to conduct him to the fort for 150 livres.

Feb. 18th.—Mons. Danié went down to the Indians' camp, to trade with them for the Company. A warm thawing day. The snow disappeared entirely. Danié returned on the 19th.

Feb. 18th.—This day began to remove the liquors to Mr. Pitman's house. Mr. Pitman informed me this day at his house, that old Mons. Lasondray told him this morning, that he had heard that the Indians designed to strike the English this spring.

Persons recommended by Mons. Gadbert, as some to employ in the Indian trade.

Richard, the Elder. Antoine la Fromboise au Post.[1] Nichole, at Caho, Cerré's brother-in-law. Clermont, at Caho.

He advises not to trust above 4000 livres value, well assorted.

Account of silver truck Captain Long left with me on the 28th February, 1767, the day he went from the Kaskaskias for the boats under Captain Smith's care.

One hundred and seventy-four small crosses; eighty-four nose crosses; thirty-three long-drop nose and ear-bobs; eighteen short do.; one hundred and twenty-six small brooches; thirty-eight larger brooches; forty rings; two narrow arm-bands; six narrow scalloped wristbands; three narrow plain do.; four half-moon gorgets; three large do.; six moon do.; nine hair plates; seventeen hair-bobs.

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[1] Vincennes was thus called.—H. R. S.

Mississippi broke up the 20th February.

March 24*th*.—Mr. Jennings settled with Mons. Charleville for a bond I give him for 200 Indian meal, on which I have received but 160 pounds.

April 11*th*.—Captain Prater went away.

April 16*th*.—Kayashata went away."

2. PASSAGES OF A TOUR IN THE SEMI-ALPINE REGION TRAVERSED BY DE SOTO, WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, IN 1542: FROM THE ORIGINAL JOURNAL.

BY HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

I SET out southwesterly from Potosi, on the sixth of November, with a single companion, accompanied by some friends who went out a few miles to see us fairly started. A pack-horse carried our camp-beds, and a few articles in the culinary way. We were both armed in a manner that was deemed not only prudent, but essential in setting forward into a region, in which it was doubtful whether the Indians, or the wild animals of the forest were to be our worst foes. It was fine autumn weather, and a clear, exhilarating day; the wind being just sufficient, as we crossed the mineral hills surrounding the place, to create a gentle murmur. The object had been, rather to make a start, and get out fairly into the wilderness, and at an early hour we entered a little valley called Bates' Creek, only a few miles west from Potosi. We were evidently following an old Indian trail, and soon came to the frame of an old Osage wigwam, built of poles and covered with bark. A growth of thickly standing short green grass had covered the interior, and, though the hour was early, we determined to pass our first night here. A fire was soon lit; my horse, who bore the unpoetic name of Butcher, unpacked, and my kind friend and quondam host, Mr. Ficklin, who had, in his early years, been one of the spies on the borders of Kentucky, who went thus far, gave me my initial lesson in hobbling and belling a horse. We were on the verge of civilization, and it only required a mental act, in turning round to bid the world adieu. Whether we were destined ever to come back into this circle, or leave our bones for hyenas to drag into their caverns, or to grace the margin of an Osage war-path, was a question in metaphysics which we did not attempt to resolve. Having some hours of daylight to spare, while my companion Levi fixed the camp, I took my gun and sauntered into the forest, whence I returned with some large and fine grey and black, and mottled squirrels. These were prepared to add to our evening's repast, after which, we unrolled our pallets and prepared for rest.

A man's first night in the wilderness is impressive. Our friends had left us, and returned to Potosi. Gradually all sounds of animated nature ceased. When darkness closed around us, the civilized world seemed to have drawn its curtains, and excluded us. We put fresh sticks on the fire, which threw a rich flash of light on the Indian frame-work of our camp, and amidst ruminations on the peculiarities of our position, our hopes, and our dangers, we sank to sleep.

Our trail, in the morning, carried us across the succession of elevated and arid ridges called the Pinery. Not a habitation of any kind, nor the vestiges of one, was passed; neither did we observe any animal, or even bird. The soil was sterile, hard, and flinty, bearing yellow pines with some oaks. Our general course was west-south-west. The day was mild and pleasant for the season. For a computed distance of fourteen miles, we encountered a succession of ascents and descents, which made us rejoice, as evening approached, to see a tilled valley before us. It proved to be the location of a small branch of the Maramek river, called *Fourche â Courtois*. The sun sank below the hills as we entered this valley. Some woodcock flew up as we reached the low ground; but as we had a log-cabin in view, and the day was far gone, we moved briskly on. Presently the loud barking of dogs announced our approach; they seemed, by their clamor, as pertinacious as if wolves or panthers were stealing on the tenement. It was a small log-building, of the usual construction on the frontiers, and afforded the usual hospitality. They gave us warm cakes of corn-bread, and fine rich milk; and spreading our blankets before the fire, we enjoyed sound slumbers.

With the earliest streaks of daylight we again set forward on the trail. In the course of two miles' travel, we forded a stream called Law's Fork, also the branch of the Maramek. We soon after descried a hunter's cabin, occupied by a man named Alexander Roberts. Some trees had been felled and laid around, partially burned; but not a spot of ground was in cultivation. Dogs, lean and hungry, heralded our approach, as in the former instance; and they barked loud and long. On reaching the cabin, we found that the man was not at home, having left it, with his rifle, at an early hour, in search of game. His wife thought he would be back before noon, and would accompany us. We decided to await his return, as we were now near the entrance to the Ozark highlands. In a short time, Roberts returned; he was a chunky, sinister-looking fellow, and reminded me of Ali Baba, in the "Forty Thieves." He had a short, greasy buckskin frock, and a pointed old hat. His wife, who peeped out of the door, looked queer, and had at least one resemblance to Cogia, which seemed to be "starvation." He had killed nothing, and agreed to accompany us, immediately beginning his preparations. He at the same time informed us of the fear entertained of the Osages, and the danger of our journey in the contemplated direction.

We were now about to enter the Ozark mountains. About ten o'clock he was ready, and, leading a stout little compact horse from a pen, he clapped a saddle on, and, seizing his rifle, announced himself as ready, and led off. The trail led up a long ridge, which appeared to be the dividing ground between the two principal forks of the Maramek. It consisted of a stiff loam, filled with geological drift, which, having been burned over for ages by the Indians, to fit it for hunting in the fall of the year, had little carbonaceous soil left, and exhibited a hard and arid surface. Our general course was still west-south-west. After proceeding about four miles, the path led to the summit of an eminence, from which we descried the valley of the Ozau, or Ozark. This valley consisted entirely of prairie. Scarcely a tree was visible in it. The soil appeared to be fertile. Nearly in the centre of the valley we came to a cluster of Indiam wigwams, inhabited by the Lenno-Lenapees, or Delawares; being descendants of the Indians whom William Penn found, in 1682, in the pleasant forest village of Coacquannok, where Philadelphia now stands. Strange, but not extraordinary history! They have been shoved back by civilization, in the course of a hundred and thirty-six years' mutations, over the Alleghanies—over the Mississippi—into the spurs of these mountains. Where they will be after the lapse of a similar period, no one can say. But this *can* be said—that the hunting of deer will give out; and if they do not betake themselves to some other means of subsistence, they will be numbered among the nations that were.

Roberts informed me, that four or five miles down the valley was a village of Shawnees, and, higher up, another village of Delawares.

On reaching the uplands on the west side of the valley, we pursued the trail up its banks about four or five miles, and encamped by daylight near a clump of bushes at a spring. Roberts reconnoitred the vicinity, and came in with a report that we had reached a game country.

We were now fairly beyond the line of all settlements, even the most remote, and had entered on that broad highland tract to which the name of Ozark mountains is applied. This tract reaches through Missouri and Arkansas, from the Maramek to the Wachita, and embraces the middle high lands between the plains at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and the rapids of the Maramek, St. Francis, Osage, White, Arkansas, and other principal streams; traversing a belt of about two hundred miles east and west, by seven hundred miles north and south.

Here we encamped. Early the next morning, Roberts brought in the carcase of a fine deer; and we made our first meal on wild venison, cut smoking from the tenderest parts. We now travelled up the Ozark fork about eighteen miles. The weather was exhilarating, and the winds careering with the leaves of the forest, and casting them in profusion in our track. As we came near the sources of the river, we entered a wide prairie, perfectly covered for miles with these leaves, brought from the neighboring forests. At every step the light masses were kicked or brushed away before us.

This plain, or vale, was crowned in the distance by elevations fringed with tall trees, which still held some of their leafy honours, giving a very picturesque character to the landscape. We held our way over the distant eminences, and at length found a spring, by which we encamped, at a late hour. It had been a hazy and smoky day, like the Indian summer in Atlantic latitudes. We were in a region teeming with the deer and elk, which frequently bounded across our path. The crack of Roberts's rifle, also, added to the animation of the day's travel.

While we laid on our pallets at night, the trampling of hoofs was frequently heard; but, at length, the practised ear of the hunter detected that these were the sounds of wild animals' hoofs, and not of our horses. This man's eye had shown an unwonted degree of restlessness and uneasiness during the afternoon of the preceding day, while witnessing the abundant signs of deer and elk in the country; but this excited no suspicions. He was restless during the night, and was disturbed at a very early hour, long before light, by this trampling of animals. The sounds, he said to me, did not proceed from the horses, which were hobbled. He got up, and found both animals missing. Butcher's memory of corn and corn-fodder, at his old master's at Potosi, had not yet deserted him, and he carried the hunter's horse along with him. I immediately jumped up, and accompanied him in their pursuit. There was moonlight, with clouds rapidly passing. We pursued our back-track, anxiously looking from every eminence, and stopping to listen for the sound of the bells. Roberts occasionally took up a handful of leaves, which were thickly strewn around, and held them up in the moonlight, to see whether the corks of the horses' shoes had not penetrated them. When he finally found this sign, he was sure we were in the right way. At length, when we had gone several miles, and reached an eminence, we plainly descried the fugitives, jumping on as fast as possible on the way back. We soon overhauled them, and brought them to camp by daybreak, before my companion had yet awaked.

Roberts now sallied out, and in a few minutes fired at and killed a fat doe, which he brought in, and we made a breakfast by roasting steaks. He had expressed no dissatisfaction or desire to return, but, sallying out again among the deer, on horseback, said he would rejoin us presently, at a future point. We travelled on, expecting at every turn to see him reappear. But we saw no more of him. The rascal had not only deserted us at a difficult point, but he carried off my best new hunting-knife — a loss not to be repaired in such a place.

We at length came to a point where the trail forked. This put us to a stand. Which to take, we knew not; the result was of immense consequence to our journey, as we afterwards found; for, had we taken the right-hand fork, we should have been conducted in a more direct line to the portions of country we sought to explore. We took the left-hand fork, which we followed diligently, crossing several streams running to the north-west, which were probably tributary to the Missouri through the Gasconade. It was after dark before we came to a spot having the requisites for an encampment, particularly water. It was an opening on the margin of a small lake, having an outlet south-east, which we finally determined to be either one of the sources of the Black river, or of the river Currents.

We had now travelled about twenty miles from our last camp, in a southerly direction. We did not entirely relinquish the idea of being rejoined by Roberts, till late in the evening. We had relied on his guidance till we should be able to reach some hunters' camps on the White or Arkansas rivers; but this idea was henceforth abandoned. Left thus, on the commencement of our journey, in the wilderness, without a guide or hunter, we were consigned to a doubtful fate; our extrication from which depended wholly upon a species of decision and self-reliance, which he only knows how to value, who is first called to grapple with the hardships of western life.

It was the edge of a prairie. Wood was rather scarce; but we made shift to build a fire, and went to sleep, with no object near us to excite sympathy, but our horse, who was securely belled and tethered. When we awoke in the morning, the fire was out, and a pack of wolves were howling within a few hundred yards of our camp. Whether the horse feared them, I know not; but he had taken his position near the embers of the fire, where he stood quite still.

We were soon in motion. In passing two miles, we crossed a small stream running south-east, which evidently had its source in the little lake at our night's encampment. The trail beyond this was often faint; in the course of eight or ten miles, we began to ascend elevations covered with pines, but of so sterile and hard a soil, that we lost all trace of it. We wound about among these desolate pine ridges a mile or two, till, from one of the higher points, we descried a river in a deep valley, having a dense forest of hard wood, and every indication of animal life. Overjoyed at this, we mended our pace, and, by dint of caution, led our pack-horse into it. It proved to be the river Currents, a fine stream, with fertile banks, and clear sparkling waters. The grey-squirrel was seen sporting on its shady margin, and, as night approached, the wild turkey came in from the plains to drink, and make its nightly abode. After fording the river, we soon found our lost trail, which we followed a while up the stream, then across a high ridge which constituted its southern banks, and through dense thickets to the summits of a narrow, deep, and dark limestone valley, which appeared to be an abyss. Daylight left us as we wound down a gorge into its dreary precincts; and we no sooner found it traversed by a clear brook, than we determined to encamp. As the fire flashed up, it revealed on either side steep and frowning cliffs, which might gratify the wildest spirit of romance. This stream, with its impending cavernous cliffs, I designated the Wall-cliff or Onónda valley.

We had advanced about eighteen or twenty miles. An opportunity occurred, while on the skirts of the high prairie lands, to fire at some elk, and to observe their stately motions; but, being still supplied with venison, we were not willing to waste the time in pursuing them. Our course varied from south to south-west.

Daylight quite fully revealed our position. We were in a valley, often not more than six hundred feet wide, with walls of high precipitous limestone rock. These cliffs were remarkable for nothing so much as their caverns, seated uniformly at a height of forty or fifty feet above the ground, in inaccessible positions. I do not know the number of these caves, as we did not count them; but they existed on either side of the valley as far as we explored it. Most of them were too high to reach. A tree had fallen against the cliff near one of them, by climbing which I reached a small ledge of the rock that afforded a little footing; and, by cautiously groping along, the orifice was finally reached and entered. It proved interesting, although of no great extent; but it contained stalactites depending in clusters from the walls. Of these, I secured a number which were translucent. Slender crystals of nitrate of potash, of perfect whiteness and crystalline beauty, were found in some of the crevices. Having secured specimens of these, I again got out on the ledge of rock, and, reaching the tree, descended in safety.

About half a mile higher up the valley, on its south side, we discovered a cavern of gigantic dimensions. The opening in the face of the rock appeared to be about eighty or ninety feet wide, and about thirty high. A projection of rock on one side enabled us to enter it. A vast and gloomy rotundo opened before us. It very soon increases in height to sixty or seventy feet, and in width to one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, forming an immense hall. This hall has another opening or corridor, leading to a precipitous part of the cliff. It extends into the rock, southerly, an unexplored distance, branching off in lateral avenues from the main trunk. We explored the main gallery five or six hundred yards, when we found obstructions. The roof has been blackened by the carbonaceous effect of fires, kindled by Indians or white men, who have visited it, in former years, in search of nitrous earth. In some parts of it, compact bodies of pebbles and reddish clay, very similar to that found on the cliffs, are seen; which creates an idea that the cavern must have been an open orifice at the geological era of the diluvial deposits. This earth yields saltpetre, by lixiviation with house-ashes. Finding it a perfect "rock-house," and being dry, and affording advantages for some necessary repairs to our gear, and arrangements for the further continuation of our explorations, we removed our camp up the valley, and encamped within it. We could shelter ourselves completely in its capacious chambers in case of rain, of which there were indications, and take a calm view of the course it seemed now expedient to pursue. Thus far we had had a trail, however slight, to follow; but from this point there was none — we were to plunge into the pathless woods, and to trust ourselves alone to the compass, and the best judgment we could form of courses, distances, and probabilities. A wilderness lay before us, behind us, and around us. We had "taken our lives in our hands," and we were well satisfied that our success must depend on our vigilance, energy, and determination. In addition to the exertion of providing food, and repairing our clothing, which, as we urged our way, was paying tribute to every sharp bush we passed through, we had to exercise a constant vigilance to prevent Indian surprises; for experience had already taught us that, in the wilderness, where there is no law to impose restraint but the moral law of the heart, man is the greatest enemy of man.

The threatening appearance of the atmosphere induced us to remain a few days in our rock-house, which was devoted to devising a more safe and compact mode of carrying specimens, to repairs of our pack-saddle, and a reconstruction of the mode of packing. We made a further reconnoissance of the cavern, and its vicinity and productions. I had paid particular attention to the subject of the occurrence of animal bones in our western caves, as those of England had recently excited attention; but never found any, in a single instance, except the species of existing rats, weasels, and other very small quadrupeds, which are to be traced about these cavernous cliffs.

The rain which had threatened to fall yesterday, poured down this morning (14th), and continued with more or less violence all day. We had still supplies of everything essential. Our bacon had not been seriously trenched on, while the forest had amply supplied us with venison; and our supplies bade fair to last us till we should strike some of the main southern streams, or till our increasing powers of endurance and forest skill should enable us to do without them.

Next morning, the sky being clear and bright, we left our rock abode in the Wall-cliff valley. We ascended this valley a short distance; but, as it led us too far west, and the brush and bramble proved so thick as to retard our progress, we left it. With some ado, the horse was led to the top of the cliff. A number of lateral valleys, covered with thick brush, made this a labor by no means light. The surface of the ground was rough, vegetation sere and dry, and every thicket which spread before us presented an obstacle which was to be overcome. We could have penetrated many of these, which the horse could not be forced through. Such parts of our clothing as did not consist of buckskin, paid frequent tribute to these brambles.

At length, getting clear of these spurs, we entered on a high table-land, where travelling became comparatively easy. The first view of this vista of highland plains was magnificent. It was covered with sere grass and dry seed-pods, which rustled as we passed. There was scarcely an object deserving the name of a tree, except now and then a solitary trunk of a dead pine or oak, which had been scathed by the lightning. The bleached bones of the elk, deer, or bison, were sometimes met. Occasionally we passed a copse of oak, or cluster of saplings. The deer often bounded before us, and we sometimes disturbed the hare from its sheltering bush, or put to flight the quail and the prairie-hen. This was the region, counting it six days west of Kapaha, where De Soto's messengers appear first to have encountered the buffalo. There was no prominent feature in the distance for the eye to rest on. It was a dry and wave-like prairie. From morning till sunset we did not encounter a drop of water. This, at length, became the absorbing object. Hill after hill, and vale after vale, were patiently ascended, and diligently footed, without bringing the expected boon. At last we came suddenly and unexpectedly, and were glad to encamp, at a small running stream in the plain.

While we were in the act of encamping, I had placed my powder-flask on the ground, and, on lighting the fire, neglected to remove it. As the plain was covered with dry leaves, they soon took fire, and burned over a considerable space, including the spot occupied by myself and the flask. The latter was a brass-mounted shooting-flask, of translucent horn, having a flaw through which grains of powder sometimes escaped. Yet no explosion took place. I looked and beheld the flask, which the fire had thus run over, very near me, with amazement.

We were now on an elevated summit of table-land or water-shed, which threw its waters off alternately to the Missouri and Mississippi. In depressed places, the green-briar occasionally entangled the horse's feet. We very frequently passed the head and thigh-bones of the buffalo, proving that the animal had been abundant on these plains. In the course of about eight miles' travel, we passed two small streams running to the north-west, which led us to think that we were diverging too far towards the Missouri side of this vast highland plateau. It was still some hours to sunset, and we had gone about four miles farther when we reached a large, broad stream, also flowing towards the north-west. It had a rapid and deep current, with boulders of limestone and sandstone. It required some skill to cross this river, being too deep to ford. The horse was led into the edge of the stream and driven over, coming out with his pack safely on the other side. The shallow parts offered no obstacle; and we bridged the deeper portion of the channel with limbs and trunks of trees, which had been brought down by the stream when in flood, and, being denuded of their bark, were light and dry, and as white as bleached bones.

I had crossed the channel safely, but slipped from the log on stepping from it. Having my gun in my right hand, I naturally extended it, to break my fall. Each end of it, as it reached the stream, rested on a stone, and, my whole weight being in the centre, the barrel was slightly sprung. This bridge, for the purpose of reference, I called Calamarca. After crossing the stream, on consultation, we explored it downward, to determine its general course; but finding it to incline toward the north-west too far, we returned up its southern bank two or three miles above our rustic bridge, and encamped.

In the morning we proceeded in a south-south-west direction, which after keeping up the valley from the camp of Calamarca for a few miles, carried us up an elevated range of hills, covered with large oaks bearing acorns. We had reached the top of this ridge, which commanded a view of a valley beyond it, when we observed, far below us in the valley, four bears on an oak, eating acorns. The descent was steep and rough, with loose stones, which made it impossible to lead the horse down without disturbing them. We therefore tied him to a staddle, and, after looking to our priming, began to descend the height. But, as the leaves had all fallen, concealment was impossible; and when the animals became alarmed, and began to come down the tree, we ran at our utmost speed to reach its foot first. In this effort, my companion fell on the loose stones, and sprained his ankle; I kept on, but did not reach the foot of the tree in time to prevent their escape. When my companion's absence led me back to him, I found him badly hurt; he limped along with the utmost difficulty. I soon mounted him on the pack-horse, and led up the little valley; but the pain of his ankle became so intense, that he could not bear even this motion, and, after proceeding a mile or two, it was determined to halt and encamp. We had not travelled from our morning's encampment more than five or six miles. Unpacking the horse, I prepared a pallet for my companion, and built a fire. I then bathed his ankle with salt and warm water. This done, I took my gun, and sauntered along the thickets in the hope of starting some game. Nothing, however, was found. The shrill and unmusical cry of the blue-jay, which was the largest bird I saw, reminded me of other latitudes. Thoughtful, and full of apprehension at this untoward accident, I returned to our little camp, and diligently renewed my antalgic applications.

A night's rest, and the little remedies in my power to employ, had so far abated the pain of my companion's ankle, that he again consented to mount the pack-horse, and we pursued our way up the little valley. We had not, however, travelled far, when we saw two large black bears playing in the grass before us, and so intently engaged in their sport were they, that they did not observe us. My companion, with my aid, quickly dismounted. We examined our arms, tied our horse, and determined to fire together. They at first ran a few yards, then turned and sat up in the high grass, to see what disturbed them. We fired at the same moment. Both animals fled, but on reaching the spot, blood was copiously found on the grass. Pursuit was made over an adjoining ridge, where I lost sight of them; but discovering, on crossing the ridge, a hollow oak, into which I judged they had crept, I went back for the axe to fell it. While engaged at this, my companion hobbled up, and relieved me at the axe. The tree at length came down with a thundering crash, partially splitting in its fall, and we stood ready with our guns to receive the discomfited inmates; but, after gazing intently for a time, none appeared. It was now evident they had eluded us, and that we had lost the track. The excitement had almost cured my companion's lameness; but it returned when the pursuit was over, and, resuming his position on the horse, we proceeded over a succession of high, oak-covered ridges. In crossing one of these, a large and stately elk appeared. He had an enormous pair of horns, which it seemed he must find it difficult to balance in browsing; but the moment he became aware of our propinquity, he lifted his head, and, throwing back the antlers, they seemed to form a shield for his shoulders and sides while plunging forward through the thickets. We stood a moment to admire his splendid leaps.

GREAT NORTH FORK OF WHITE RIVER.

We were on high broken summits, which resembled, in their surface, what may be conceived of the tossing waves of a sea suddenly congealed. On descending from these towards the south, we came to clumps of bushes, with gravelly areas between, and an occasional standing pool of pure water. It was very evident to our minds, as we advanced, that these pools must communicate with each other through the gravel. On following down this formation about six miles, the connection became more evident, and the sources of a river developed themselves. We were, in fact, on the extreme head-waters of the Great North Fork of White River; the *Riviere au Blanc* of the French. The manner in which the waters develop themselves on descending the southern slope of these highlands, is remarkable. They proceed in plateaux or steps, on each of which the stream deploys in a kind of lake, or elongated basin, connected with the next succeeding one by a rapid. The rock is a grey sandstone, capped with limestone. In some places the water wholly disappears, and seems to permeate the rock. We came to a place where the river, being some four feet deep, is entirely absorbed by the rock, and does not again appear till a mile below, where it suddenly issues from the rock, in its original volume. Near this point we passed the night.

Daylight put us in motion. It was determined to follow the valley down in its involutions, which led generally south. Some fertile, heavily-timbered bottoms were passed, where I observed the elm, oak, beech, maple, ash, and sycamore. We had not left our camp more than a mile, when we came to the first appearance of the cane or *C. arundinacea*, and we soon after reached the locality of the greenbriar. Travelling in these forests is attended with great fatigue and exertion, from the underbrush, particularly from the thick growth of cane and greenbriar; the latter of which often binds masses of the fields of cane together, and makes it next to impossible to force a horse through the matted vegetation. Our horse, indeed, while he relieved us from the burden of carrying packs, became the greatest impediment to our getting forward, while in this valley. To find an easier path, we took one of the summit ranges of the valley. But a horse, it seems, must have no climbing to do, when he is under a pack-saddle. We had not gone far on this ridge, when the animal slipped, and stumbled. The impetus of his load was more than he could resist. The declivity was steep, but not precipitous. He rolled over and over for perhaps two hundred feet, until he reached the foot of the ridge. We looked with dismay as he went, and thought that every bone in his body must have been broken. When reached, however, he was not dead, but, with our aid, got up. How he escaped we could not divine, but he looked pleased when he saw us come to his relief, and busy ourselves in extricating him. Loosening his pack, we did all we could to restore him. No outward bruise could be seen; there was no cut, and no blood was started. Even a horse loves sympathy. After a time, we repacked him, and slowly continued our route. The delay caused by this accident, made this a short day's journey. The valley is very serpentine, redoubling on itself.

We found the stream made up entirely of pure springs, gushing from the gravel, or rocks. Nothing can exceed the crystal purity of its waters. These springs are often very large. We came to one, in the course of this day, which we judged to be fifty feet wide. It rushes out of an aperture in the rock, and joins the main branch of the river about six hundred yards below, in a volume quite equal to that of the main fork. I found an enormous pair of elk's horns lying on one side of this spring, which I lifted up and hung in the forks of a young oak, and from this incident named it the Elkhorn Spring.

The bottom-lands continued to improve in extent and fertility as we descended. The stream, as it wears its way into deeper levels of the stratification of the country, presents, on either side, high cliffs of rock. These cliffs, which consist of horizontal limestone, resting on sandstone, frequently present prominent pinnacles, resembling ruinous castellated walls. In some places they rise to an astonishing height, and they are uniformly crowned with yellow pines. A remarkable formation of this description appeared at the entrance of a tributary stream through these walled cliffs, on the left bank, which I called Tower Creek. The purity and transparency of the water are so remarkable, that it is often difficult to estimate its depth in the river. A striking instance of this occurred after passing this point. I was leading the horse. In crossing from the east to the west bank, I had led Butcher to a spot which I thought he could easily ford, without reaching above his knees. He plunged in, however, over his depth, and swimming across with his pack, came to the elevated shores on the other side, which kept him so long in the water, and we were detained so long in searching for a suitable point for him to mount, that almost everything of a soluble character in his pack was either lost or damaged. Our salt and sugar were mostly spoiled; our tea and Indian meal damaged; our skins, blankets, and clothing, saturated. This mishap caused us a world of trouble. We at once encamped. I immediately built a fire, the horse was speedily unpacked, and each particular article was examined, and such as permitted it, carefully dried. This labor occupied us till a late hour in the night.

We had now been sixteen days from Potosi. Up to this point we had seen no Osages, of whose predatory acts we had heard so much; nor any signs of their having been in this section of the country during a twelvemonth, certainly not since spring. All the deserted camps, and the evidences of encampment, were old. The bones of animals eaten, found on the high plains east of Calamarca, and at the Elkhorn spring, were bleached and dry. Not a vestige had appeared, since leaving the Wall-cliffs, of a human being having recently visited the country. The silence and desolateness of the wilderness reigned around. And when we looked for evidences of an ancient permanent occupation of the region by man, there were none—not a hillock raised by human hands, nor the smallest object that could be deemed antiquarian. The only evidences of ancient action were those of a geological kind—caverns, valleys of denudation, beds of drift, boulders, water-lines and markings on the faces of cliffs, which betokened oceanic overflow at very antique or primary periods.

The difficulties attending our progress down the valley, induced us to strike out into the open prairie, where travelling was free, and unimpeded by shrubbery or vines. Nothing but illimitable fields of grass, with clumps of trees here and there, met the eye. We travelled steadily, without diverging to the right or left. We sometimes disturbed covies of prairie birds; the rabbit started from his shelter, or the deer enlivened the prospect. We had laid our course south-south-west, and travelled about twenty miles. As evening approached, we searched in vain for water, to encamp. In quest of it, we finally entered a desolate gorge, which seemed, at some seasons, to have been traversed by floods, as it disclosed boulders and piles of rubbish. Daylight departed as we wound our way down this dry gorge, which was found to be flanked, as we descended, with towering cliffs. In the meantime, the heavens became overcast with dense black clouds, and rain soon began to fall. We scanned these lofty cliffs closely, as we were in a cavernous limestone country, for evidences of some practicable opening which might give us shelter for the night. At length, the dark mouth of a large cavern appeared on our left, at some twenty or thirty feet elevation. The horse could not be led up this steep, but, by unpacking him, we carried the baggage up, and then hobbled and belled the poor beast, and left him to pick a meal as best he could in so desolate a valley. It was the best, and indeed the only thing, we could do for him.

It was not long before we had a fire in the cave, which threw its red rays upon the outlines of the cavern, in a manner which would have formed a study for Michel Angelo. It seemed that internal waters had flowed out of this cavern for ages, carrying particle by particle of the yielding rock, by which vast masses had been scooped out, or hung still in threatening pendants. Its width was some forty feet, its height perhaps double that space, and its depth illimitable. A small stream of pure water glided along its bottom, and went trickling down the cliff.

The accident in crossing the stream had saturated, but not ruined our tea; and we soon had an infusion of it, to accompany our evening's frugal repast—for *frugal* indeed it became, in meats and bread, after our irreparable loss of the day previous. Nothing is more refreshing than a draught of tea in the wilderness, and one soon experiences that this effect is due neither to milk nor sugar. The next thing to be done after supper, was to light a torch and explore the recesses of the cave, lest it should be occupied by some carnivorous beasts, who might fancy a sleeping traveller for a night's meal. Sallying into its dark recesses, gun and torch in hand, we passed up a steep ascent, which made it difficult to keep our feet. This passage, at first, turned to the right, then narrowed, and finally terminated in a low gallery, growing smaller and smaller towards its apparent close. This passage became too low to admit walking, but by the light of our torch, which threw its rays far into its recesses, there appeared no possibility of our proceeding further. We then retraced our steps to our fire in the front of the cave, where there were evidences of Indian camp-fires. We then replenished the fire with fuel, and spread down our pallets for the night. My companion soon adjusted himself in a concave part of the rock, and went to sleep. I looked out from the front of the cave to endeavor to see the horse; but although I caught a sound of his bell, nothing could be seen but intense darkness. The rain had been slight, and had abated; but the cliffs in front, and the clouds above the narrow valley, rendered it impossible to see anything beyond the reach of the flickering rays of our fire. To its precincts I returned, and entered up my journal of the events of the day.

My first care in the morning was to find our pack-horse, who had been left with a sorry prospect. He was not soon to be found. We then travelled to the south-east, which brought us again into the valley of the North Fork. We forded it, and found, on its eastern margin, extensive open oak plains. On one of the most conspicuous trees were marks and letters, which proved that it had been visited and singled out for settlement by some enterprising pioneer. From the open character of the country, we could not get near to large game; and we now found that our supply of ball and shot was near its close. Passing down the valley about ten miles, we encamped. Since the loss of our corn-meal, we had had nothing in the shape of bread, and our provisions were now reduced to a very small quantity of dried meat. We had expected, for some days, to have reached either Indian or white hunters' camps. Anxiety on this head now became intense. Prudence required, however, that, small as our stores were, they should be divided with strict reference to the probability of our not meeting with hunters, or getting relief for two or three days.

Every sign, under such circumstances, is noticed. The stick frames, without bark, of several Indian lodges, were passed, denoting that they had not been recently occupied. Travelling down the vale, I came to a point on the bank of the river, where I discovered two grown beavers sporting in the stream. The tail of this animal, which appears clumsy and unwieldy in the dead specimen, gives the animal a graceful appearance in the water, where it makes him appear to have a very elongated body. After diving about for some time, they came to the shore, and sat in front of their *wauzh*, as it is termed by the Algonquins, or lodge, which, in this case, was a fissure in the rock. I was perfectly screened by a point of the rock from their view, and sat with my gun cocked, reserving my fire a few moments, the more perfectly to observe them, when both animals, at the same instant, darted into their holes.

Appetite was now keen, and having a tolerably open forest, we pressed on rapidly, the horse being, as usual, our chief hindrance. I took the horse's bridle over my arm this morning, and had proceeded through open woods about ten miles, when there was descried, from a little summit, a hut in the distance, which had some traits of the labor of white men. This gave animation to our steps, in hopes of finding it occupied. But, as we approached, we could discern no smoke rising up as a sign of occupancy, and were disappointed to find it an abortive effort of some pioneer. This was called Camp No. We learned that it had been constructed by one Martin, who, as there was not a foot of land in cultivation, had probably aimed to subsist by the chase alone. The location was well chosen. A large canebrake flanked the river, sufficient to give range to horses and cattle. A little tributary stream bounded a fertile piece of upland, east of this. The hut was built of puncheons, supported on one side by a rude ridgepole, leaving the front of it open, forming a shed which had a roof and floor. But the stream had now dried up. We found a plant of cotton, bolled out, among the adjacent weeds, which proved the soil and climate suitable to its culture. We were now well within the limits of Arkansas.

It was determined to encamp at this spot, turn the horse into the adjacent canebrake, where the leaves were green, to deposit our baggage and camp apparatus in one corner of the hut, and, after making light packs, to take our arms, and proceed in search of settlements. This required a little time. To reach a point where civilization had once tried to get a foothold, however, was something; and we consoled ourselves with the reflection that we could not be remote from its skirts.

The next day I made an excursion west of the river, from our position, to determine satisfactorily our situation. I found, on the opposite side of the valley, at the foot of the cliff, another small white-man's hut, which had also been abandoned. In a small patch of ground, which had once been cleared, there grew a pumpkin-vine, which then had three pumpkins. This was a treasure, which I at once secured. I found that one of them had been partially eaten by some wild animal, and determined to give it to my horse, but could not resist the inclination first to cut off a few slices, which I ate raw with the greatest appetite. The taste seemed delicious. I had not before been aware that my appetite had become so keen by fasting. Between the horse and myself, we finished it, and had quite a sociable time of it. With the other two, which were the largest, I rode back to camp, where, having a small camp-kettle, we boiled and despatched them, without meat or bread, for supper. It does not require much to make one happy; for, in this instance, our little luck put us in the best of humor.

Action is the price of safety in the woods. Neither dreams nor poetic visions kept us on our pallets a moment longer than it was light enough to see the grey tints of morning. Each of us prepared a compact knapsack, containing a blanket and a few absolute necessaries, and gave our belts an extra jerk before lifting our guns to our shoulders; then, secretly wishing our friend Butcher a good time in the canebrake, we set out with a light pace towards the south. My companion Levi was much attached to tea; and, as the article of a small tin pot was indispensable to the enjoyment of this beverage, he burthened himself with this appendage by strapping it on his back with a green sash. This was not a very military sort of accoutrement; but as he did not pride himself in that way, and had not, in fact, the least notion of the ridiculous figure he cut with it, I was alone in my unexpressed sense of the extreme Fridayishness of his looks on the march, day by day, across the prairies and through the woods, with this not very glittering culinary appendage dangling at his back.

Hope gave animation to our steps. We struck out from the valley southerly, which brought us to an elevated open tract, partially wooded, in which the walking was good. After travelling about six miles, we heard the report of a gun on our left. Supposing it to proceed from some white hunter, we tried to get into communication with him, and hallooed stoutly. This was answered. I withdrew the ball from my gun, and fired. We then followed the course of the shot and halloo. But, although a whoop was once heard, which seemed from its intonation to be Indian, we were unsuccessful in gaining an interview; and, after losing a good deal of time in the effort, were obliged to give it up, and proceed.

Much of our way lay through open oak forests, with a thick bed of fallen leaves, and we several times searched under these for sweet acorns; but we uniformly found that the wild turkeys had been too quick for us—every sweet acorn had been scratched up and eaten, and none remained but such as were bitter and distasteful. On descending an eminence, we found the sassafras plentifully, and, breaking off branches of it, chewed them, which took away the astringent and bad taste of the acorns.

As night approached, we searched in vain for water on the elevated grounds, and were compelled to seek the river valley, where we encamped in an old Indian wigwam of bark. The night was chilly and cold. We turned restlessly on our pallets. Daylight was most welcome. A fire was built against the stump of a dead tree, broken off by lightning at a height of some thirty feet from the ground. We here boiled our tea, and accurately divided about half an ounce of dried meat, being the last morsel we had. While thus engaged, a red-headed woodpecker lit on the tree, some fifteen or twenty feet above our heads, and began pecking. The visit was a most untimely one for the bird. A shot laid him dead at the foot of the tree; and, being plucked, roasted, and divided, he furnished out our repast. We then gave the straps of our accoutrements a tight jerk, by way of preventing a flaccid stomach—an Indian habit—and set forward with renewed strength and hope. We travelled this day over a rolling country of hill and dale, with little to relieve the eye or demand observation, and laid down at night, fatigued, in the edge of a canebrake. A dense fog, which overhung the whole valley, prevented our quitting camp at a very early hour. When it arose, and the atmosphere became sufficiently clear to discern our way, we ascended the hills to our left, and took a west-south-west course. Nothing can exceed the roughness and sterility of the country traversed, and the endless succession of steep declivities, and broken, rocky precipices, surmounted. Our line of march, after leaving the low grounds of the river valley, led over moderately elevated ridges of oak-openings. We came at length to some hickory trees. Beneath them, the nuts laid in quantities on the ground. We sat down, and diligently commenced cracking them; but this was soon determined to be too slow a process to satisfy hungry men, and, gathering a quantity for our night's encampment, we pushed forward diligently. Tramp! tramp! tramp! we walked resolutely on, in a straight line, over hill and dale. Trees, rocks, prairie-grass, the jumping squirrel, the whirring quail—we gave them a glance, and passed on. We finally saw the sun set; evening threw its shades around; night presented its sombre hue; and, as it grew dark, it became cloudy and cold. Still, no water to encamp by was found, and it finally became so dark that we were forced to grope our way. By groping in the darkness, we at length stood on the brink of a precipice, and could distinctly hear the gurgling sound of running water in the gulf below. It was a pleasing sound; for we had not tasted a drop since early dawn. Had we still had our horse, we should not have been able to get him down in the darkness; but, by seizing hold of bushes, and feeling our way continually, we reached the bottom, and encamped immediately by the stream. It was a small run of pure mountain water. Soon a fire arose on its banks. We cracked a few of the nuts. We drank our accustomed tin-cup of tea. We wrapped ourselves in our blankets upon its immediate margin, and knew no more till early daylight, when a cold air had quite chilled us.

We were happy to get out of this gulf at the earliest dawn. After travelling a couple of miles, we stepped suddenly into a well-beaten horse-path, running transversely to our course, with fresh horse-tracks leading both ways. We stopped to deliberate which end of the path to take. I thought the right-hand would conduct us to the mouth of the river which we had been pursuing down, where it could hardly fail there should be hunters or pioneer settlers located. My companion thought the left hand should be taken, without offering any satisfactory reason for it. I determined, in an instant, to rise above him mentally, by yielding the point, and set out with a firm and ready pace to the left. We travelled diligently about three miles, without meeting anything to note, but were evidently going back into the wilderness we had just left, by a wider circuit, when my companion relented, and we turned about on our tracks towards the mouth of the river. We had not gone far, and had not yet reached the point of our original issue from the forest, when we descried a man on horseback, coming toward us. Joy flashed in our eyes. When he came up, he told us that there was a hunter located at the mouth of the river, and another, named Wells, nearly equi-distant on the path he was pursuing; and that, if we would follow him, he would guide us to the latter. This we immediately determined to do, and, after travelling about seven miles, came in sight of the cabin.

Our approach was announced by a loud and long-continued barking of dogs, who required frequent bidding from their master, before they could be pacified. The first object worthy of remark, that presented itself on our emerging from the forest, was a number of deer, bear, and other skins, fastened to a kind of rude frame, supported by poles, which occupied the area about the house. These trophies of skill in the chase were regarded with great complacency by our conductor, as he pointed them out, and he remarked that Wells was "a great hunter, and a forehanded man." There were a number of acres of ground, from which he had gathered a crop of corn. The house was a substantial, new-built log tenement, of one room. The family consisted of the hunter and his wife, and four or five children, two of whom were men grown, and the youngest a boy of about sixteen. All were dressed in leather prepared from deer-skins. The host himself was a middle-sized, light-limbed, sharp-faced man. Around the walls of the room hung horns of the deer and buffalo, with a rifle, shot-pouches, leather coats, dried meats, and other articles, giving unmistakeable signs of the vocation of our host. The furniture was of his own fabrication. On one side hung a deer-skin, sewed up in somewhat the shape of the living animal, containing bears' oil. In another place hung a similar vessel, filled with wild honey.

All the members of the family seemed erudite in the knowledge of woodcraft, the ranges and signs of animals, and their food and habits; and while the wife busied herself in preparing our meal, she occasionally stopped to interrogate us, or take part in the conversation. When she had finished her preparations, she invited us to sit down to a delicious meal of warm corn-bread and butter, honey and milk, to which we did ample justice.

It was late in the afternoon when our supper was prepared, and we spent the evening in giving and receiving information of the highest practical interest to each party. Wells recited a number of anecdotes of hunting, and of his domestic life. We repaid him with full accounts of our adventures. What appeared to interest him most, was the accounts of the bears and other wild animals we had seen. When the hour for rest arrived, we opened our sacks, and, spreading our blankets on a bear-skin which he furnished, laid down before the fire, and enjoyed a sound night's repose.

It was now the 1st of December. We were up with the earliest dawning of light, and determined to regain our position at Camp No, on the Great North Fork, with all possible despatch, and pursue our tour westward. Understanding from the conversation of the hunters among themselves, that they designed forthwith to proceed on a hunting excursion into the region we had passed, on the Great North Fork, we determined to avail ourselves of their guidance to our deposit and horse. We purchased a dressed deer-skin for moccasins, a small quantity of Indian corn, some wild honey, and a little lead. The corn required pounding to convert it into meal. This is accomplished by a pestle, fixed to a loaded swing-pole, playing into a mortar burned into an oak stump. The payment for these articles being made in money, excited the man's cupidity; for, although he had previously determined on going in that direction, he now refused to guide us to Camp No, unless paid for it. This was also assented to, with the agreement to furnish us with the carcase of a deer.

By eleven o'clock, A. M., shouldering our knapsacks and guns, we set forward, accompanied by our host, his three sons, and a neighbor, making our party to consist of seven men, all mounted on horses but ourselves, and followed by a pack of hungry, yelping dogs. Our course was due north-west. As we were heavily laden and sore-footed, our shoes being literally worn from our feet by the stony tracts we had passed over, the cavalcade was occasionally obliged to halt till we came up. This proved such a cause of delay to them, that they finally agreed to let us ride and walk, alternately, with the young men. In this way we passed over an undulating tract, not heavily timbered, until about ten o'clock at night, when we reached our abandoned camp, where we found our baggage safe. A couple of men had been detached from the party, early in the morning, to hunt the stipulated deer; but they did not succeed in finding any, and came in long before us with a pair of turkeys. One of these was despatched for supper, and then all betook themselves to repose.

One of the first objects that presented itself the next morning was our horse, from the neighboring canebrake, who did not seem to have well relished his fare on cane-leaves, and stood doggedly in front of our cabin, with a pertinacity which seemed to say, "Give me my portion of corn." Poor animal! he had not thriven on the sere grass and scanty water of the Ozarks, where he had once tumbled down the sides of a cliff with a pack on, been once plunged in the river beyond his depth, and often struggled with the tangled greenbriar of the valleys, which held him by the feet. With every attention, he had fallen away; and he seemed to anticipate that he was yet destined to become wolf's-meat on the prairies.

The hunters were up with the earliest dawn, and several of them went out in quest of game, recollecting their promise to us on that head; but they all returned after an absence of a couple of hours, unsuccessful. By this time we had cooked the other turkey for breakfast, which just sufficed for the occasion. The five men passed a few moments about the fire, then suddenly caught and saddled their horses, and, mounting together, bid us good morning, and rode off. We were taken quite aback by this movement, supposing that they would have felt under obligation, as they had been paid for it, to furnish us some provisions. We looked intently after them, as they rode up the long sloping eminence to the north of us. They brought forcibly to my mind the theatrical representation, in the background, of the march of the Forty Thieves, as they wind down the mountain, before they present themselves at the front of the cave, with its charmed gates. But there was no "open sesame!" for us. Cast once more on our own resources in the wilderness, the alternative seemed to be pressed upon our minds very forcibly, "hunt or starve." Serious as the circumstances appeared, yet, when we reflected upon their manners and conversation, their avarice, and their insensibility to our actual wants, we could not help rejoicing that they were gone.

Left alone, we began to reflect closely on our actual situation, and the means of extricating ourselves from this position. If we had called it camp "No," from our disappointment at not finding it inhabited on our first arrival, it was now again appropriately camp "No," from not obtaining adequate relief from the hunters. We had procured a dressed buckskin for making moccasins. We had a little pounded corn, in a shape to make hunters' bread. We had not a mouthful of meat. I devoted part of the day to making a pair of Indian shoes. We had not a single charge of shot left. We had procured lead enough to mould just five bullets. This I carefully did. I then sallied out in search of game, scanning cautiously the neighboring canebrake, and fired three balls, unsuccessfully, at turkeys. It was evident, as I had the birds within range, that my gun had been sprung in the heavy fall I had had, as before related, in the crossing Calamarca. My companion then took *his* gun, and also made an unsuccessful shot. When evening approached, a flock of turkeys came to roost near by. We had now just *one* ball left; everything depended on *that*. I took it to the large and firm stump of an oak, and cut it into exactly thirty-two pieces, with geometrical precision. I then beat the angular edges of each, until they assumed a sufficiently globular shape to admit of their being rolled on a hard surface, under a pressure. This completed their globular form. I then cleansed my companion's gun, and carefully loaded it with the thirty-two shot. We then proceeded to the roost, which was on some large oaks in a contiguous valley. I carried a torch, which I had carefully made at the camp. My companion took the loaded gun, and I, holding the torch near the sights at the same time, so that its rays fell directly on the birds, he selected one, and fired. It proved to be one of the largest and heaviest, and fell to the earth with a sound. We now returned to camp, and prepared a part of it for supper, determining to husband the remainder so as to last till we should reach settlements, by holding a due west course.

We had prepared ourselves to start on the 4th of December; but it rained from early dawn to dark, which confined us closely to our cabin. Rain is one of the greatest annoyances to the woodsman. Generally, he has no shelter against it, and must sit in it, ride in it, or walk in it. Where there is no shelter, the two latter are preferable. But, as we had a splitboard roof, we kept close, and busied ourselves with more perfect preparations for our next sally. I had some minerals that admitted of being more closely and securely packed, and gladly availed myself of the opportunity to accomplish it. Our foot and leg-gear, also, required renovating. Experience had been our best teacher from the first; and hunger and danger kept us perpetually on the *qui vive*, and made us wise in little expedients.

THE KNIFE HILLS.

The rain ceased during the night, and left us a clear atmosphere in the morning. At an early hour we completed the package of the horse, and, taking the reins, I led him to the brink of the river, and with difficulty effected a passage. The cliffs, which form the western side of the valley, presented an obstacle not easily surmounted. By leading the animal in a zigzag course, however, this height was finally attained. The prospect, as far as the eye could reach, was discouraging. Hill on hill rose before us, with little timber, it is true, to impede us, but implying a continual necessity of crossing steeps and depressions. After encountering this rough surface about two miles, we came into a valley having a stream tributary to the Great North Fork, which we had quitted that morning at a higher point. In this sub-valley we found our way impeded by another difficulty — namely, the brush and small canes that grew near the brook. To avoid this impediment, I took the horse across a low piece of ground, having a thicket, but which appeared to be firm. In this I was mistaken; for the animal's feet began to sink, and ere long he stuck fast. The effort to extricate him but served to sink him deeper, and, by pawing to get out, he continually widened the slough in which he had sunk. We then obtained poles, and endeavored to pry him up; but our own footing was continually giving way, and we at length beheld him in a perfect slough of soft black mud. After getting his pack off, we decided to leave him to his fate. We carried the pack to dry ground, on one side of the valley, and spread the articles out, not without deeply regretting the poor beast's plight. But then it occurred to us that, if the horse were abandoned, we must also abandon our camp-kettle, large axe, beds, and most of our camp apparatus; and another and concentrated effort was finally resolved on. To begin, we cut down two tall saplings, by means of which the horse was pried up from the bottom of the slough. He was then grasped by the legs and turned over, which brought his feet in contact with the more solid part of the ground. A determined effort, both of horse and help, now brought him to his feet. He raised himself up, and, by pulling with all our might, we brought him on dry ground. I then led him gently to our place of deposit, and, by means of bunches of sere grass, we both busied ourselves, first to rub off the mud and wet, and afterwards to groom him and rub him dry. When he was properly restored, he was led up the valley a short distance, where we encamped. The grass in this little valley was of a nourishing quality, and, by stopping early, we allowed him to recruit himself.

Butcher had so improved his time in the tender grass during the night, as to present a more spirited appearance in the morning. We were now near the head of the brook which we had been following; and as we quitted its sides, long to be remembered for this mishap, we began to ascend the elevated and bleak tract of the Mocama or Knife hills, so called, over which the winds rushed strongly as we urged our way. For a distance of sixteen miles we held on our course, in a west-south-west direction, turning neither to the right nor left. As night approached, we found ourselves descending into a considerable valley, caused by a river. The shrubbery and grass of its banks had been swept by fire in the fall, and a new crop of grass was just rising. We formed our encampment in this fire-swept area. This stream proved to be the Little North Fork of White River.

The ascent of the hills on the south-west was found to be difficult; and when the summit was reached, there spread before us an extensive prairie, of varied surface. When we had gone about six miles, a bold mound-like hill rose on our left, which seemed a favorable spot for getting a view of the surrounding country. We had been told by the hunters that in travelling fifteen miles west, we should reach a settlement at Sugar-loaf Prairie, on the main channel of the White river. On reaching the summit of this natural lookout, we could descry nothing that betokened human habitation. As far as the eye could reach, prairies and groves filled the undulating vista. On reaching its foot, we changed our course to south, believing that our directions had been vague. On going about a mile in this direction, we entered a faint and old horse-path. This gave animation to our steps. On pursuing it about three miles, it fell into another and plainer path, having the fresh tracks of horses. We were now on elevated ground, which commanded views of the country all around. Suddenly the opposite side of a wide valley appeared to open far beneath us, and, stepping forward the better to scan it, the river of which we were in search presented its bright, broad, and placid surface to our view, at several hundred feet below. We stood admiringly on the top of a high, rocky, and precipitous cliff. Instinctively to shout, was the first impulse.

Pursuing the brow of the precipice about a mile, a log building and some fields were discovered on the opposite bank. On descending the path whose traces we had followed, it brought us to a ford. We at once prepared to cross the river, which was four or five hundred yards wide. On ascending the opposite bank, we came to the house of a Mr. M'Garey, who received us with an air of hospitality, and made us welcome.

He had a bluff frankness of manner, with an air of independence, and an individuality of character, which impressed us favorably. He told us that we were eight hundred miles west of the Mississippi by the stream, that White river was navigable by keel-boats for this distance, and that there were several settlements on its banks. He had several acres in cultivation in Indian corn, possessed horses, cows, and hogs; we observed, at the door, a hand-mill. At a convenient distance was a smoke-house. I observed a couple of odd volumes of books on a shelf. He was evidently a pioneer on the Indian land. He said that the Cherokees had been improperly located along the western bank of White river, extending to the Arkansas, and that the effect was to retard and prevent the purchase and settlement of the country by the United States. He complained of this, as adverse to hunters, who were anxious to get titles for their lands. He did not represent the Cherokees as being hostile, or as having committed any depredations. But he depicted the Osages as the scourge and terror of the country. They roamed from the Arkansas to the Missouri frontier, and pillaged whoever fell in their way. He detailed the particulars of a robbery committed in the very house we were sitting in, when they took away horses, clothes, and other property. They had visited him in this way twice, and recently stole from him eight beaver-skins; and during their last foray in the valley, they had robbed one of his neighbors, called Teen Friend, of all his arms, traps, and skins, and detained him a prisoner. This tribe felt hostile to all the settlers on the outskirts of Missouri and Arkansas; they were open robbers and plunderers of all the whites who fell defenceless into their hands.

They were, he thought, particularly to be dreaded in the region which we proposed to explore. He also said that the Osages were hostile to the newly-arrived Cherokees, who had migrated from the east side of the Mississippi, and had settled in the country between the Red River and Arkansas, and that these tribes were daily committing trespasses upon each other. Having myself, but a short time before, noticed the conclusion of a peace between the western Cherokees and Osages at St. Louis, before General Clark, I was surprised to hear this; but he added, as an illustration of this want of faith, that when the Cherokees returned from that treaty, they pursued a party of Osages near the banks of White river, and stole twenty horses from them. Such is Indian faith in treaties.

This presented a gloomy picture. On comparing opinions, for which purpose my companion and myself had an interview outside the premises, it seemed that these statements were to be received with some grains of allowance. They were natural enough for a victim of Indian robberies, and doubtless true; but the events had not been recent, and they were not deemed sufficient to deter us from proceeding in our contemplated tour to the higher Ozarks at the sources of the river. It was evident that we had erred a good deal from our stick-bridge at Calamarca, from the proper track; but we were nevertheless determined not to relinquish our object.

Having obtained the necessary information, we determined to pursue our way, for which purpose Butcher was turned to graze at M'Garey's, we rid ourselves of all our heavy baggage by depositing it with him, and prepared our knapsacks for this new essay. When ready, our host refused to take any pay for his hospitalities; but, conducting us to his smoke-house, opened the door, and then, drawing his knife from its sheath, placed it, with an air of pomposity, in my hand, offering the handle-end, and said, "Go in and cut." I did so, taking what appeared to be sufficient to last us to our next expected point of meeting hunters. The place was well filled with buffalo and bear meat, both smoked and fresh, hanging on cross-bars.

WHITE RIVER VALLEY.

At nine o'clock next morning, we bade our kind entertainer adieu; and, taking directions to reach Sugar-loaf Prairie, crossed over the river by the same ford which we had taken in our outward track from Camp No, in the valley of the Great North Fork. Relieved from the toilsome task of leading the horse, we ascended the opposite cliffs with alacrity, and vigorously pursued our course, over elevated ground, for about sixteen miles. The path then became obscure; the ground was so flinty and hard, that it was in vain we searched for tracks of horses' feet. Some time was lost in this search, and we finally encamped in a cane-bottom in the river valley.

From this point, we ascended the river hills eastwardly, and pursued our journey along an elevated range to the Sugar-loaf Prairie — a name which is derived from the striking effects of denudation on the limestone cliffs, which occupy the most elevated positions along this valley. We were received with blunt hospitality by a tall man in leather, called Coker, whose manner appeared to be characteristic of the hunter. Our approach was heralded by the usual loud and long barking of dogs, and we found the premises surrounded by the invariable indications of a successful hunter—skins of the bear and other animals, stretched out on frames to dry.

We were no sooner at home with our entertainer, than he began to corroborate what we had before heard of the hostility of the Osages. He considered the journey at this season hazardous, as he thought they had not yet broke up their fall hunting-camps, and retired to their villages on the Grand Osaw (Osage). He also thought it a poor season for game, and presented a rather discouraging prospect to our view.

He represented the settlers of Sugar-loaf Prairie to consist of four families, situated within the distance of eight miles, including both banks of the river. This was exclusive of two families living at Beaver creek, the highest point yet occupied.

It was noon the following day, before we departed from Coker's. The old man refused to take anything for our meals and lodging; and we bade him adieu, after taking his directions as to the best route to pursue to reach Beaver creek, our next point. We travelled through a lightly-timbered, hilly country, about eight miles, when the skies became overcast, and some rain fell. It was still too early an hour to encamp, but we came, at this time, into a small ravine, with running water, which had on one bank a shelving cave in the limestone rock, forming a protection from the rain. We built a fire from red cedar, which emitted a strong aromatic odor. The weather began to assume a wintry character; this being the first day we have been troubled with cold fingers. In fact, it was too cold to sleep.

We left our camp at the cave on Cedar brook, and resumed our march at an early hour, and found the face of the country still rough and undulating, but covered, to a great extent, with brush. My companion thought we had gone far enough to have struck the waters of the Beaver, and, as he carried the compass this day, he deviated westward from the intended course. This brought us to the banks of a river, which he insisted, contrary to my opinion, must be the Beaver. To me this did not seem probable; but, yielding the point to him, we forded the stream at waist deep. We then ascended a lofty and difficult range of river hills; and, finding ourselves now at the level of the country, we held on in a westerly course, till it became clearly evident, even to my companion, that we were considerably west of the White river. We then retraced our steps, descended the river hills to the bank of the stream, and followed up its immediate margin, in search of a convenient spot for encampment; for, by this time, night approached rapidly. We were soon arrested by a precipitous cliff, against the base of which the river washed. As the sun sank lower, we felt a keen and cold wind, but could not find a stick of wood on the western bank with which to kindle a fire. The alternative presented to us was, either to remain here all night without a fire, exposed to the chilling blast, or cross a deep stream to the opposite shore, where there was an extensive alluvial plain, covered with trees, and promising an abundance of fuel.

Night had already closed around us, when we decided to cross the river. We found it to be four feet deep, and some two hundred yards wide. When we got over, it was with great difficulty that we succeeded in collecting a sufficiency of dry materials to kindle a fire; and by the time we had accomplished it, our wet clothes had become stiff and cold, the wind at the same time blowing fiercely. Our utmost efforts were required to dry and warm ourselves, nor did we attain these points in a sufficient degree to secure a comfortable night's rest.

The ground, in the morning, was covered with white hoar-frost, with a keen and cold air, and a wintry sky. Early daylight found us treading our way across the low grounds to the cliffs. We soon ascended an elevated rocky shore, bordering the river, which was completely denuded of trees and shrubbery. It was early, the sun not having yet risen, when we beheld before us, rising out of the ground, a column of air which appeared to be of a warmer temperature. Its appearance was like that of smoke from a chimney on a frosty morning. On reaching it, the phenomenon was found to be caused by an orifice in the earth, from which rarefied air issued. On looking down intently, and excluding the side light, it was seen to be a fissure in the limestone rock, with jagged, narrow sides, leading down into a cavern. I determined to try the descent, and found the opening large enough to admit my body. Feeling for a protuberance on which to rest my feet, and closely pressing the sides of the orifice, I slowly descended. My fear was that the crevice would suddenly enlarge, and let me drop. But I descended in safety. I thus let myself down directly about twenty feet, and came to the level floor of a gallery which led in several directions. The light from above was sufficient to reveal the dark outlines of a ramified cavern, and to guide my footsteps for a distance. I went as far in the largest gallery as the light cast any direct rays, but found nothing at all on the floor or walls to reward my adventure. It was a notable fissure in a carbonate of lime, entirely dry, and without stalactites. What I most feared in these dim recesses, was some carnivorous animal, for whose residence it appeared to be well adapted. Having explored it as far as I could command any light to retrace my steps, I returned to the foot of the original orifice. I found no difficulty, by pressing on each side, in ascending to the surface, bringing along a fragment of the limestone rock. I afterwards observed, while descending the river, that this cavern was in a high, precipitous part of the coast, of calcareous rock, the foot of which was washed by the main channel of White river.

We now resumed our march, and, at the distance of about six miles, reached Beaver creek, near its mouth. It is a beautiful, clear stream of sixty yards wide, with a depth of two feet, and a hard, gravelly bottom. We forded it, and, keeping down the bank, soon fell into a horse-path, which led us, in following it about a mile and a half, to a hunter's dwelling, occupied by a man named Fisher. He received us in a friendly manner, and we took up our abode with him. Six or eight hundred yards higher, there was another cabin, occupied by a man named Holt. Both had been but a short time located at this place; they had not cleared any ground, nor even finished the log houses they occupied. Both buildings were on the bank of the river, on the edge of a large and fertile bottom, well wooded, and with a very picturesque coast of limestone opposite, whose denuded pinnacles had received the name of the Little Tower.

Holt and Fisher were the highest occupants of the White river valley. They had reached this spot about four months before, and had brought their effects partly on pack-horses, and partly in canoes. The site was judiciously chosen. A finer tract of rich river bottom could not have been found, while the site commanded an illimitable region, above and around it, for hunting the deer, buffalo, elk, and other species, besides the beaver, otter, and small furred animals, which are taken in traps. We tried, at first vainly, to persuade them to accompany us in our further explorations. To this they replied that it was Osage hunting-ground, and that that tribe never failed to plunder and rob all who fell in their power, particularly hunters and trappers. And besides, they were but recent settlers, and had not yet completed their houses and improvements. As we were neither hunters nor trappers, we had but little fear of Osage hostility; for this was, in a measure, the just retribution of that tribe for an intrusion on their lands, and the destruction of its game, which constituted its chief value to them. Nor did we anticipate encountering them at all, at this season, as they must have withdrawn, long ere this, to their villages on the river Osage.

There appeared no other way to induce the hunters to go with us, but to aid them in completing their cottages and improvements. This we resolved to do. Holt then agreed to accompany us as a guide and huntsman, with the further stipulation, that he was to have the horse which had been left at M'Gary's, and a small sum of money, with liberty, also, to undertake a journey to the settlements below for corn. Hereupon, Fisher also consented to accompany us. This obstacle to our movements being overcome, we busied ourselves in rendering to the hunters all the assistance in our power, and made it an object to show them that we could do this effectively. We began by taking hold of the frow and axe, and aiding Holt to split boards for covering a portion of the roof of his house. I doubt whether my companion had ever done the like work before; I am sure I never had; but having thrown myself on this adventure, I most cheerfully submitted to all its adverse incidents.

Our routine of duty was uniform. At daybreak we built a substantial fire in the cabin; we then pounded the quantity of corn necessary for the family. This process brings the article into the condition of coarse grits, which are boiled soft, and it then bears the name of homony. About five o'clock, we were summoned to our second meal. We then carried up the quantity of firewood necessary for the night.

The river having been closed with ice within the last two days, we crossed it on the 19th, to visit the two pyramidal monuments of geological denudation which mark the limestone range of the opposite shore. I determined, if possible, to ascend one of them. The ascent lies through a defile of rocks. By means of projections, which could sometimes be reached by cedar roots, and, now and then, a leap or a scramble, I succeeded in ascending one of them to near its apex, which gave me a fine view of the windings of the river. The monuments consist of stratified limestone, which has, all but these existing peaks, crumbled under the effects of disintegration. I observed no traces of organic remains. It appeared to be of the same general character with the metalliferous beds of Missouri, and is, viewed in extenso, like that, based on grey or cream-colored sand-rock.

I was impressed with the extreme purity of the water. The ice near the cliffs having been formed during a calm night, presented the crystalline purity of glass, through which every inequality, pebble, and stone in its bed, could be plainly perceived. The surface on which we stood was about two inches thick, bending as we walked. The depth of water appeared to be five or six feet; but I was told that it was fully twenty. The pebbles at this place are often a small, pear-shaped, opaque, yellow jasper.

After seven days' absence Holt and Fisher returned, laden with corn. They appeared to be pleased with the evidences of our thrift and industry during their absence.

Of these two men, who had pushed themselves to the very verge of western civilization, it will be pertinent to say, that their characters were quite different. Holt was the better hunter, and more social and ready man. He was quick with the rifle, and suffered no animal to escape him. Fisher was of a more deliberative temperament, and more inclined to surround himself with the reliances of agriculture. He was also the better mechanic, and more inclined to labor. Holt hated labor like an Indian, and, like an Indian, relied for subsistence on the chase exclusively. Fisher was very superstitious, and a believer in witchcraft. Holt was scarcely a believer in anything, but was ever ready for action. He could talk a little Chickasaw, and knew several of their chansons, which he sung. Both men had kept for years moving along on the outer frontiers, ever ready for a new remove; and it was plain enough, to the listener to their tales of wild adventure, that they had not been impelled, thus far, on the ever-advancing line of border life, from the observance of any of the sterner virtues of civilized society.

Sources of White River.

Every objection raised had now been surmounted. I had waited their preliminary journey for corn for their families, and my companion and myself had made ourselves useful by helping, in the mean time, to complete their cabins and improvements.

It was the twenty-eighth day of December, when they mounted their horses in the morning, and announced themselves ready to proceed. Our course lay toward the north-west. Ascending through the heavily-timbered bottom-lands of the valley for a mile or two, we then passed by an easy route through the valley cliffs. The way led to a rolling highland prairie, with clumps of small forest trees, covered with coarse wild grass, and the seed-pods of autumnal flowers. It was a waving surface. Sometimes the elevations assumed a high conical shape. Sometimes we crossed a depression with trees. Often the deer bounded before us, and frequently the sharp crack of the rifle was the first intimation to me that game was near. Holt told me that the error of the young or inexperienced hunters was, in looking too far for their game. The plan to hunt successfully was, to raise the eye slowly from the spot just before you, for the game is often close by, and not to set it on distant objects at first.

When night approached, we encamped near the foot of an eminence, called the Bald Hill. The day had been clear, but chilly, with a north-westerly wind, which we had to face.

The next day but little change appeared in the country; we travelled over hill and dale, meeting nothing new. We then descended into the valley of Swan creek—a clear stream of thirty yards wide, a tributary of White River. Its banks present a rich alluvial bottom, well wooded with maple, hickory, ash, hagberry, elm, and sycamore. Following up this valley about five miles, it commenced raining, when we encamped. Protection from the rain, however, was impossible. We gained some little shelter under the broad roots of a clump of fallen trees and limbs, and passed a most comfortless night, being wet, and without a fire.

The next morning, (Dec. 30th,) at the earliest dawn we were in motion. After ascending the Swan creek valley about nine miles, through a most fertile tract, we fell into the Osage trail, a well-beaten horse-path, and passed successively three of their summer-camps. The poles and frames of each lodge were left standing, and made a formidable show. These encampments could, probably, each have accommodated several hundred persons.

The form of the Osage lodge may be compared to a hemisphere, or an inverted bird's-nest, with a small aperture left in the top for the escape of smoke, and an elongated opening at the side, by way of door. It is constructed by cutting a number of flexible green poles, sharpened at one end, and stuck firmly in the ground. The corresponding tops are bent over and tied, and the framework covered with linden bark. These wigwams are arranged in circles, one line of lodges within another. In the centre is a scaffolding for meat. The chief's tent is conspicuously situated at the head of each encampment. It is different from the rest, resembling an inverted half cylinder. The whole is arranged with much order, and evinces that they move in large parties, the chiefs exercising a good deal of authority.

The Osages are a tribe who have from early times been prominent in the south-west, between the Arkansas and Missouri. The term Osage is of French origin; it seems to be a translation of the Algonquin term Assenjigun, or Bone Indians. Why?

They call themselves Was-ba-shaw, and have a curious allegory of their having originated from a beaver and a snail. They are divided into two bands, the Little and Great Osages, the latter of whom make their permanent encampments on the River Osage of the Missouri. The Ozarks appear from early days to have been their hunting-grounds for the valuable furred animals, and its deep glens and gorges have served as nurseries for the bear. They are one of the great prairie stock of tribes. They are physically a fine tribe of men, of good stature and courage, but have had the reputation, among white and red men, of being thieves and plunderers. Certainly, among the hunter population of this quarter, they are regarded as little short of ogres and giants.

Deeming themselves now high enough up the Swan creek valley, my guides determined to leave it, and turned their horses' heads up a gorge that led to the open plains. We now steered our course south-west, over an elevated plain or prairie, covered, as usual, with ripe grass. We followed across this tract for about twenty miles, with no general deviation of our course, but without finding water. In search of this, we pushed on vigorously till night set in, when it became intensely dark. Darkness, in a prairie, places the traveller somewhat in the position of a ship at sea without a compass. For hours we groped our way in this manner, when one of the guides announced a standing pool. Meantime, it had become excessively dark. On reaching the pool, there was no wood to be found, and we were compelled to encamp without a fire, and laid down supperless, tired, and cold.

My guides were hardy, rough fellows, and did not mind these omissions of meals for a day together, and had often, as now, slept without camp-fires at night. As the object seemed to be a trial of endurance, I resolved not to compromit myself by appearing a whit less hardy than they did, and uttered not a word that might even shadow forth complaint.

The next morning, as soon as it was at all light, we followed down the dry gorge in which we had lain, to Findley's Fork — a rich and well-timbered valley, which we descended about five miles. As we rode along through an open forest, soon after entering this valley, we observed the traces of the work of the beaver, and stopped to view a stately tree, of the walnut species, which had been partially gnawed off by these animals. This tree was probably eighteen or twenty inches in diameter, and fifty feet high. The animals had gnawed a ring around it, but abandoned their work. It had afterwards been undermined by the freshets of the stream, and fallen. Was it too hard a work? If so, it would seem that some instinct akin to reason came to their aid, in leading them to give up their essay.

There was now every appearance of a change of weather. It was cold, and a wintry breeze chilled our limbs. I thought my blood was as warm as that of my guides, however, and rode on cheerfully. At length, of their own motion, the guides stopped to kindle a fire and eat. Thus warmed and refreshed, we continued down the valley, evidently in a better philosophical mood; for a man always looks more benificently about him, this side of starvation.

CAVE OF WINOCA.

I observed a small stream of pure water coming in on the north side, which issued through an opening in the hills; and as this ran in the general direction we were pursuing, the guides led up it. We were soon enclosed in a lateral valley, with high corresponding hills, as if, in remote ages, they had been united. Very soon it became evident that this defile was closed across and in front of us. On coming nearer the barrier, it was found that it blocked up the whole valley, with the exception of the mouth of a cave. The great width and height of this cave, and its precipitous face, gave it very much the appearance of some ruinous arch, out of proportion. It stretched from hill to hill. The limpid brook we had been following, ran from its mouth. On entering it, the first feeling was that of being in "a large place." There was no measure for the eye to compute height or width. We seemed suddenly to be beholding some secret of the great works of nature, which had been hid from the foundation of the world. I called it Winoca.[1] On advancing, we beheld an immense natural vase, filled with pure water. This vase was formed from concretions of carbonate of lime, of the nature of stalagmite, or, rather, stalactite. It was greyish-white and translucent, filling the entire breadth of the cave. But, what was still more imposing, another vase, of similar construction, was formed on the next ascending plateau of the floor of the cave. The water flowed over the lips of this vase into the one below. The calcareous deposit seems to have commenced at the surface of the water, which, continually flowing over the rims of each vase, increases the deposit. The height of the lower vase is about five feet, which is inferable by our standing by it, and looking over the rim into the limpid basin. The rim is about two and a half inches thick. Etruscan artists could not have formed a more singular set of capacious vases. The stream of water that supplies these curious tanks, rushes with velocity from the upper part of the cavern. The bottom of the cave is strewed with small and round calcareous concretions, about the size of ounce balls, of the same nature with the vases. They are in the condition of stalagmites. These concretions are opaque, and appear to have been formed from the impregnating waters percolating from the roof of the cavern. There are evidences of nitric salts in small crevices. Geologically, the cavern is in the horizontal limestone, which is evidently metalliferous. It is the same calcareous formation which characterizes the whole Ozark range. Ores of lead (the sulphurets) were found in the stratum in the bed of a stream, at no great distance north of this cave; and its exploration for its mineral wealth is believed to be an object of practical importance.

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[1] From the Osage word for an underground spirit.

I had now followed the geological formation of the country fifty-four days southwestwardly. The relative position of the calcareous, lead-bearing stratum, had everywhere been the same, when not disturbed or displaced. Wide areas on the sources of the Maramek, Gasconade, and other rivers, were found covered by heavy drift, which concealed the rock; but wherever valleys had been cut through the formation by the streams, and the strata laid bare, they disclosed the same horizontality of deposit, and the same relative position of limestone and sandstone rock.

It was the last day of the year 1818, when we reached the cave of Winoca. An inspection of the country had shown the fact, that the mineral developments of its underlying rocks were of a valuable character, while the surface assumed the most pleasing aspect, and the soil, wherever examined, appeared to be of the very richest quality. The bold, rough hunters, who accompanied me, thought of the country only as an attractive game country.

On leaving the cave, and ascending the hills that environed it, we passed over a gently-sloping surface of hill and dale, partly covered with forest trees, and partly in prairies. I have seldom seen a more beautiful prospect. Various species of oaks and hickories had strewed the woods with their fruits, on which the bear and wild turkey revelled, while the red deer was scarcely ever out of sight. A cold wind, sweeping over these plains, chilled us so completely, that we were glad to encamp early. The next morning, being the 1st of January (1819), opened with a degree of cold unusual in these regions. Their elevation is, indeed, considerable; but the wind swept with a cutting force across the open prairies. We were now on the principal north-western source of White river, the channel of which we forded in the distance of two miles. The western banks presented a naked prairie, covered with dry grass and autumnal weeds, with here and there a tree. We pushed on towards the north-east. On passing about four miles up the western banks of the stream, we observed lead-ore, glittering through the water in the bed of the river, and determined to encamp at this spot, for the purpose of investigating the mineral appearances. The weather was piercingly cold. We found some old Indian camps near at hand, and procured from them pieces of bark to sheath a few poles and stakes, to form a shelter from the wind. A fire was soon kindled, and we cooked and partook of a forest breakfast. When the labor of building the shanty was completed, I hastened to explore the geological indications of the vicinity. The ore which had attracted our notice in the bed of the stream, existed in lumps, which presented bright surfaces where the force of the current had impelled its loose, stony materials over them. It was a pure sulphuret of lead, breaking in cubical lines. I also observed some pieces of hornblende. It was not easy to determine the original width of the bed of ore. Its course is across the stream, into the banks of red marly clay on which we had encamped. Its geological position is, in every respect, similar to the metalliferous deposits at Potosi, except that there were no spars, calcareous or barytic, in sight. I gathered, in a few minutes, a sufficient number of specimens of the ore for examination, and employed myself in erecting, on the banks of the river, a small furnace, of the kind called "log-furnace" in Missouri, to test its fusibility. In the mean time, my New England companion took a survey of the surrounding country, which he pronounced one of the most fertile, and admirably adapted to every purpose of agriculture. Much of the land consists of prairie, into which the plough can be immediately put. The forests and groves, which are interspersed with a park-like beauty through these prairies, consist of various species of oaks, maple, white and black walnut, elm, mulberry, hackberry, and sycamore.

The hunters scanned the country for game, and returned to camp with six turkeys and a wolf. Their fear of the Osages had been only apparently subdued. They had been constantly on the look-out for signs of Indian enemies, and had their minds always filled with notions of hovering Osages and Pawnees. The day was wintry, and the weather variable. It commenced snowing at daylight, and continued till about eight o'clock, A.M. It then became clear, and remained so, with occasional flickerings, until two o'clock, when a fixed snow-storm set in, and drove me from my little unfinished furnace, bringing in the hunters, also, from the prairies, and confining us strictly to our camp. This storm continued, without mitigation, nearly all night.

The snow ceased before sunrise (3d), leaving the country wrapped in a white mantle. The morning was cold; the river began to freeze about nine o'clock, and continued till it was closed. Continued the explorations and examinations commenced yesterday. I found that the red clay afforded a good material for laying the stones of my lead-furnace, and continued working at it for a part of the day. The hunters came in with the carcases of two deer, and the skin of a black wolf. Except in its color, I could not distinguish any permanent characteristics in the latter differing from the large grey wolf, or coyote. Its claws, snout, and ears, were the same—its tail, perhaps, a little more bushy. The size of this animal, judging from the skin, must have been double that of the little prairie-wolf, or *myeengun* of the Indians of the North.

I found the bed of the stream, where it permitted examination, to be non-crystalline limestone, in horizontal beds, corresponding to the formation observed in the cave of Winoca. Its mineral constituents were much the same. The country is one that must be valuable hereafter for its fertility and resources. The prairies which extend west of the river are the most extensive, rich, and beautiful, of any which I have yet seen west of the Mississippi. They are covered with a most vigorous growth of grass. The deer and elk abound in this quarter, and the buffalo is yet occasionally seen. The soil in the river valley is a rich black alluvion. The trees are often of an immense height, denoting strength of soil. It will probably be found adapted to corn, flax, hemp, wheat, oats, and potatoes; while its mining resources must come in as one of the elements of its future prosperity.

I planted some peach-stones in a fertile spot near our camp, where the growth of the sumach denoted unusual fertility.

The region of the Ozark range of mountain-development is one of singular features, and no small attractions. It exhibits a vast and elevated tract of horizontal and sedimentary strata, extending for hundreds of miles north and south. This range is broken up into high cliffs, often wonderful to behold, which form the enclosing walls of river valleys. The Arkansas itself forces its way through, about the centre of the range. The Washita marks its southern boundary. The St. Francis and the Maramek, at the mouth of the former of which De Soto landed, constitute its northern limits. The junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi may be said to be its extreme northern development. The Missouri, from the influx of the Osage, is pushed northward by the Ozark range. It rests, on the south, upon the primitive granites, slates, and quartz rock, of Washita. The celebrated Hot Springs issue from it. The long-noted mines of Missouri, which once set opinion in France in a blaze, extend from its north-eastern flanks. The primitive sienites and hornblende rock of the sources of the St. Francis and Grand rivers, form part of it. The Unica or White river, the Strawberry, Spring river, Currents and Black rivers, descend from it, and join the Mississippi. The Great and Little Osage, and the Gasconade, flow into the Missouri. The great plains, and sand-desert, which stretches at the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains, lie west of it. It is not less than two hundred miles in breadth. No part of the central regions of the Mississippi valley exhibits such a variety in its geological constituents, or such a striking mineralogical development. Its bodies of the ore of iron called iron-glance, are unparalleled. These are particularly developed in the locality called Iron Mountain, on the sources of the St. Francis. Its ores of lead, zinc, antimony, and manganese, are remarkable. Its limestones abound in caves yielding nitre. Salt and gypsum are found in the plains on its western borders. Its large blocks of quartz rock, which are found north of the Arkansas river, particularly scattered over the formations crossing the Little Red, Buffalo, and White rivers, about the Buffalo shoals, furnish indications of the diluvial gold deposit, which would justify future examination.

Track of De Soto.

Through these alpine ranges De Soto, from the best testimonies, roved with his chivalrous and untiring army, making an outward and inward expedition into regions which must have presented unwonted hardships and discouragements to the march of troops. To add to these natural obstacles, he found himself opposed by fierce savage tribes, who rushed upon him from every glen and defile, and met him in the open grounds with the most savage energy. His own health finally sank under these fatigues; and it is certain that, after his death, his successor in the command, Moscoso, once more marched entirely through the southern Ozarks, and reached the buffalo plains beyond them. Such energy and feats of daring had never before been displayed in North America; and the wonder is at its highest, after beholding the wild and rough mountains, cliffs, glens, and torrents, over which the actual marches must have laid.

Some of the names of the Indian tribes encountered by him, furnish conclusive evidence that the principal tribes of the country, although they have changed their particular locations since the year 1542, still occupy the region. Thus, the Kapahas, who then lived on the Mississippi, above the St. Francis, are identical with the Quappas, the Cayas with the Kanzas, and the Quipana with the Pawnees.

The indications of severe weather, noticed during the last day of December, and the beginning of January, were not deceptive; every day served to realize them. We had no thermometer; but our feelings denoted an intense degree of cold. The winds were fierce and sharp, and snow fell during a part of each day and night that we remained on these elevations. We wrapped our garments closely about us at night, in front of large fires, and ran alternately the risks of being frozen and burnt. One night my overcoat was in a blaze from lying too near the fire. This severity served to increase the labor of our examinations.

On the fourth day, a snow-storm began, a little before one o'clock in the morning; it ceased, or, as the local phrase is, "held up," at daybreak. The ground was now covered, to a depth of from two to three inches, with a white mantle. Such severity had never been known by the hunters. The winds whistled over the bleak prairies with a vigor which would have been remarkable in high northern latitudes. The river froze entirely over. The sun, however, shone out clearly as the day advanced, and enabled me to complete my examinations, as fully as it was practicable to do, under the existing state of the weather.

It happened, on this day, that my companion had walked a mile or two west, over the smooth prairie, to get a better view of the conformation of the land, returning to camp before the hunters, who had also gone in the same general direction. On their coming back, one of them, whose head was always full of hostile Osages, fell on Levi's returning track in the snow, and carefully traced it to our camp. He came in breathless, and declared that the Osages were upon us, and that not a moment was to be lost in breaking up our camp, and flying to a place of security. When informed of the origin of the tracks, he still seemed incredulous, and could not be pacified without some difficulty. We then prepared, by collecting fuel, and increasing our bark defences against the wind and snow, to pass another night at the camp.

On the 5th of January, we prepared our last meal at that camp. Some time was spent in looking up the horses, which had been turned into a neighboring canebrake. The interval was employed in cutting our names, with the date of our visit, on a contiguous oak, which had been previously blazed for the purpose. These evidences of our visit were left, with the pit dug in search of ore, and the small smelting-furnace, which, it is hoped, no zealous antiquarian will hereafter mistake for monuments of an elder period of civilization in the Mississippi valley. When this was accomplished, and the horses brought up, we set out with alacrity. The snow still formed a thin covering on the ground, and, being a little softened by the sun, the whole surface of the country exhibited a singular map of the tracks of quadrupeds and birds. In these, deer, elk, bears, wolves, and turkeys, were prominent — the first and last species, conspicuously so. In some places, the dry spots on the leaves showed where the deer had lain during the storm. These resting-spots were uniformly on declivities, which sheltered the animal from the force of the wind. Frequently we crossed wolf-trails in the snow, and, in one or two instances, observed places where they had played or fought with each other, like a pack of dogs—the snow being tramped down in a circle of great extent. We also passed tracts of many acres, where the turkeys had scratched up the snow, in search of acorns. We frequently saw the deer fly before us, in droves of twenty or thirty. They will bound twenty feet at a leap, as measured, on a gentle declivity. This animal is impelled by a fatal curiosity to stop and turn round to look at the cause of its disturbance, after running a distance. It is at this moment that the hunter generally fires.

About noon, we reached and crossed Findley's Fork, or the Winoca valley — the locality of the cave. Two miles south of it, in ascending an elevation, our ears were saluted by a murmuring sound in the air, which the hunters declared to be single bees, flying in a line. Observing one of them directing its flight to the top of a large oak, my companion and myself proceeded to chop it down. It was of the white-oak species, and was judged to be two feet across. When it fell, a hollow limb was fractured, disclosing a large deposit of most beautiful white honeycombs. We ate without stint, sometimes dipping cooked pieces of venison (we had no bread) in the fluid part. The remainder was then wrapped up in a freshly flayed deerskin, and firmly tied, to be carried to the hunters' cabins at Beaver creek on one of the horses.

We now resumed our route. As evening approached, we entered the head of a valley known to them as Bull creek. In this we encamped, having travelled about twenty miles.

Morning found us, as we arose from our couches, in a small, brushy, and tangled valley, through which it was not easy to make our way. The weather was cold and lowering, and the hunters did not seem inclined to make an early start. At length they entered one of the lateral valleys of Swan creek, the Mehausca of the Osages. In this we encamped. The atmosphere was clouded up, and betokened falling weather. The next morning, when I awoke, I felt an extra pressure of something on my blanket, which had the effect to keep off the wind, and produce warmth; and on opening its folds, I threw off a stratum of an inch or two of snow.

Some eight miles' travel brought us to the junction with the Mehausca, where our guides, by recognizing known objects, reassured themselves of their true position. It was, however, still hazy and obscure, and doubts soon again arose in their minds as to the proper course. I was surprised at this; it denoted a want of precision of observation, which an Indian certainly could not have been charged with. He is able, in the worst weather, to distinguish the *north* from the *south* face of a mature and weathered tree—a species of knowledge, of the utmost consequence to him in his forest wanderings.

After spending nearly the whole day in wandering about in a hazy atmosphere, we at length recognized known objects, and shortly after descended into the valley of White river, and reached the mouth of Beaver creek.

Determining to descend the river from Beaver creek, I purchased a large and new canoe, of about twenty feet in length, from the hunters. Putting into this such articles as were deemed necessary, I took the bow, with a long and smooth pole to guide it in rapids and shoals, and gave the stern to my companion, with a steering-paddle. It was now the 9th of January. Bidding adieu to our rough, but kind and friendly guides, we pushed into the stream, and found ourselves floating, with little exertion, at the rate of from three to four miles per hour. The very change from traversing weary plains and prairies, and ascending steep cliffs, was exhilarating and delightful.

White river is one of the most beautiful and enchanting streams, and by far the most transparent, which discharge their waters into the Mississippi. To a width and depth which entitle it to be classed as a river of the third magnitude in Western America, it unites a current which possesses the purity of crystal, with a smooth and gentle flow, and the most imposing, diversified, and delightful scenery. Objects can be clearly seen in it, through the water, at the greatest depths. Every pebble, rock, fish, or shell, even the minutest body which occupies the bottom of the stream, is seen with the most perfect distinctness; and the canoe, when looking under it, seemed, from the remarkable transparency of the water, to be suspended in air. The Indians, observing this peculiarity, called it Unica, which is the transitive form of *white*. The French of Louisiana merely translated this term to *la riviere au Blanc*. It is, in fact, composed of tributaries which gush up in large crystal springs out of the Ozark range of mountains, and it does not receive a discoloured tributary in all its upper course. These gigantic springs, which are themselves a curiosity, originate in the calcareous or sandstone strata of that remarkable chain, and are overlaid by a heavy oceanic deposit of limestone, quartz, hornstone, and chert pebbles, which serve as a filtering-bed to the upspringing waters. Sometimes these pebbles are found to be jasper, of a beautiful quality.

The scenery of its shores is also peculiar. Most frequently the limestone, which has been subjected to the destructive power of the elements, is worn into pinnacles of curious spiral shapes. Where the river washes the base of these formations, a high and precipitous wall of rock casts its shadow over the water. On the shores opposite to such precipices, there is invariably a rich diluvial plain, covered by a vigorous forest of trees, clothed in all the graceful luxuriance of a summer foliage.

If the shores be examined to any distance inland, the calcareous rock is found to exhibit frequent caverns, where the percolation of the waters has produced stalactites of beautiful forms, or the concretions are spread upon the floors of these caves in curious masses.

Often, upon the shores, we observed the graceful doe. At early hours in the morning, the wild turkeys appeared in large flocks, with their plumage glistening in the light. The duck, goose, and brant, often rose up before us, and lighted in the stream again below; and we thus drove them, without intending it, for miles.

A few miles below our point of embarkation, we passed on the left shore, a precipitous wall of calcareous rock, on the summit of which I observed the location of the cavern, into the mouth of which I descended on my outward journey; and it now seemed probable that the ramifications which I saw by the dim light admitted, were of an extensive character. As the shades of night overtook us, a hunter's cabin was descried on the left shore. It proved to be occupied by a person of the name of Yochem; he told us we had descended thirty miles. Resuming the descent at an early hour, we floated on charmingly. At every turn, some novel combination of scenery presented itself. As evening drew near, a hunter's cabin appeared, which proved to be Mr. Coker's. The old man received us with the usual frank and friendly air and manner of a hunter. More than fifty years must have marked his frontier pilgrimage on this boundary. It appeared from his estimates that we had descended the river twenty-five miles.

Rain fell copiously during the night; but it ceased before daylight, by the earliest gleams of which we were again in motion.

At every stage of our progress, the river was increasing its volume; and we observed its velocity accelerated, and almost imperceptibly found ourselves gliding rapidly over the Pot Shoals. This rapid appeared less formidable than had been anticipated. I rose up to observe the draught of the current, and, by a few strokes of the pole, kept the canoe in the force of the stream. About seven miles below these shoals, we reached M'Garey's, at whose domicile we had originally struck in crossing the wilderness from Potosi. He informed us that we had this day descended the river forty miles.

On learning that the Osages had retired west, and that the country abounded in game, one of the sons of our host prepared to push into that region. M'Garey stated that he had delivered "Butcher," agreeably to our order, to Holt; but the latter, on travelling a day's journey toward Beaver creek, had found him too feeble to proceed, and, after taking off his shoes, had abandoned him to the wolves.

Nothing of special interest occurred to mark our progress, till we reached the Bull shoals. At this formidable rapid, the river probably sinks its level fifteen or twenty feet in the space of half a mile. Masses of limestone rock stand up in the bed of the river, and create several channels. Between these the river foams and roars. When

I arose in the canoe to take a view of the rapid into which we were about to plunge, the bed of the stream appeared to be a perfect sheet of foam, whirling and rushing with great force and tumult. As I knew not the proper channel, and it was too late to withdraw, the only step left was to keep the canoe headed, and down we went most rapidly. Very soon the canoe leaped on a rock, driving on it with great force, and veered about crosswise. In an instant I jumped into the water at the bows, while my companion did the same at the stern, and, by main force, we lifted it over the ledge, got in quickly, and again headed it properly. We were, emphatically, in the midst of roaring rapids; their very noise was deafening. The canoe had probably got down six hundred yards, when a similar difficulty occurred, at the head of a second shute or bench of rocks, reaching across the river. In an instant, it again struck. It was obviated by getting into the water, in the same way as on the first occasion; only, however, to put our strength and skill to the test a third time, after which we shot down to the foot of the rapids safely. We had managed neither to ship water, nor to lose a piece of baggage. We were, however, thoroughly wetted, but kept our position in the canoe for five miles below the rapid, which brought us to the head of Friend's settlement. We landed, at a rather early hour in the evening, and were hospitably received by Mr. Friend, a man of mature age and stately air, the patriarch of the settlement. It was of him that we had heard stories of Osage captivity and cruelty, having visited one of the very valleys where he was kept in "durance vile."

The antiquities and mineral appearances in that vicinity were represented as worthy of examination; in consequence of which, I devoted a part of the next day to these objects. The neighboring hills consist of stratified limestone. The surface of the soil exhibits some fragments of hornstone and radiated quartz, with indications of beds of iron-ore. At the shoals, traces of galena and calcareous spar occur.

Mr. Friend, being familiar from personal observation with the geography and resources of the country at large, states that rock-salt is found between the south fork of White river and the Arkansas, where the Pawnees and Osages make use of it. This salt consists of crystalline masses from the evaporation of saline water. He represents the lead-ores on its north-western source, which we had partially explored, as very extensive.

If, as is probable, De Soto ranged over these regions in his extensive marches between the St. Francis and Arkansas, his exploratory parties may have reached the locality of crystalline salt referred to, and he would have found the buffalo in several positions east and north of that place.

The antiquarian objects to which my attention was called, afforded the greatest degree of interest. They consisted of pieces of earthenware, some antique fragments of bone, and a metallic alloy, resting on a substance resembling ashes, and also arrow-heads. The metallic alloy, of which Mr. Friend gave me a specimen, resembles a combination of lead and tin. But what adds to the interest attending the discovery of these articles, is the fact, that they lie, apparently, below the diluvial deposits, bearing a heavy forest, and at the geological line of intersection with the consolidated rocks.

From the apparent vestiges in this quarter, I am of opinion that De Soto's "Tanico" must be located in this vicinity, and that he crossed the White river near this place. A march west of this point, over a hilly country, would bring him into the fertile valley of Little Red river, or Buffalo creek — his probable Tula, where his people first tasted the flesh of this animal, and where he recruited his army for a new effort.

These inquiries occupied the morning. It was late before we embarked, and, at some four miles below, we landed on the right shore, at a Mr. Zadock Lee's. He conducted me to see some antique, white, lime-like masses, in the earth, near the bank of the river, which had the appearance of decayed bones. Rumor speaks of some other antiquities in this quarter of the country, in the shape of bricks, concealed by the undisturbed soil; but I saw nothing of this kind. We descended the river six miles, to a Mr. Jacob Yochem's. It was determined, the next morning, to loan our canoe, which was a capacious, new, and clean vessel, made from white-ash, to our host, to enable him to transport his hunter products to a market at the mouth of the Great North Fork, leaving our baggage to be brought that way. The distance by water is thirty-five miles; by land, probably not more than eighteen or twenty. By this step, we avoided the dangers of navigating two formidable rapids, called the Crooked Creek and Buffalo Shoals.

We left our host's at a seasonable hour in the morning, and walked diligently till near dusk, before reaching our destination. We then had the whole volume of White river, between us and our purposed place of lodgment, to ford.

The canoe had not arrived, nor was there any tidings of it the next morning; so that there was no alternative but to wait patiently. I determined to improve the delay by exploring the neighborhood. It is a geographical point of some importance, being the head of the navigation of White river for all large craft ascending the Mississippi. As yet, nothing but keel-boats have ascended. Between the point of our embarcation at Beaver creek and this spot, the river has a fall of sixty feet, at four rapids, which do not probably extend over a mile or two in the aggregate. The stream, during the rest of the way, has a fine, lively current, seldom of great velocity, and never stagnates. The Great North Fork, the scene of our former ramblings, enters a short distance below the foot of the Buffalo Shoals, rendering the draught of water practicable, it is believed, for steamboats at all seasons.

I found the pebble-stones and boulders on the margin and bed of the river, which I leisurely examined, to afford a true representation of the formations which had been observed in traversing the elevated and broken surface of the Ozarks. They consist of the various limestones and sandstones of the region, with a partial mixture of quartz rock, red sienite, hornstone, argillaceous rock, and the peculiar, egg-shaped, coarse yellow jasper, which appears to have been imbedded in some of its strata. On ascending the cliffs west of the valley, they were observed to consist of the characteristic limestone of the region, in horizontal layers, the upper strata containing impressions of shells. Very large angular masses of quartz rock lie near the bases of these cliffs. Some of the angles of these masses would probably measure fourteen feet. Their position here appears to be quite anomalous, as, from the absence of attrition, they are clearly not of the erratic block group. They appear to indicate a primitive formation near.

The half hunter, half farmer, to whom we had loaned our canoe, came with a number of his companions in the evening, and entered on a scene of merriment, to which, as the cabin had but one room, we were compelled to be unwilling spectators during the livelong night, though, from its character, not participating at all therein. As soon as there was light sufficient to discern objects, we embarked, rejoiced to get clear of this extraordinary nocturnal scene.

At the distance of fifteen miles, a sudden turn of the river brought us in full view of the picturesque, elevated, and precipitous shore, called Calico Rock. This presents a most imposing façade, on which are observable the imitative forms of fantastic architectural devices. The wall is quite precipitous throughout. It is the calcareous rock of the region. Its summit is overlaid with ochreous clays of various colors, which, through the action of the elements, have imparted their fanciful hues to portions of the cliff. This abrupt species of scenery is quite peculiar to the American landscape. A still more imposing section of it is presented in the Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior. Nothing of this kind marks the banks of the Rhine, so much eulogized by travellers; for all its formations partake of the parabolic, or curved lines of the primitive, and the eye is relieved by these gradations; but, in the brusque scenes of the West, the precipices are as marked as if they had been hewn down by some gigantic broad-axe.

From the remarks made at the places where we have been entertained by the hunters and settlers on this river, there is considerable dissatisfaction with a treaty[1] made with the Cherokee Indians, by which a part of that nation are assigned a location between the north bank of the Arkansas and the south bank of White river. Many of them, including our hostess to-night, and the M'Gareys, Lees, and Matneys above, have lands in cultivation, with dwelling-houses, stock, and improvements, of more or less value, on the south banks of the river; which, as they apprehend, under the operation of this treaty, they are to relinquish to the Cherokees.

The truth is, the first white occupants of the frontiers, though generally rough men, and without a title to the lands they settle on, are the pioneers of civilization; and by thus taking their lives in their hands, and encountering the perils of the wilderness and of Indian hostility, they lay the government under a strong obligation to protect them. The natural hatred of races is such, that they are continually on ill terms with the Indians, and the Indians with them. It is difficult to say which of the two races, during this period of contact, is most suspicious of the other.

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[1] Treaty of 8th July, 1817: vide Indian Treaties, p. 209.

The Indians look up to the government with strong claims for protection. The frontier, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was on and near the Atlantic borders, and long continued east of the Alleghany mountains. It is already west of the Mississippi river. As the population presses, first on the Indian's hunting-grounds, and next on his cornfields, he flies before the irresistible tide, and takes shelter at some more remote western point. But he is hardly well seated on his new hunting-grounds — he has hardly begun to reap his new cornfields — when the pioneers of the same race that disturbed him before, are upon him; and again and again he must fly before the resistless — the uncontrollable tide of migration. It is a providential flux in the wave of races. It is something to be observed, rather than to be apprehended and understood. It seems to say, that the surface of the habitable earth was not formed for the permanent occupancy of races who rely on the pleasing and exciting uses of the bow and arrow; that labor, which was, at the first, declared to be the proper condition of man, is destined to sweep away, if it cannot merge into its on-rush, these erratic and picturesque tribes. Where their frontiers will be found, a hundred years hence, the voice of history, looking to the past, may only predict; but this appears appreciable and clear — that the perpetuation of the race as one of the elements of mankind, must depend, in the sequel, however long that sequel be postponed, on his adoption of the principles of industry, letters, and Christianity. For the civilization and moral elevation of man is the great object of revelation.

Rumor had pointed out a place as the locality of a tin-mine. The frontiersmen are greatly disposed to excite each other's imagination by reports of mines and discoveries, every one of which is fancied to be some new Potosi or El Dorado. I examined some specimens of the supposed treasure. It consisted of several heavy lumps of the ore called, by mineralogists, iron-glance. It had the usual color, weight, and high metallic lustre. He represented it as occurring, in large bodies, about eight or ten miles north of Jones', on high lands.

We had proceeded some miles on our way, when a large black bear was discovered on the shore. It appeared to be about to plunge in for the purpose of crossing the river, when our presence alarmed it, and the animal, with its usual clumsy gait, betook himself to the woods again.

Fifteen miles below Jones' cabin, we passed Harden's ferry, the house being on the right bank; and, two miles further on, Morrison's ferry. Continuing our descent eight miles lower, we landed at a place called Poke Bayou, (now Batesville,) where we were hospitably received by a Mr. Robert Bean. The river had now become a magnificent body of water, still clear and beautiful. We were here within the boundaries of the Mississippi alluvions. No highlands are visible for some distance before reaching Harden's. The river winds through broad, fertile plains, bearing a most vigorous growth of forest trees. The banks are elevated some thirty feet above the water, and, as the stream increases in depth and strength, they become subject to be undermined by the flood. The cane, which is common to the river in its entire length, even to the highest elevations of the Ozarks, is here of a tall and most vigorous growth. It is this plant, I apprehend, more than any other feature, which gives an oriental cast to these alluvial tracts; and I was almost ready, at some points, to see the hippopotamus and elephant display their clumsy forms. For these, however, we had the buffalo, the cougar, and the bear, whose crackling strength, as they passed through these reedy mazes, had, on more than one occasion during our rambles, reminded us of the great muscular power of these boasted objects of hunter skill and enterprise.

AREA OF DE SOTO'S MARCH NORTH TO COLIGOA.

I determined to quit the river at this point. There is almost a moral certainty that De Soto must have crossed the river not far above this place. The make of the land, and the custom of the Indians in choosing the best ground for a path to travel from village to village, would determine this. His position, after crossing the Mississippi at the mouth of the St. Francis, and reaching the high grounds of the latter, would lead the natives who were his guides to keep the elevated and dry ranges leading to the buffalo country, west; and he must have crossed the affluents of the Black and Currents rivers at a high point towards the Ozarks. The dry and open woods afforded the best ground for the march of his cavalry; and when he attempted to reach the salt and buffalo country from the region east of White river, the roughness of the country would lead him to the central points of that stream. It would be interesting, as a point of antiquarian interest, to know where the old Indian paths were located. The roads, in all parts of the country, were based on these. They led to the most practicable fords of rivers, they avoided swamps and boggy grounds, and evinced a thorough geographical knowledge of the conformation of the country.

To travel where De Soto had marched, and performed some of his heroic feats, had something pleasing, at least, in the association. Doubtless, had the first occupants of Upper Louisiana been as mindful of historical reminiscences as they were set on repeating his search for gold and silver mines, they might have been rewarded by finding some of the straggling bones of his broken-down Andalusian cavalry. The fragments of broken arms and trappings are yet, perhaps, concealed by the accumulated rank vegetable soil of Arkansas and Southern Missouri, whence the plough may at no distant day reveal them.

It was ten o'clock on the morning of the 19th, when, having made every necessary preparation, we left Batesville. I regretted the necessity of making a selection from my collection of minerals and geological specimens. We set out with great alacrity. For the first five miles, the road lay over a level, fertile tract, with several plantations;

the remaining thirteen miles were comparatively sterile and uneven, without settlements. We had passed about seventeen miles of the distance, when my right foot and ankle began to flinch. I was not sensible of any slip or sprain in walking, but rather believe it resulted from too much ardor and anxiety to get forward. I had, about four years previously, dislocated and injured the same ankle in leaping down a precipice in the Green Mountains, having mistaken for soft soil, a granitical shelf of rock at its base, which was covered with autumnal leaves. I believe the suddenness and alacrity of this day's travel, after leaving the quietude of the canoe, had awakened a sympathy in the injured nerves. In a short time, the pain was unendurable. With great effort I walked a mile further, and reached a double log-house, the mistress of which bathed the ankle with salt and water, and made other applications. Some alleviation, but no permanent relief, was obtained. I then laid down under the hope of being better, but awoke in the morning with little or no abatement of the pain and inflammation. A traveller on horseback, coming along that morning on a fine animal, agreed, for a small compensation, to let me ride to the south fork of Strawberry river, while he went afoot. This helped me over twelve miles of the road, where his path diverged; and I felt so much relieved by it, on dismounting, that I managed, by easy stages, to walk four miles farther, which brought us to the main river. The afternoon was not yet spent; but the pain of my ankle had returned before reaching the river, and I found it in vain to press forward, without adequate repose.

The next morning my travelling companion, who cared nothing for natural history or antiquities, and was urgent to push on, left me, and returned to St. Louis. I felt, for a few moments, a sense of isolation; but I was now in a region where there was no longer any danger to be apprehended for the want of the first necessaries of life. My lameness required nothing, indeed, but perfect repose. The people were kind, and, when I ascertained that my hostess was a sister of one of the hunters who had guided me in the most remote parts of my wanderings in the Ozarks, there was a manifest point of sympathy.

I found that there were appearances of a mineral deposit in this vicinity, which seemed to connect the hilly grounds of Strawberry river with similar indications which have been noticed near the Bull shoals, on White river. Appearances denote the existence of sulphuret of lead. Sulphate of barytes, calcareous spar, and white crystalline masses of quartz, characterize the uplands. Here I rested from my journey. When my foot and ankle would bear it, I proceeded by easy paces northward, going, the first day after leaving the Strawberry valley, ten miles, which brought me to a place called Dogwood Springs, so named from the *cornus florida*. The next day I went ten miles further, when I came to the banks of Spring river. Here I first saw cotton in the fields, being the unpulled bolls of the autumn crop, which had not been thought worth gathering.

Feeling no injury to result from these easy marches, which gave me time to examine the appearances of the surface, I ventured a little farther on the recovery of my ankle, and, the third day, went nineteen miles. In this distance I crossed the stream called Elevenpoints, a tributary to Spring river, and came, at a rather late hour in the evening, into a small valley called *Fourche à Thomas*.

With the earliest gleams of light I was up, and walked four miles to breakfast. Twelve more brought me to Hicks's ferry, on a large stream called the Currents. I had camped on the source of this river, in the cliffs of the Ozarks, on my outward trip, and found the region remarkable for its large saltpetre caves. It was here a river of eight feet deep, and three hundred yards wide. At this spot I should have stopped; for, after going beyond it, I found the country was thinly settled, which compelled me to walk some time after nightfall, before I could find a house. I left my pallet at a very early hour. For three miles beyond, it was a rough region, through which it required daylight to pass, and where I must have lost my way in the dark, had I gone on, the night previously. I stopped at a cottage, for breakfast.

Thus refreshed, I went on ten miles, which brought me to the banks of Little Black river. Two miles beyond this stream, I came to the house of a Mr. Reeves, at an early hour in the afternoon, my ankle giving indications of returning lameness. Quiet, and a night's repose, had the effect to relieve these symptoms, and I was enabled cautiously to continue my journey the next day. By easy stages, I made seventeen miles during the day, walking early and late, which brought me to Big Black river—a large stream which is a tributary of White river, maintaining through it a free navigation with the Mississippi. After crossing the ferry, I went about half a mile further, and took up my night's lodgings at a Mr. Bollinger's. I felt no further weakness of my foot and ankle, and was happy in the reflection that my cautious movements had been such as not to over-tax the strength of my nerves.

On the next morning (28th), I walked seven miles to a Mr. Esty's, where I fell in with the old road, which had originally been laid on the ancient Indian path. The elevated lands between Black river and the St. Francis, had evidently been the line of march of De Soto, when (in 1541) he set forward from "Quiguate," on the St. Francis, toward the "north-west," in search of Coligoa. Any other course between west and south-west, would have involved his army in the lagoons, and deep and wide channel of Black river, which forms a barrier for about one hundred and fifty miles toward the south; while this dividing ground, between the Black river and St. Francis, consists chiefly of dry pine lands and open uplands, offering every facility for the movements of his cavalry, which were ever the dread of the Indians.

The first Indian village which De Soto reached, after crossing the Mississippi — probably at the ancient Indian crossing-place at the lower Chickasaw bluffs—and pushing on through the low grounds, was, on reaching the elevations of the St. Francis, immediately west of his point of landing. The place was called Casquin, or Casqui; a name which will be recognized as bearing a resemblance to Kaskaskia, one of the

Illinois tribes. From this place on the highlands of the St. Francis, he ascended that river, keeping the same side of its current, through a fine country, abounding in the pecan and mulberry, a distance of seven leagues, to the central position of the Casquins. Here it was, and not on the immediate banks of the Mississippi, that he erected a gigantic cross, formed out of a pine-tree, which, after it was hewn, a hundred men could not lift.

From this place, after a rest of several days, he was led, by the wily chief, to march against the village and chief of Capaha, who was his hereditary enemy, and who had, in past encounters, proved himself more than his equal in prowess. De Soto was caught in this trap, which had nearly proved fatal to his gallant army. Descending the high grounds towards the north-east, and crossing alluvial tracts, by a march of about six days he reached the enemy, well posted, strong in numbers, and of great bravery, on the elevations, which we are disposed to look for at the site of the modern town of New Madrid. Capaha took shelter on a thickly wooded island in the Mississippi river, where De Soto, assisted by his allies, attacked him in canoes, and from which his allies, and afterwards himself and army, were glad to retreat. The chief was a brave, energetic young man, and fought against his combined enemies with the spirit inspired by long acknowledged success. This place formed the extreme northern limit of De Soto's expedition on the line of the Mississippi, and must have been north of 35°. After this effort, he retraced his steps slowly back to Casqui.

The Kapahas (Quappas), who are ethnologically Dacotahs, have long occupied the west banks of the Mississippi. They have been inveterate enemies of the whole Algonquin race, to which the Kaskaskias and Illinois belonged; and it is not improbable that they had, at this early day, not only encountered the Spaniards, but that, after the latter withdrew, they fell on the Casquins, and drove them east of the Mississippi, into the country of the Illinois.

While De Soto was in the country of Capaha, he learned that about forty leagues distant, (west, it must needs have been,) there were, in the hill country, quantities of fossil salt, and also a yellowish metal, which he supposed to be gold. He despatched two trusty and intelligent men, with Indian guides and carriers, to procure samples. After an absence of eleven days, they returned, with six of the Indians laden with crystals of salt, and one of them with metallic copper. A hundred and twenty miles west of the supposed point of starting, would carry the messengers across the valley of White river, and far into the Ozark plains and elevations, between the south fork of that stream, and the north banks of the Arkansas — the same region, in fine, mentioned in a prior part of these sketches as yielding those articles. The country through which these messengers passed was sterile, and thinly inhabited; but they reported it to be filled with herds of buffalo. These reports led him to march down the banks of the St. Francis, till he reached the village called Quiguate. From thence, having heard of a locality called Coligoa, where he thought there might be gold, he marched again north-west in search of it. This march, in which he followed a single Indian guide, must have led him to the foot of the rough, mountainous, granitic, and mineral region, at the sources of the St. Francis. But this search proved also a disappointment. He was informed that, six leagues north of Coligoa, the region I traversed after leaving the Wall cliff, the buffalo existed in vast herds; but that, if he would reach a rich province, he must march south. Hence he continued his adventurous marches through Southern Missouri and Arkansas.

Having taken the road again, after my halt at Esty's, I travelled diligently ten miles, at which distance I reached the St. Francis. The scene was rural and picturesque, the river winding along in a deep and rapid bed, between elevated and fertile banks. From appearances, this seemed to be the site of the ancient Casqui. The ferry was managed by a black man; and we put an American half-dollar on the top of an oak stump, to adjust the ferriage. On landing on the north bank, I pursued my journey six miles farther, to one Smith's. It was now the 28th of January, and the weather so mild, that I this day found the witch-hazel in bloom.

RETURN TO POTOSI.

I left my night's quarters before daylight was fairly developed. The sky was, indeed, heavily overcast, and it soon commenced raining. Expecting to find a house at no great distance, I kept on, the rain at the same time assuming a more settled form, and falling with steadiness. I was thoroughly wetted, and, the storm continuing without abatement, I remained until the next morning. The atmosphere was then clear, and the sun rose pleasantly; but the roads were a perfect quagmire. An immense body of rain had fallen. Every little rivulet roared as if it were a torrent that was out of all patience to deliver its quantum of water to the swollen St. Francis. The ground was perfectly saturated with water; but I picked my way four miles to breakfast. It had been my intention to cross the St. Francis, and take the route through Caledonia to Potosi; but after travelling sixteen miles towards the north-west, and reaching the fords, I found them too much swollen to permit it.

After crossing the St. Francis, towards the north, there are strong indications of a change in the geological structure of the country. The horizontal limestone and sandstone series still continue for a distance; but they are covered with large blocks of sienite and granite. What is remarkable in these blocks, is their angular character, which denotes that they have not been carried far south of their original beds. These blocks increase in frequency and size as we approach the primitive highlands of the St. Francis. And I at length stood, gazing at these rough, red, crystalline peaks, and high, orbicular knobs, which reach up from beneath and through the calcareous and sedimentary series, without having lifted up the latter into inclined positions, or in the least disturbing their horizontality — a proof of their priority of position.

I passed the night near the fords, at a farmer's; and finding it impossible, the next morning, to pursue this route, or to get a boat or canoe to cross the river, obtained directions for making my way north-eastwardly, towards St. Michael's. I was now in the probable region of De Soto's Coligoa, the utmost north-westwardly point of his explorations. And it ceased to be a matter of surprise that the Indians had given him such wonderful accounts of the mineral wealth of the sources of the St. Francis. The white inhabitants, at this day, have similar notions. They perceive such an unusual geological display before and around them, that they suppose it indicates mineral treasures. There are stories afloat of all kinds of mineral discoveries — not of gold, indeed, which was De Soto's search, but of tin, lead, copper, iron, cobalt, and antimony. The iron mountains of Bellevieu, so called, are part of this development. At a place called the Narrows, the river rushes between alpine peaks of sienite and black hornblende rock, which lies in huge and confused heaps, plainly indicating ancient volcanic action. I had examined this region, with minuteness, the previous summer, in an excursion through the southern limits of the lead-mines, and now revisited some of the points, respecting which my curiosity was unsatisfied. I wandered among these attractive peaks about ten miles, and slept at a house (Burdett's), to the occupant of which, I had carried a letter of introduction the year before.

The next day proved rainy; but I took advantage of intervals in the weather to advance on my general course a few miles. The sky, the next morning, was still cloudy, dark, and unsettled. When it indicated signs of clearing up, I was advised of another ford of the St. Francis, at a higher point; and proceeded a part of the way to reach it; but accounts discouraged me, and I bent my steps to the village of St. Michael. Two miles north of this, I came to the noted lead-mine of La Motte, the most southerly in position of the Missouri circle of mines. At this place, they raised large tubular masses of lead-ore, from its position in the red, marly clay. The slags drawn from the ash-furnace denoted, by the intensity of their blue color, the presence of oxide of cobalt. Ten miles beyond these mines, after passing an uninhabited tract, I entered Cook's settlement, where I slept.

Next day, I was again in motion at early dawn. The effects of the late copious rains were still an impediment to travelling; but I experienced no further symptoms of lameness, and felt the desire to press on increasing in proportion as I drew near my starting-point in the prior autumn. I felt that I had succeeded in the accomplishment of a trip of some peril, through a noted mountainous range, and I could not help feeling a degree of buoyancy of spirits while returning. Under this impulse, I travelled rapidly. On reaching Wolf creek, it was found to be filled to overflowing. It was already dark; and a ruinous, tenantless house, with the doors and windows standing open, was the only object that presented itself on the opposite bank. Horse or canoe there was none; but there could be no hesitation in attempting to cross it. The waters, in the deepest parts of the channel, reached to my breast. I came out, of course, dripping; it was still two miles to a house, and, casting furtive glances at the masses of darkness in the deserted dwelling, I hurried on to the point of my destination.

It was the 4th of February when I crossed Big river, the Grande river of the days of Crozat and the financier Law. I was carried across it in a ferry-boat, and took my way over the sylvan, long, sweeping mineral hills, which stretch towards Potosi, reaching that town in the afternoon. The first acquaintance I encountered, on reaching within a few miles of it, was a Major Hawkins—a surveyor, an old resident, and a good woodsman, who, cordially extending his hand to welcome my return, exclaimed, "I thought the Indians or the wolves had long ago eaten you up." This was the first intimation I received that there had been any temerity in the plan for this expedition.

Potosi was now selected as the place for drawing up an account of the mines, and the mineralogical productions and resources of the country—a memoir on which was published by me at New York, late in the autumn of this year (1819).

3. NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY FROM TULPEHOCKEN,[1] PENNSYLVANIA, TO ONONDAGA, IN 1737. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY HIESTER H. MUHLENBERG, M.D. COMMUNICATED BY F. A. HIESTER, ESQ.

By Conrad Wiser, Esq.

In the year 1736, Governor Gooch, of Virginia, requested of the government in Philadelphia that it should make known to the so-called Six Nations, by a regular embassy, that he, Gooch, was desirous of establishing a peace between the allied Six Nations living to the north, and the so-called Cherikees and Cataubas, to the south. And that he, Governor Gooch, had already so arranged, that the latter tribes would send deputies by next spring; to which place the chiefs of the allied Six Nations should also be invited; and in the mean time a truce should be proclaimed by them for a year long, to which the others had already agreed.

I was required to perform this duty, and received regular instructions from James Logan, Esq., at that time President.

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[1] The Tulpehocken lands, comprising part of Berks and Lebanon counties, were settled, in 1723, by Germans from Schohary, in New York, who penetrated the forests to the head-waters of Susquehannah, where they built themselves canoes, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara, on the head waters of which, and of the Tulpehocken, they settled, on lands which belonged to the Indians. These lands were purchased by Thomas Penn, of the Indians, in 1732. These were then the frontier settlements.—H. H. M.

1737. On the 27th of February, I left home for Onontago, which is the place where the allied Six Nations hold their council. It is situated in the centre of these nations, on a river which empties into the great Lake Onontario, from which the great St. Lawrence flows. I took with me as travelling companions, Stoffel Stump, a white man, and an Onontager Indian, who had been lying sick here since last summer, but had now recovered. His name was Owis-gera.

The 28th, we remained at Tolheo,[1] on account of the bad weather, and to procure some necessaries for the journey.

The 1st of March we started from Talheo, which is the last place in the inhabited part of Pennsylvania, and the same day we reached the top of the Kiditanny mountain. The snow was about a foot deep.

The 2d and 3d, we found nothing but ice under the new fallen snow on the north side of the mountain, which caused dangerous falls to ourselves and horses.

The 4th we reached Shomoken,[2] but did not find a living soul at home who could assist us in crossing the Susquehannah river.

The 5th we lay still; we had now made about eighty miles.

The 6th we observed smoke on the other side of the river, about a mile above our camp. We went up opposite the place, and saw a small hut. An Indian trader was induced, by the repeated firing of our pieces, to come over, who took us across safely in two trips, but not without great danger, on account of the smallness of the canoe, and the river being full of floating ice. We were here obliged to leave our horses behind, as it was impossible to get them across. We again lay still to-day.

The 7th we started from here along one branch of the river. The main stream comes from the north-east; we went to the north-west. We found that we had commenced our journey at the wrong time; all the streams were filled with water and swollen, particularly those we had to cross. An old Shawano, by name Jenoniswani, took us across the creek at Zilly-Quachne.[3] I presented him with some needles and a pair of shoe-strings; he was very thankful, and behaved as if he thought he had received a great present.

On the 8th we reached the village where Shikelimo[4] lives, who was appointed by the President to be my companion and guide on the journey. He was, however, far from home, on a hunt. The weather became bad, and we laid by; the waters rose still higher, and no Indian could be induced to seek Shikelimo until the 12th, when two young Indians agreed to go out in search of him.

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[1] Tolheo was a gap in the Blue Mountain, where the Big Swatara breaks through, in Lebanon County, as stated in a letter from Conrad Wiser to Governor Morris, dated Oct. 27, 1755; to be found in Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties, page 44. There was subsequently a block-house erected at this point, in the old French and Indian war of 1754, which was garrisoned by a company under Captain Busse, a part of the Pennsylvania battalion of nine companies under Lt. Col. Weiser, raised for defence of the frontiers. This name, Tolheo, has since degenerated into "The Hole," as the Hole Creek.—H. H. M.

[2] Now Sunbury.—H. H. M.

[3] Chislisquah Creek.—H. H. M.

[4] This village I suppose to have been about Milton, or near it. Shikelima was the father of Logan, whose speech to Lord Dunmore on the murder of his family is so well related in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.—H. H. M.

On the 16th, they returned with word that Shikelimo would return by the next day, which so happened. The waters had again risen, by reason of the warm wind and rain, which melted the snow in the forests. Several Indians arrived by water from the Six Nations, who reported that the snow was still waist-deep in the forests, and that it was not possible to proceed without snow-shoes.

The Indians at this place were out of provisions; our little stock was soon exhausted, as there was a numerous family in the house where we lodged. We had expected, on leaving home, to supply ourselves with provisions at this place, in which we were entirely disappointed. I saw a new blanket given for about one-third of a bushel of Indian-corn. Here we already began to suffer the pangs of hunger, and other troubles forced themselves on us. It was with great difficulty that I procured a small quantity of corn-meal and a few beans for the journey.

The 21st we ventured to proceed on our journey to Onontago. There were now five of us, as Shikelimo accompanied me, and we were joined by a warrior who had been on a war expedition to Virginia, and was going home in the same direction as we were travelling. In the forenoon we reached the large creek Canusorago.[1] It was very high; and we were taken over in a canoe, not without great danger. The next day two English traders attempted to cross, but their canoe was overturned by the force of the current; one of them was drowned, and the other only escaped by swimming.

To-day we passed a place where the Indians, in former times, had a strong fortification[2] on a height. It was surrounded by a deep ditch; the earth was thrown up in the shape of a wall, about nine or ten feet high, and as many broad. But it is now in decay, as, from appearance, it had been deserted beyond the memory of man.

The 22d we came to a village called Olstuago, from a high rock which lies opposite. However, before we came in sight of the village, we reached a large creek,[3] which looked more dreadful than the one of yesterday. After repeated firing of our guns, two Indians came from the village to see what was to be done. They brought, at our request, a canoe from the village, and took us across. We quartered ourselves with Madame Montour, a French woman by birth, of a good family, but now in mode of life a complete Indian. She treated us very well according to her means, but had very little to spare this time, or, perhaps, dared not let it be seen, on account of so many hungry Indians about. She several times in secret gave me and Stoffel as much as we could eat, which had not happened to us before for ten days; she showed great compassion for us, saying that none of the Indians where we were going had anything to eat, except the Onontagers, which my Indian fellow-travellers refused to believe, until we found it true by experience.

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[1] The Muncy Creek?—H. H. M.

[2] From the description, this fortification appears to be of the same nature as those found in the Western States; showing that the builders of these great works also resided in Pennsylvania long previous, as he remarks it had been, apparently, at that early period, deserted long before.—H. H. M.

[3] The Loyalsock Creek?—H. H. M.

The 23d we lay still on account of rainy weather. Two Indians arrived by water, in a canoe made of elk-skins, who said that in the wilderness the snow was still knee-deep. I received from Madame Montour some provisions for the journey. We have now advanced one hundred and thirty miles.

The 24th we proceeded on our journey from here, and in the forenoon found the snow two feet deep; but as it had been very cold during the night, it was frozen so hard that we could walk over the surface without breaking often through the crust. In the afternoon we came to a thick forest, where the snow was three feet deep, but not frozen so hard, which made our journey fatiguing. We were between two high and steep mountains; a small creek[1] flowing through the valley in an opposite direction to our course. The valley was not broader than the bed of the stream, and on both sides were frightfully high mountains and rocks, overgrown with carell or palm-wood. The passage through here seemed to me altogether impossible, and I at once advised to turn back. The Indians, however, encouraged me to persevere, stating that in a little distance the mountains were further apart, and that we could easily proceed. I agreed at last to go on: the Indians took the lead, and clambered with hands and feet along the side of the mountain; we followed after. I had a small hatchet in my hand, with which I broke the ice to give us a foothold. There was considerable danger of freezing our feet, as we were often obliged to cross the stream, and had no space to keep our feet warm by exercise. After climbing in this way, we reached a point where the valley began to widen and become more spacious. We made a fire, and waited for our Onontager Indian, who was far behind; he being still weak from the illness he had undergone. In these three hours we had not advanced over one mile. The wood was altogether of the kind called by the English, spruce, so thick that we could not, generally, see the sun shine. After we had warmed ourselves and taken some food, we proceeded onward, and in the evening made our camp under the spruce trees. We broke branches to cover the snow where we lay down, and this constituted our beds. We made a large fire on the top of the snow, which was three feet deep. In the morning the fire had burned down to the ground, and was as if in a deep hole. We slept soundly after our hard day's journey, but were all stiff in the morning from the cold, which, during the night, had been excessive. We prepared breakfast, which consisted of a little Indian-corn and beans, boiled in water.

The 25th, after breakfast, we proceeded on our journey. The snow was no deeper, and before noon we reached a stream which is a branch of the Otzmachson[2] river, which we had left yesterday. The stream we are now on the Indians call Dia-dachlu,[1] (the lost or bewildered), which in fact deserves such a name. We proceeded along this stream between two terrible mountains; the valley being, however, now about a half mile in width, and the stream flowed now against this, and then against the other mountain, among the rocks. Here we held a long council as to the best mode of procedure; whether to remain in the valley, and consequently be obliged to cross the stream repeatedly, or to endeavor to proceed along the sides of the mountains, as we had done yesterday. As it was very cold to wade the creek often, we determined to try the mountain's side. As we were clambering along the mountains, before we had proceeded a quarter of a mile, Shikelimo had an unlucky fall which nearly cost him his life. He had caught hold of a flat stone, sticking in the root of a fallen tree, which came loose, and his feet slipping from under him, he fell, at a place which was steeper than the roof of a house. He could not catch hold of anything, but continued slipping on the snow and ice for about three rods, when his pack, which he carried in Indian fashion, with a strap round his breast, passed on one side of a sapling and he on the other, so that he remained hanging by the strap until we could give him assistance. If he had slipped half a rod further, he would have fallen over a precipice about one hundred feet high, upon the other craggy rocks. I was two steps from him when he fell. We were all filled with terror, but were obliged to proceed until we reached a place where we could descend into the valley, which did not take place for a quarter of an hour. When we reached the valley, Shikelimo looked around at the height of the steep precipice on which he had fallen. We looked at him: he stood still in astonishment, and said, "I thank the great Lord and Creator of the world, that he had mercy on me, and wished me to continue to live longer."

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[1] Quere, was it Trout Run?

[2] The west branch of Susquehannah. The orthography of these Indian names I find to vary in different portions of this journal, as if the writer was governed by the ear alone.

We soon came to the before-mentioned water, which had a strong current; we therefore cut a pole twelve or fifteen feet long, of which we all took hold, and so waded together, in case that if any one should lose his footing, he could hold on to the pole. The water reached to the waist, but we crossed safely. We had to suffer from excessive cold, because the hard frozen snow was still eighteen inches deep in the valley, and prevented us from walking rapidly; neither could we warm ourselves by walking, because we had to cross the stream six or seven times. The wood was so thick, that for a mile at a time we could not find a place of the size of a hand, where the sunshine could penetrate, even in the clearest day. This night we prepared a place to sleep in the same manner as last night.

During the night it began to storm, and the wind blew terribly, which seemed to me strange. The Indians say that in this whole valley, which is about sixty miles long, it storms in this manner, or snows, every night. It is such a desolate region that I often thought I must perish in this frightful wilderness.

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[1] The Lycoming Creek.

The 26th, we passed the whole day in travelling along the stream; the mountains continued high, and we were obliged to wade over the creek many times, but it began to diminish in size, so that we could cross it several times on fallen timber. To-day, Tawagerat fell with such violence from one log on another, that he fainted and lay in that state for a considerable time. We became very much fatigued to-day, from so often wading the creek in such cold weather; we also became very hungry; the provision was poor, and little of that. This night we built a hut of branches, because it again became cloudy; it stormed again terribly, and snowed at times as if it wished to bury us, but it never lasted long, and in the morning there was little snow on the ground.

The Indians believe that an Otkan (an evil spirit) has power in this valley, that some of them could call him by name, and brought him sacrifices by which he could be appeased. I asked if any of our party could do this, or knew his name. They answered no, that but few could do this, and they were magicians.

The 27th we followed up the valley and creek; the hills became lower as we continued to ascend, because we had been following up this water from the time we left Madame Montour's. At noon we reached the summit of the mountain. Before we had quite reached the summit, we saw two skulls fixed on poles, the heads of men who had been killed there a long time before, by their prisoners, who had been taken in South Carolina. The prisoners, who were two resolute men, had found themselves at night untied, which, without doubt, had been done by the Otkan, and having killed their captors and taken possession of their arms, had returned home.

One of the wonders[1] of nature is to be seen here. The creek already mentioned, is flowing as if on a summit or height of land; runs with a rapid current towards or against a linden tree, where it divides into two streams; the one stream becomes the water[2] up which we have been travelling for three days, and flowing to the south, empties not far from the Indian village Olstuaga, into the Quinachson[3] river. The other stream[4] flows to the north, and empties into the Susquehannah river, two hundred miles above Shemoken. Both streams finally again unite their waters at Shemoken, where the Otquinachson river empties into the Susquehannah. The stream flowing to the north is called the Dawantaa. (The fretful or tedious.)

We travelled down this stream, and towards evening reached a place where the snow had entirely disappeared, in a grove of white oak trees. The south wind blew very warm, and the weather was pleasant; it seemed as if we had escaped from hell; we lay on the dry ground. I cooked for supper as much as I thought would give us plenty to eat, as we hoped soon to reach the Susquehannah river, where our Onontager had persuaded us that we would find provisions in plenty.

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[1] The beaver dam, at the head waters of the Lycoming and Towanda creeks, at the point where the lines of Bradford, Tioga, and Lycoming counties meet. — H. H. M.

[2] The Lycoming creek. — H. H. M.

[3] The West Branch of the Susquehannah. — H. H. M.

[4] The Towanda creek. — H. H. M.

The 28th we eat our last meal for breakfast, as we believed that by evening, at farthest, we would reach the river, and started immediately after. The warm south wind was still blowing, and the sun shining. We left the Dawantaa to the right hand, and about ten o'clock reached a water called Oscohu[1] (the fierce). This is a rapid, impetuous stream, because it flows among the mountains, and because the wind has melted the snow in the high forests. We first cut down a long pine tree, but it did not reach the other shore, and was carried away by the current. The Indians advised that we should wade through, holding to a long pole; but I would not agree to that, because the water was too deep. We knew not what to do — while we were cutting down the tree, the water had risen a foot. As we could not agree upon what was to be done, and were irritable from hunger, the Indians began to abuse Stoffel, who, they said, was to blame, that I had not followed their advice. When I took his part, they treated me the same way — called me a coward who loved his life, but must die of hunger on this spot. I said, it is true we Europeans love our lives, but also those of our fellow-creatures; the Indians, on the contrary, loved their lives also, but often murdered one another, which the Europeans did not do, and therefore the Indians were cruel creatures, whose advice could not be followed in circumstances like the present. They then wished to make a raft, and thus cross to the other side, which it was impossible to do at this place, on the account of the rapidity of the current, and the rocks in the bed of the stream. I said to them, that I had so far followed their advice, but I now required them to follow mine, and to follow the stream downwards until we reached a quiet place, even if we had to go to the Susquehannah river, because on level land the water was not so rapid as among the hills and mountains. Shikelimo answered, that I did not know how far it was to the Susquehannah river; they knew it better than I did; it was an impossibility. This he said to frighten me, but I knew it could not be more than a short day's journey, by following the course we were travelling, because I examined the compass several times every day; I could also tell it by the mountains on the right hand side of the stream, as we descended, which appeared to become lost; whereas, up the stream they appeared much higher, from which a sound judgment would infer, that a man had not far to go to find the current lessen or cease. Shikelimo retorted, that he was the guide, as being a person who had travelled the route often, while I had never done so; he would cross there; if I refused, I must bear the blame if I lost my life by hunger or any other accident. He would also complain to the Governor, Thomas Penn, and James Logan, of my folly, and excuse himself. The others spoke much to the same purpose, particularly Tawagarat, who was returning from the wars, who said openly, that he was too proud to obey an European. I answered them all, and in particular Shikelimo — it is true, he was appointed by the Governor to be my guide, but not my commander, and since he would not guide me on the path I wished to go, namely, down the creek, and wished to be my master, I set him free from his duty — he might go where he pleased. I intended to be my own guide, and positively to take my own course, with my fellow-traveller Stoffel, but I would still advise him to obey me this time, which I did as a friendly request at parting. I then took my pack and moved off, the Onontager followed me immediately — Shikelimo did not hesitate long, after he saw that I was in earnest, and soon followed. Tawagarat remained behind, because, as he said, he was too proud and obstinate to follow me. We had gone more than a mile down stream, when I observed that nature had provided everything requisite for a safe crossing; the current had ceased entirely, and there was much dry pine timber, which is the lightest wood that can be found for such purposes. Here I threw down my pack, and ordered my companions to do the same. On their inquiring the reason, I said we would cross here. Shikelimo observed the fine opportunity, he was glad, fired off his gun, and shouted to make our companion who remained behind hear. We went to work, and in an hour and a half we had a raft of the dry pine timber mentioned, ready, and passed over safely. Stoffel and the Onontager crossed again, to fetch two hatchets which we had forgotten, and all was done without any danger. We turned again up stream, until we struck our path. My Indian companions thanked me for my good counsel, and for resisting their wishes so boldly. We travelled rapidly, for the purpose of reaching the Susquehannah river this evening, where some Indians resided, and when we came in sight of it, we sat down to rest; yet we were in trouble for our obstinate Tawagarat, who had remained behind. After we had been sitting there for half an hour, we heard a shout, and soon appeared Tawagarat at full speed, but very wet. On his questioning us as to how we had crossed, the Onontager related the mode, at which he was surprised, and stated that he had tied several pieces of wood together, and pushed off into the water, but was so hurried away by the current (in spite of his efforts with a pole), that he reached a small island which was just above the place we crossed at, where the raft separated, and he was obliged to wade the remaining distance, with the water up to his arm-pits. I reproved him for his pride and obstinacy; he acknowledged that he had acted foolishly, that he had heard our firing, but was already engaged in making his raft. We proceeded on our journey, well pleased that we were all together again, and the same evening reached some Indians living on the Susquehannah river, where we, however, found nothing but hungry people, who sustained life with the juice of the sugar-trees. We, however, procured a little weak soup, made of corn meal. I had a quantity of Indian trinkets with me, but could procure no meal. My only comfort this evening was, that whoever labors or is tired will find sleep sweet.

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[1] This was Sugar creek, as he speaks afterwards of the Indians at the mouth of this creek feeding on the juice of sugar-trees. — H. H. M.

The 29th we proceeded on our journey at an early hour, but without breakfast; reached a dangerous place where the path on the bottom-land was overflowed by the river, which was very high, and we had to cross a very high mountain, which was not much better than the one where Shikelimo had met with his fall. We passed safely, and toward evening we were also safely ferried, in a canoe, over the great branch of the Susquehannah river. All the streams are very high, for the streams had been uncommonly deep this winter. This water is called Dia-agon,[1] and comes from the region of the Sinicker[2] and Gaiuckers.[3] There are many Indians living here, partly Gaiuckers, partly Mahikanders.[4] We went into several huts to get meat, but they had nothing, they said, for themselves. The men were mostly absent, hunting; some of the old mothers asked us for bread. We returned to our quarters with a Mahikander, who directed his old grey-headed mother to cook a soup of Indian-corn. She hung a large kettle of it over the fire, and also a smaller one with potash, and made them both boil briskly. What she was to do with the potash was a mystery to me, for I soon saw that it was not for the purpose of washing, as some of the Indians are in the practice of doing, by making a lye, and washing their foul and dirty clothes. For the skin of her body was not unlike the bark of a tree, from the dirt, which had not been washed off for a long time, and was quite dried in and cracked; and her finger-nails were like eagles' claws. She finally took the ash kettle off the fire, and put it aside until it had settled, and left a clear liquor on top, which she carefully poured into the kettle of corn. I inquired of my companions why this was done; and they told me, it was the practice of these and the Shawanos, when they had neither meat nor grease, to mix their food with lye prepared in this manner, which made it slippery, and pleasant to eat. When the soup was thus prepared,[5] the larger portion was given to us, and out of hunger I quietly eat a portion, which was not of a bad taste. The dirty cook, and the unclean vessel, were more repulsive. After I had eaten a little, and quieted the worst cravings of hunger, I took some of my goods, and quietly left the hut, without being noticed by my companions, and went into another hut, gave the old grey-headed mother twenty-four needles and six shoe-strings, and begged her to give me some bread made of Indian-corn, if it were only as much as I could eat at one meal. She immediately gave me five small loaves of about a pound weight, of which I and Stoffel eat two the same evening. The Indians eat so much of the soup that they became sick. We had intended to take a day of rest here, if we could have procured meat, but had to be content to proceed on our journey.

The 30th we proceeded on our journey without anything to eat except the remaining loaves, which were divided among us five. We passed a dangerous creek by wading in the shallow water, and passing the stream on a half-fallen tree, which hung across the water. The current was frightful. An Indian from the last village, who was to help us over the water, and show us the path, fell into the water so that we saw neither hide nor hair; but soon rose, and saved himself by swimming to the opposite shore to the one we were trying to reach. Towards evening we arrived at the branch Owego; the Indian village was on the other side of the river, about a mile off. All the bottom land between us and the village was under water, and the current was rapid. We fired our guns three times, but no one would hear or show himself. If we had not seen the smoke of the huts, we would have thought the village was deserted. We began to prepare a fire and wood for a camp; and having made a long day's journey with hungry stomachs, were about to retire to sleep in that condition, and had already lain down, when a great storm came up from the west, with thunder and lightning, and such a violent rain, that it was almost incredible. We could not find a place to lie down, but stood the whole night around the fire. Towards morning it became very cold, and ice formed in every direction; the day before having been very warm, and succeeded by the thunder-storm, of which it was the cause. At dawn we again commenced firing our pieces, on which a canoe with some women at last came from the village, to take us across the river, as we supposed. But they only came over the bottom land to the edge of the river, where they called to us that there were no men in the village, and the women could not venture to cross the raging flood; which was of so unusual a height that the bottom land was flooded, which had not been the case for many years, and in particular as their canoe was so small. Tawagarat, whose home was there, called to them to venture. When they heard that it was Tawagarat, they came across in safety, and stepped on shore; one of them spoke not a word, but wrapped her face in her blanket. The others gave the canoe to the Indians to ferry us across, and afterwards to bring the women. All which was done in three times crossing backwards and forwards, but not without great and imminent danger. One party was landed here, the other there, in dry places; but still had to pass sundry hollows and ditches, in water up to the breast, for the land is very uneven. I went first in the canoe; four of us, of whom two were Indians, went back with the canoe. I had new reasons to praise the protection of God, who had rescued us from such imminent peril; the water flew between the trees like arrows from a bow, where if we had struck one, of which there were so many, we must have perished. The Indians gladly received us into their huts, and showed us their compassion. Some of them were old acquaintances of mine from Schohary; they gave us food repeatedly, but each time only a little, so as not to injure our health. They were Gaiuckers. All the men were absent hunting, except a couple of old grey-headed men, who had lodged at my house in Schohary some fifteen or sixteen years ago, and had shown me many favors according to their ability. Tawagarat remained here, and lodged in the hut of his mother-in-law; the woman who had hidden her face was his wife, and did so from modesty. Such is the custom among the virtuous women of the Indian tribes. We remained here to-day to recruit ourselves a little, and also to procure provisions for the further progress of our journey.

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[1] The Tioga River.—H. H. M.

[2] Senecas.—H. H. M.

[3] Cayugas.—H. H. M.

[4] Mohegans.—H. H. M.

[5] Quere, Homony?

April the 1st, we still remained here; by my reckoning we are now two hundred and eighty miles from home.

April the 2d, we started about noon on our journey and reached the water called Onoto, and were immediately taken across in a canoe. Several families of Onontagers live here, with one of whom, an old acquaintance, we took up our lodgings, and were well treated.

The 3d, we reached the village Osteninky, inhabited by Onontagers and Shawanos. I was at this place in 1726, but find my old acquaintances of that period partly absent, partly dead. We had still five days journey, according to the report of these Indians, from here to Onontago, the object of our tiresome journey, as we could not take the nearest route by reason of the numerous creeks, and must keep upon the hills. The family with whom we lodged had not a mouthful to eat. The larger part of this village had been living for more than a month on the juice of the sugar-tree, which is as common here as hickory in Pennsylvania. We shared our small stock of provisions with sundry sick and children, who stood before us in tears while we were eating. From the time we left Madame Montour's, I generally gave to each one of us his daily portion; if I gave of my own portion a part to these poor creatures, I met with no sour looks, but if I took from the capital stock to give to them, my companions showed great dissatisfaction. But this did not hinder a thief from stealing, while we were asleep, the remainder of our stock of bread, which was but small. This was the first misfortune that happened to us; the second was, that we heard the snow was still knee deep in the direction we were to travel, and that it was impossible to proceed; the third was, that the rainy weather in which we had arrived was turned to snow, of which eighteen inches fell in one night; the worst was, that we had nothing to eat, and our bodily strength began to fail from many trials both of hunger and cold. Here we were obliged to remain and to pass the time in distress. I could, to be sure, purchase with needles and shoe-strings, sugar made from the juice of the tree already mentioned, on which we sustained life, but it did not agree with us; we became quite ill with much drinking to quench the thirst caused by the sweetness of the sugar. My companion Stoffel became impatient and out of spirits, and wished himself dead. He desired me to procure a canoe in which to float down the streams until we reached Pennsylvania, which might have been done in six or eight days, but not without provisions, and not without considerable danger, as the Susquehannah was very high and rapid, and we did not know the channel in such a swollen state of water.

But I was now determined on no account to return home without accomplishing the object of my mission, in particular as I knew the danger of the river. Two weeks before, I would gladly have turned back, as I foresaw all the difficulties we must undergo and conquer, but no one would then turn back or see the difficulties I feared.

Stoffel wished he had followed my advice at that time. I was now, however, so resigned to misery, that I could have submitted to the greatest bodily hardships without resistance, since I had been relieved from the tortures of the mind by the wonderful hand of God. I had, at a previous period of my life, wished that I had never heard of a God, either from my parents or other people, for the idea I had of him had led me away from him. I thought the Atheists more happy than those who cared much about God. Oh, how far man is removed from God, yes, inexpressibly far, although God is near, and cannot impart the least thing to corrupt man until he has given himself up without conditions, and in such a manner as cannot be explained or described, but may be experienced in great anguish of body and mind. How great is the mercy of the Lord and how frequent; his power, his goodness, and his truth are everywhere evident. In short, our God created the heavens; the gods of the heathen are idols.

But to return to our affairs. I called the Indians together, represented to them the importance of my errand, stated what I was commanded to do by both the governments of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and required of them, as faithful allies of the English, and particular friends of the government of Pennsylvania, to furnish me with provisions for my party so that I could reach Onontago, the end of my journey. Because the business related especially to the allied Six Nations, for whose sake, their brother, Thomas Penn, had taken such an interest in the affair, and had sent me such a journey at an inclement time of year, for the purpose of preventing further bloodshed unnecessarily and out of mere revenge, and that they might possess their lands and raise their provisions in peace. In the next place I required them to send out two messengers on snow-shoes as soon as possible, in advance, who should make known my approach, so that the councilmen of all the Six Nations could be called together, which would require three weeks. There was an old war-chief from Onontago present, by whose interference both points were agreed to, only no one knew where to procure provisions for us, or for the two Indian messengers. By general consent, a hut was broken into, whose occupants were far absent on a hunt, and so much corn was taken as was judged sufficient to enable us to reach Onontago. The two runners received a share, and the balance about one-third of a bushel, was given to us, which we thankfully received. I had it pounded at the house we occupied, which was done without loss. Hunger is a great tyrant, he does not spare the best of friends, much less strangers. Kaloping, a Frenchman, who had been taken captive when a boy, but now an Indian in appearance, if not worse, together with another young Indian, were sent off to notify my arrival to the council at Onontago. The last fall of snow was rapidly disappearing, as the weather had again become warm.

The 6th April the runners started. In the meanwhile, an Indian had the kindness to invite me privately to supper. I took Stoffel with me; he gave us to eat by night on two occasions. A third time, another old acquaintance presented me with four small loaves one evening, which I immediately divided among my companions, and the surrounding hungry children.

These Indians often came to my lodgings, or invited me to their huts, for the purpose of talking (they are very inquisitive), and thus we passed the hungry hours away, in relating old or new events or traditions, and smoking tobacco, which they have in plenty. Among other things, I asked them how it happened that they were so short of provisions now, while twelve years ago they had a greater supply than all the other Indians; and now their children looked like dead persons, and suffered much from hunger. They answered, that now game was scarce, and that hunting had strangely failed since last winter; some of them had procured nothing at all; — that the Lord and Creator of the world was resolved to destroy the Indians. One of their seers, whom they named, had seen a vision of God, who had said to him the following words:—You inquire after the cause why game has become scarce. I will tell you. You kill it for the sake of the skins, which you give for strong liquors, and drown your senses, and kill one another, and carry on a dreadful debauchery. Therefore have I driven the wild animals out of the country, for they are mine. If you will do good, and cease from your sins, I will bring them back; if not, I will destroy you from off the earth.[1]

I inquired if they believed what the seer had seen and heard? They answered, yes, some believed it would happen so; others also believed it, but gave themselves no concern about it. Time will show, said they, what is to happen to us; rum will kill us, and leave the land clear for the Europeans, without strife or purchase.

The Indians living here are on an arm of the Susquehannah, which comes out of high mountains, and is a rapid stream. I saw the children here walking up and down the banks of the stream, along the low land, where the high water had washed the wild potatoes, or ground acorns, out of the ground. These grow here on a long stem or root, about the size of a thick straw, and there are frequently from five to ten hanging to such a root, which is often more than six feet long. The richer the soil, the longer they grow, and the greater the quantity in the ground. The largest are of the size of a pigeon's egg, or larger, and look much in size and shape like black acorns. I thought of the words of Job, chapter 31, 3–8, while these barbarians were satisfying their hunger with these roots, and rejoicing greatly when they found them in large numbers, and dug them up.

On the 7th we agreed to leave this place at once, and again to pass through a great wilderness, to reach the end of our journey. We started at eight o'clock in the morning from this miserable place, where more murders occur than in any other nation. It is called by the Indians, in particular, a den of murderers, where every year so many are swallowed up. About noon we met our messengers returning, who said it was impossible to proceed, on account of the deep snow in the mountains, which was more than knee-deep. We debated long, and it was decided, by a majority of voices, to postpone the journey until better weather and roads. The before-mentioned old war-chief had accompanied us, because he was a leading man in the war-council at Onontago, and wished to accompany me, for the purpose of advancing my business to a favorable termination. He was a grey-headed man of seventy years, as he showed by circumstantial proofs. He advised me, confidently, to proceed on the journey, and promised to guide us by such a route, that if we used our best efforts, we would, by to-morrow evening, reach a country where the snow had disappeared, by reason of the open forests. After two days of fatigue and trouble, said he, you will be better off than by turning back, with your business undone, after having already undergone so many hardships from cold, snow, high water, and hunger. I was pleased with his well-meant advice (for he often called me his son and child), and bade him lead on; for he was much interested in the object of my mission. We proceeded on our journey; rainy weather set in, and before night we were in snow up to the knees. We made a hut this evening, of the bark of the linden-trees, which we peeled off. It rained the whole night, with a warm south wind, which converted the snow into slush.

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[1] This remarkable language Weiser has put into his journal, in large letters, by way of calling attention to it. — H. H. M.

The 8th we travelled from early in the morning until evening, with great rapidity, in constant rain, through a dreadful thick wilderness, such as I had never before seen. We frequently fell into holes and ditches, where we required the assistance of the others to extricate ourselves. We all lost courage. This was the hardest and most fatiguing day's journey I had ever made; my bodily strength was so exhausted that I trembled and shook so much all over, I thought I must fall from weariness, and perish. I stepped aside, and sat down under a tree to die, which I hoped would be hastened by the cold approaching night. When my companions remarked my absence, they waited for me some time, then returned to seek me, and found me sitting under a tree. But I would not be persuaded to proceed, for I thought it beyond my power. The entreaties of the old chief, and the sensible reasoning of Shikelimo (who said that evil days were better for us than good, for the first often warned us against sins, and washed them out, while the latter often enticed us to sin), caused me to alter my resolution, and I arose. But I could not keep up with the old man, who was the leader, and a good walker. He often waited for the whole party. We slept on the snow again that night; it rained the whole night, but not violently.

The 9th we prepared breakfast before day, and set out early in cloudy weather. Before noon we got out of the thick forests into scattered groves, where the snow had disappeared, as the old man had assured us. We seemed to have escaped out of all our troubles in this delightful region, especially as the sun broke through the clouds, and cheered us with his warm rays. If the snow and the forests had remained the same as yesterday, we must all have perished before reaching Onontaga. But hunger was still pinching us; to eat a little corn-meal soup was of no benefit, for it was only meal and water; the wheat bread and good meal had not only left the stomach, but the limbs also. We were now on high mountains, and to-day we passed the first waters flowing into the great Lake Onontario, or the St. Lawrence, out of which the famous river St. Lawrence flows, which passes through New France, or Canada. From all appearances, this is the most elevated region in North America; we passed several small runs on the left hand, which join the lake just mentioned. To the right were others, which joined the Susquehannah; a day's journey from here, there are waters emptying into the Hudson to the east, and to the west, at some distance, are the waters joining the Meshasippia. We reached several small lakes and ponds, at one of which the Indians said an evil spirit, in the shape of a great snake, resided, who was frequently visible. The Indians refused to drink here.

The 10th we left our camp quite early, as we hoped to reach the end of our journey this day. About noon we passed the hill on which, by Indian tradition, corn, pumpkins, and tobacco first grew, and were discovered through an extraordinary vision. As we felt sure of reaching Onontago, we cooked the balance of our meal in a great hurry, and hastened onward. It began to rain hard. To-day we made forty miles, the timber was principally sugar-trees. This evening, we reached the first village of Onontago, to our great delight. Not a soul remained in the houses, all came running out to see us; they had been made acquainted with our coming by the old chief, a quarter of an hour previously, who had preceded us for that purpose. They came in crowds to the house we occupied. I found here several acquaintances, but they were surprised at my miserable aspect; one said it is he; another said no, it is another person altogether. It is not the custom among these people, for a stranger who has come from a distance to speak until he is questioned, which is never done until he has had food set before him, and his clothes dried, in which things they did not allow us to want.

Honor and praise, glory and power, be given to the Almighty God who rescued us from so many and various evils and dangers, and saved us from death and destruction, from doubt and despair, and other hazards.

When, on inquiry by the assembled males, I answered that I was sent to them by their brethren, Onas (Thomas Penn) and James Logan, with an extraordinary commission; a messenger was immediately sent to the chief village, about four miles off, to make known my approach, and to ascertain the wishes of the council, whether I should remain here, or was to go forward. At midnight the messenger returned, with advice that a house was prepared for me at the main village, where my arrival was anxiously awaited.

The 11th of April we were accompanied at an early hour to the village, and to the house which had been prepared for us; it was that of a man named Anuwar-ogon, a relative of one of the chiefs, who received us kindly. After we had been left to ourselves, and had eaten something, the head man or chief came in, gave me a string of wampum according to the law and custom of their country, said I was very welcome on account of the message I was commissioned by brethren Onas and James Logan, to deliver to their council;—that I could deliver it as soon as I wished. I thanked them for their good will, and delivered a string of wampum in token of the greeting from their brethren Onas and James Logan, with a request that the whole council of the Six Nations might be called together as soon as possible, for the objects of the embassy I was sent on related to the whole of them, and were of great importance. They answered that of each nation there were some chiefs present, except of the Caujuckos, which need be no obstacle. Those present were fully empowered to transact affairs of importance. The following day was therefore appointed to give me an audience.

The 12th of April they assembled at my lodgings to the number of about forty men, who all entered with great gravity and pride. When they were all collected to hear me, their President said to me that they were ready to hear me. I arose and delivered my message in the Maqua language, which I spoke with the most facility, and which they all understood. After each principal subject, of which there were two, I delivered to them a belt of wampum, and a string of eight klafter long, in the name of the Governor of Virginia, and Thomas Penn, proprietor of Pennsylvania. They resolved to give me an answer in two days to the part relating to the truce, and to the congress at Williamsburg.

After all was over, a feast was prepared. The food was brought in by other chiefs, and set down in the middle of the house in a variety of vessels. Each one brought his own dish and spoon, and helped himself to as much as he chose. After the feast was over, the discourse turned on the events of our journey. At a signal from the Speaker they all went away, to allow us to retire to rest. I received in the evening already an intimation of the answer, which was full and satisfactory.

The 13th, Shikelimo was very sick, and also Stoffel, which was probably caused by imprudence in eating; but in two days they were again well.

The 14th, the council again assembled, together with all the males who were at home, and the whole of my message was repeated by the Speaker, and I was asked if it was correctly stated in all points. On my answering yes, the Speaker proceeded, and their answer was given at large, with the remark that I should comprehend it fully, so as to be enabled to report it correctly to the Governor of Virginia and Onas. They agreed to the truce, but decided against Williamsburg, and chose Albany as the place of the congress, all which can be seen in my English Journal more at large, with all the speeches and incidents.

These Indians wished me to remain with them a month, until my strength should be restored; they showed every possible kindness to me, and we had no scarcity of food.

I became very sick, so that I expected to die; for half an hour I could neither hear nor see. My host gave me medicine after I had recovered my senses, and could tell him to what cause I attributed this sudden attack; the medicine made a strong impression on my stomach and bowels, succeeded by a violent vomiting. After taking the medicine, I was ordered to walk briskly until it operated, which took place in about half a mile from the village, where I lay until I became insensible. Towards evening I was found by several Indians, who led me home, where a bed had been provided. At midnight I was well; other medicine was then given to me, and in the morning I arose perfectly restored, except that I felt weak.

I went with my host and another old friend to see a salt spring, of which there are great numbers, so that a person cannot drink of every stream, on account of the salt water. The Indians boil handsome salt for use. These Indians, who are otherwise called Onon-tagers (people of the hills), are the handsomest, wisest, and the bravest of the Six Nations. They live in huts made of bark, which are very convenient; some of them are 50, 60, to a 100 feet long, generally about 12 or 13 feet wide. In this length there are generally four to five fires, and as many families, who are looked upon as one. The country is hilly, but there is a small valley which is very fertile, and yields almost incredible crops of corn, which is plentiful about here. The Europeans from Oswego, as well as Niagara, often come here for corn.

These Indians did all in their power to detain me longer, but I could not be content. I was tired of the Indian country and affairs. At my request, they procured provisions for my return journey, and also a man to carry them and my pack.

On the 18th we took leave (together with Stoffel and Shikelimo), for the purpose of returning home, if it should please the Supreme Being. The gods of the heathen are idols; the God of Israel created the heavens: he has a strong arm, but is patient, merciful, of great kindness, and is found by those who seek him. He is God.

This evening we reached the place where the Indians make bark canoes, on a creek passing by the village of Otsen-inky, of which we have already spoken. We peeled a chestnut tree, and made a canoe. Caxhayen, who accompanied us, understood this work completely. The weather set in bad, so that we had to lie by under a bark shelter. Snow fell a foot deep.

On the 22d we embarked in our newly-made bark canoe, and pushed off. Caxhayen returned home. The first day we met many obstacles from fallen timber. This creek[1] is about the size of the Tulpenhacken. We had to unload the canoe several times to mend it. We crossed several lakes, and before night we reached a more rapid stream[2] which flowed among the hills with such rapidity as can hardly be described. We shot several ducks, which are very plenty, and missed a deer and a bear.

On the 23d we reached deeper water, a river which comes from Oneido,[3] joining it at this point. The water was very high and rapid. Saristaqua of Osten-inky, who was hunting, fired his gun on seeing us, and called to us. We turned to shore, which we reached in a few minutes, but had been carried down a mile since he had fired. He joined us, and I related what had taken place in Onontago, at which he was pleased. We left him, entered our canoe again, and at night reached Otsen-inky. Fired at a bear and missed.

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[1] Quere, was it Otsetic Creek?

[2] Quere, was it Tiontoga Creek?

[3] Quere, was it Chenango river?

The 24th we pushed off early, and in half an hour reached the Susquehannah river. Passed, to-day, Onoto and Owego, down to the Dia-ogon. We found that at the last village we had forgotton our Onontago salt.

The 25th we embarked early. Got a companion, a relative of Shikelimo, but who was of little use, except to help us eat. We passed the spot which we first reached after leaving the desolate wilderness, the mouth of Oshcalui and Dawantaa. Shot several ducks and a turkey. Passed several fine bodies of land, partly levelled, partly timbered.

The 26th we reached Scahanto-wano,[1] where a number of Indians live, Shawanos and Mahickanders. Found there two traders from New York, and three men from the Maqui country, who were hunting land; their names were Ludwig Rasselman, Martin Dillenbach, and Pit de Niger. Here[2] there is a large body of land, the like of which is not to be found on the river.

On the 27th we embarked. About noon we met some Pennsylvania traders, who gave us some rum.

On the 28th we reached Shomoken: here Shikelimo took leave of us and went home. Stoffel accompanied him, to bring the things we had left in his care, as saddles and bridles, and returned this evening on horseback. In the meanwhile, I had paddled down the river, on this side, to inquire after my horse of the Indians, who were now encamped here. When I went on shore and looked into the forest, the first object I saw was my horse, about twenty rods off, and, in fact, not far from the spot where I had left him when going up. Stoffel's horse could not be found at this time.

The 29th we set off over the country, on the 30th we reached Talheo, and, on the 1st day of May reached home in safety. Honor and praise, power and glory, be given to Almighty God for ever and ever.

[Here follows a German hymn.— H. H. M.]

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[1] Quere, the Lackawannoch river?

[2] Quere, Wyoming valley?

4. REMARKS CONCERNING THE SAVAGES OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY DR. B. FRANKLIN. (A.D. 1784.)

THE Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by the counsel or advice of the sages. There is no force; there are no prisoners; no officers to compel obedience or inflict punishment. Hence they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down to posterity the memory of public transactions. These employments of men and women are accounted natural and honorable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they justly esteem slavish and base; and the learning on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that, if he has omitted anything he intended to say, or has anything to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeness of these savages in conversation is, indeed, carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they indeed avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation; you would think they were convinced. No such matter. It is mere civility.

A Swedish minister having assembled the chiefs of the Susquehannah Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded—such as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles and suffering, &c. When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. "What you have told us," says he, "is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cider. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours.

"In the beginning, our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on; and if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil some parts of it. When they were about to satisfy their hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill which you see yonder among the Blue Mountains. They said to each other, 'It is a spirit that, perhaps, has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it; let us offer some to her.' They presented her with the tongue; she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, 'Your kindness shall be rewarded. Come to this place after thirteen moons, and you shall find something that will be of great benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations.' They did so, and to their surprise, found plants they had never seen before; but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney-beans; and where her backside had sat on it, they found tobacco." The good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, "What I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, fiction, and falsehood." The Indian, offended, replied, "My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well-instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise those rules, believed all your stories — why do you refuse to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as you, and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling-strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and holla, remaining there until invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called "The Strangers' House." Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with inquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c., and it usually ends with offers of service, if the strangers have occasion for guides, or any necessaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is expected for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instance. He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country to carry a message from our Governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canassetego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed and had lit his pipe, Canassetego began to converse with him; asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other, whence he then came, what had occasioned the journey, &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs. I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops and assemble all in the great house: tell me, what is it for?—what do they do there?" "They meet there," said Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," replied the Indian, "that they tell you so; they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver. He said he could not give more than four shillings a pound; 'but,' said he, 'I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting.' So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too, and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said; but perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought, too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and I suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, I accosted my merchant. 'Well, Hans,' said I, 'I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound!' 'No,' says he, 'I cannot give so much; I cannot give more than three shillings and sixpence.' I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song—three and sixpence! This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they meet so often to learn good things, they certainly would have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you: we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his hunger and thirst; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return.[1] But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, 'Where is your money?' And if I have none, they say, 'Get out, you Indian dog!' You see they have not yet learned those little good things that we need no meeting to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect. They are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver.*"

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5. TRADITIONS OF THE SENECAS RESPECTING THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY AND THE MASSACRE OF WYOMING—BRANT EXONERATED.

BY ASHER TYLER.[2]

In pursuance of your request, I now avail myself of the first leisure moment to give you an account of my interview with the Indian chief Governor Blacksnake, in relation to the question whether Joseph Brant was present at the massacre of Wyoming.

As you probably are aware, I resided at Ellicottville, in the county of Cattaraugus, eight years. Having some fondness for Indian history, I had conversed several times with the late Colonel W. L. Stone on this subject.

In March, 1843, I went from Ellicottville to Cold Spring, on the Alleghany river; and with the aid of an educated Indian by the name of Ben Williams, as interpreter, spent several hours with Blacksnake. I had with me the two volumes of Stone's Life of Brant. I opened the book at a portrait of Brant, and the moment his eye rested on the picture, he called out the Indian name of Brant—"Thayendenegea!" He then asked, with some eagerness, if I had pictures of Red Jacket, and Farmer's Brother; which I was sorry to say I had not. He claimed at this time to be ninety-six years of age. I questioned him as to his participation in certain events of the Revolution, and his age at the time of their occurrence, and am satisfied that he was nearly as old as he claimed. He was at this time quite vigorous, as is shown by the fact that he had that morning walked three miles from his residence down the valley to visit some friends. With a view to test the accuracy of his recollection, I asked him to give an account of the battle of Oriskany, the account of which, as given by Colonel Stone, I had then in my hand. He gave a minute and detailed account of the battle, and of the events both succeeding and preceding it.

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[1] It is remarkable that in all ages and countries, hospitality has been allowed as the virtue of those whom the civilized were pleased to call barbarians. The Greeks celebrated the Scythians for it; the Saracens possessed it eminently, and it is to this day the reigning virtue of the wild Arabs. St. Paul, too, in the relation of his voyage and shipwreck on the Island of Malta, says, "The barbarous people showed no little kindness, for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold."

[2] Thomas Maxwell, Esq., in transmitting this paper under date, Elmira, N. Y., Nov. 7, 1853, observes, "I held a conversation with Asher Tyler, Esq., now of this village, in reference to the statement of Governor Blacksnake, in reference to Brant, published by Judge Avery. Mr. Tyler is a nephew of Comfort Tyler, formerly of Onondaga county, is an adopted Onondaga, and, I believe, a war-chief, and speaks the language. He is well acquainted with Indian history and traditions, having paid great attention to the subject. Having resided eight years at Ellicottville, he is well acquainted with the Indians on the Cattaraugus Reservation, and has a perfect knowledge of their affairs."

The only point upon which he essentially differed, was this. He said that after the sortie was made by Colonel Willet, to relieve the command under Herkimer, the Americans greatly outnumbered the British and Indians. I told him that the printed account in the book in my hand did not so state the fact. He replied that his authority was the British officers, and he well remembered that they said so at the time, and that the superiority in numbers by the Americans was assigned as a reason for the retreat. This seems to me natural and probable, as the British officers would be desirous of covering the disgrace of the repulse, and at the same time retain the confidence of their savage allies. I then interrogated him in relation to the expedition to Wyoming.

At this time, Blacksnake resided at Connecuagus, on the Genesee river, which was also the place of his birth. He gave an account of the whole expedition, from the time they left home. They stopped on the head-waters of the Canisteo, where the little village of Arkport now stands, and built several canoes from pine-trees standing near the river. His account of the expedition agreed in all essential particulars with the published accounts. I then asked him if Joseph Brant, or Thayendenegea, was in the expedition? to which he replied, readily and emphatically, "No." I asked where he was at that time? he said he did not know, but believed he was at or near Niagara.

I told him that an impression prevailed that Brant accompanied the expedition. To which he replied that it could not be so, as he did not see him, and a contrary impression prevailed among the Indians; that he was intimate with Brant to the time of his death, and was sure he was right. I asked who was the leader of the Indians in that expedition? and he gave me the name of an Indian warrior of the Seneca tribe, which has escaped my memory.

I consider Blacksnake as reliable a witness as lives; and, in my judgment, his testimony completely settles the question. The Rev. Thomas Morris, of Ellicottville, was present at the interview, and will probably remember the interview as I have stated it. Blacksnake is, I am informed, yet living; and if his faculties are not entirely impaired, will undoubtedly at this day confirm my account of the matter. I gave to Colonel Stone a verbal account of my interview, and promised to send him a written one; but in consequence of his death, I have omitted until this time to put it in writing. History is valuable only as it perpetuates truth; and on subjects of this sort, it is to me annoying to see how many absurd stories are promulgated, and how little of judgment or discrimination is exercised in arriving at just or reliable conclusions.

VIII. PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN RACE. C.

[3D PAPER, TITLE VIII.]

TITLE VIII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN RACE.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE VIII.

TITLE VIII., LET. A., VOL. II. [1st Paper.]

A. An Essay on the Physical Characteristics of the Indian, with 10 Plates of Crania. By Dr. Samuel George Morton, M. D., LL. D., President of the Phila. Acad. Nat. Science.

1. Osteological Character.
2. Facial Angle.
3. Stature.
4. Fossil Remains of the American Race.
5. Complexion.
6. Hair.
7. Eyes.
8. Artificial Modifications of the Skull.
9. Volume of the Brain.

B. 10. Admeasurements of Crania of the various Groups of Tribes. By J. S. Phillips.

TITLE VIII., LET. B., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

1. Prefatory Note on the Unity of the Human Race.
2. Examination and Description of the Hair of the Head of the North American Indian. By Peter A. Browne, LL. D. of Amer. Acad. Nat. Science, Philadelphia.
   - Collection of Indian Pile.
   - Deficiency of Lustre, &c.
   - Particular Description of the Hair of different Families.
   - Elementary Parts of the Pile.
   - Button, Follicle, Shaft, Color, Fibre, Ductility, Tenacity.
   - Ancient Specimens of Indian Hair.

TITLE VIII., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

1. Remarks on the Means of obtaining Information to advance the Inquiry into the physical Type of the Indian.
2. Considerations on the Distinctive Characteristics of the American Aboriginal Tribes. By Dr. Samuel Forrey.

PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN RACE.

1. REMARKS ON THE MEANS OF OBTAINING INFORMATION TO ADVANCE THE INQUIRY INTO THE PHYSICAL TYPE OF THE INDIAN.

It is manifest to observers of the different tribes of Indians of the United States, that they are not capable of enduring as severe, or long-continued labors, as the European races. They cannot endure as excessive fatigues in rowing a boat. It has been observed, on the portages of the north-west, that they cannot carry as heavy loads as the Canadian voyageurs. I am not aware that any direct comparisons have been made of their power in lifting. In feats of agility and activity, in hunting and running, they have evinced great prominence. Walking on snow-shoes is a severe labor, if long continued, and the walker be, at the same time, burdened with a back-load; and in this, as in other kinds of forest exercise or labor, he has been noticed to make great occasional exertions; but in all labors which demand compactness of muscle and continued exertion, the practised European has been pronounced the victor.

No admeasurements have been made to determine the average stature and weight of the individuals of the several tribes, from which accurate comparisons might be instituted with the races of Europe and Asia. North of latitude 42° fullness in the development of muscle is not usual. In the valley of the St. Mary's, in Michigan, in 1822, and the contiguous shores of Lake Superior, I found about one-half of the men of the Chippewa tribe, six feet high. The four leading chiefs of the band averaged six feet two inches. Muscular development was not large, except in the persons that lived at, or contiguous to the settlements, where the means of subsistence were more constantly and fully supplied. This prominence of stature is also a characteristic of other tribes of the Algonquins, of the Iroquois, and of the Creeks, Choctaws, and other Apalachians. Logan is said to have been six feet—Shenandoah, six feet three inches. The ancient Lenno Lenapees and Shawnees contained a large proportion of tall men. The Fox chief, Keokuk, was six feet two inches. The Ottawas, as a tribe, are commonly shorter and stouter than the other lake tribes. The Dacotahs may be judged to average five feet nine, and are rather stout and muscular. Red Jacket, an Iroquois, was but five feet eight, stoutly formed.

It is noticed that the lank muscular development of the forest tribes, undergoes perceptible changes, and acquires more fulness, in the cases of individuals who are placed in circumstances where food, and shelter from the elements are steadily supplied. This becomes more prominent in the females, who are provided with domicils, and means of domestic comfort, of a character superior to the wigwam. Instances of fulness, inclining to obesity, in some cases, are not uncommon. There is another very striking trait connected with Indian females, thus withdrawn, in a measure, from the vicissitudes and hardships of the forest. It is the increased measure of fecundity. I observed an example of this kind, in a member of the Chippewa tribe, where a hunter named Iaba Waddik, had fourteen children by a single wife, all of whom grew up to be adults. This appears to indicate what political economists have contended for, that abundance of food is a recognizable principle in population. And this fact, of which other less prominent examples are known, goes far to teach us that the exposures and sufferings of the forest constitute so many elementary causes to repress productiveness. These exposures denote the true cause of the recuperative power of the Indian females in parturition.

The fineness and softness of the Indian skin has been often noticed. Mr. Van Amringe has directed attention to a microscopical examination of the human skin, to determine its physiological organization; but until something of this kind shall be done, it will be difficult to speak with accuracy on the subject. There is a softness in the texture of the skin of an Indian's hand which appears peculiar. The pores appear to be smaller than in European races. They do not exude a gross or abundant matter from the skin, but one of a peculiar pungency. The pores of the face freely contribute to a beard, while the hair of the head is coarse, straight, black, and quite profuse.

Little is known on these subjects, which bears the stamp of science — attention has been chiefly bestowed on the Indian crania. Dr. Samuel George Morton collected and examined over four hundred skulls of various Indian tribes, which he has described in his elaborate work on this subject.[1] The details of this examination evince a degree of research that has not been equalled. One of the generic conclusions drawn is, that, with the exception of the Esquimaux, the Indians of America constitute a peculiar cranial type. The elongated crania of the ancient Peruvians, from the sepulchres of Atacama, and, indeed, the entire flat-head tribes of the continent, have been subjected to admeasurement, by which the depressed facial angle is shown not to affect the intellectual capacity of the individual at all.

A distinction is introduced between the cranial indicia of the semi-civilized and barbarous tribes. The theory of this classification is, on the whole, less satisfactory to our apprehension than the other deductions. It is shown, for instance, that the facial angle and internal capacity of some of the barbarous tribes of North America, in the Ohio valley, are superior, in a marked degree, to those of the Aztecs and Toltecs, and Peruvians, who were the authors of the most celebrated monuments of art in America. That the effect of arts and letters will be impressed on the outward forms of the crania, cannot, it would seem, be denied, if we had no other example before us than the god-like Greek skull to refer to.

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[1] Crania Americana.

But there is danger, in considering the crania of rude tribes, like those under discussion, who never, in fact, had any painting, poetry, or statuary (worth the name of it), from applying *à priori* conclusions, which are rather, after all, phrenological than philosophical. The whole effect, physiological and mental, of semi-civilization on the Toltec and Aztec mind, was not of long duration; while the influences of a horrid and cruel system of sanguinary and inexorable sacrifice, must be allowed to have operated as a perpetual counterpoise to cranial ameliorations.

In 1850, I requested Dr. Morton to re-examine his collection of crania in the Academy of Natural Science, at Philadelphia, and obtained the permission of Captain Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., to forward to him, for the like purpose, the skulls deposited in the National Institute at Washington, which had been obtained on the Exploring Expedition in the South and Pacific Oceans—and particularly on the coasts of Oregon. Dr. Morton did not live to complete, entirely, this paper; but he gave a *résumé* of the physiological facts, resulting from his inquiry into the physical traits of the Indians of America, which is at once elaborate and satisfactory.

The stature, the complexion, the hair, eyes, and other traits, that go to make up physical character, lead him to consider them as *sui generis;* and he quotes the popular adage, that "whoever has seen one of the tribes, has seen all." He fixes the average facial angle of the Indians at 75°, which is five degrees below that of the European race.

The cranial deductions, from both the old and new skulls, were alone incomplete. I requested Mr. John Phillips, who had been his aid in all the mechanical examinations, to re-examine the whole collection, on the exact principles adopted by Dr. Morton, with a view to arrange them, agreeably to my classification, into enlarged family circles, or groups, being the same I had adopted in the examination of the languages. The results of this admeasurement are given in the second volume, p. 331.

The character and small amount of perspirable matter exuded from the pores of the Indian skin, have been adverted to, while the hair of the head, being the product of different functions, is observed to be ample.

In 1852, at my suggestion, Peter A. Browne, Esq., of Philadelphia, instituted a series of microscopical examinations on this particular subject, in connection with the pile of other races of men. He found, in the examination of various specimens of Indian hair, from tribes situated in all the latitudes from the Gulf of Mexico to St. Anthony's Falls, that there was a singular agreement in all the full-blooded specimens, in the fibre or shaft of the Indian hair, which was found to be cylindrical; while in the Anglo-Saxon it is oval, and in the African race eccentrically elliptical. This result, producing, in their order, straight, curled, and felted or woolly hair, admitted of modifications, from the intermixture of the three races. Mr. Browne believes that this modification is so completely capable of appreciation, under the influence of the magnifier, as to denote with certainty, the per centage of blood of the individual under examination, and he has proposed a classification, and invented a system of terms, to denote this per centage, ranging from one-fourth to one-sixteenth.[1] Without a careful examination of the experiments, which I could not, at the moment, undertake, this schedule appeared to me to partake of the nature of a refinement on the actual phenomena. The other microscropical observations, with the diagrams, are given in the third volume, p. 372. They advance our knowledge on the subject of the Indian hair, and its various forms, structure, and economy. It is conclusively shown, that from its mechanical organization, the Indian hair, in its unmixed condition, must be lank and straight; all the forces, operating on its fibre, being calculated to keep it so; while by the laws of organization, the ovoidal shaft of hair must curl, as in the European, and the eccentrical elliptical must twist, as in the African. Mr. Browne accompanies these observations with full diagrams, but with no theory. So far as the hair is a test, they clearly point to three superinduced races of man.

It is evident, that if Mr. Browne's schedule of deductions, under the power of the microscope, be founded on just principles, and if that power could be carried to a sufficiently high point, an equal intermixture of the pure white, pure black, and pure red races, would vindicate itself in recognizable mathematical forms. If human psychology can be affirmed to carry the principles of its chemical organization in color, as well as form, as these experiments appear to indicate, the scale of shades, from each primary standard point, could also be denoted by microscropical researches. We should thus, perhaps, be able to reach, without bringing in the influence of climate at all, the various olive, yellow, red, brown, amber, and black-skinned races of man, by mere color. Whatever be the mode of proof adopted by philosophers and physiologists, it is generally admitted with Buffon, that all varieties propagate with each other, thus vindicating the great and unalterable law of species. In the only two passages where the sacred oracles speak of changes produced in the *color* of the human race — they attribute the change to be due to climate. (Song of Solomon, i. 5–6).

The epidermis of the Red Man of America, has been pronounced by Dr. Morton to be cinnamon-colored. This may be considered determinate respecting the tribes of the northern and middle latitudes. In the islands of the Caribbean groups, and in Guiana, Brazil, and California, the tendency to a darker tint was noticed at the earliest periods, and this distinction is affirmed by the latest observers of the present day.[1] Dr. Pickering, who accompanied the United States' Exploring Expedition, is enabled to quote from personal observation.[2] He states his opinion, that the Indians of Southern California and of the West Indies, are of Malay origin, pp. 112, 114. He suggests that the Cherokees and Chippewas are Malays. The search after unity of features and physical constitution, has, perhaps, too much withdrawn attention from the importance of minutiæ of tribal differences. A lighter shade than copper or cinnamon color was popularly affirmed by early French writers as existing in a people called Blancs Barbus, in the north-west; but the observation has dropped without being revived by physiological or ethnological writers. A similar observation was made, at an early day, respecting the well-known tribe of the Menomonies of Wisconsin, of whom, as they still exist, it may be said that they are of the lightest cinnamon type.

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[1] This system does not purport to exhibit distinctions between the nations having curled hair. By it the hair of the German, Italian, Erse, Scot, Frenchman, Briton, Hollander, Circassian, and Turk, would be the same in its geometrical and physiological qualities.

Blue eyes and light hair only appear, so far as our personal observation extends, in the intermixed races, where the aboriginal blood is as four-twelfths to the Anglo-Saxon or Celtic parentage; and at this point the color and lineaments are often entirely European.

Dr. Samuel Forrey, late editor of the American Journal of Medicine and the Collateral Sciences, in his treatise on the Natural History of the American Indians, advances some views respecting the characteristic features of the race, which tend to show that they are by no means isolated in character and radically different from the old stocks of the human family.[3] He affirms the contrary, and maintains his views with much ingenuity and force; regarding the Indians as a derivative people. Few men have been so well capacitated to observe the facts which are brought into discussion, and he possessed a clear discrimination, intellectual energy and power of observation, united to dauntless assiduity, which impart the highest value to his investigations.[4]

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[1] Pritchard's Nat. Hist. of Man, London, 1841. Hamilton's Nat. Hist. of the Human Species: Edin., 1848.

[2] Pickering's Races of Men: London, 1851.

[3] Am. Bib. Rep.

[4] Dr. Samuel Forrey was a native of Pennsylvania; of German descent. He received a thorough English and classical education, to which he added a knowledge of the German and French languages. He afterwards graduated at the University of Pennsylvania with high reputation, and was appointed an assistant surgeon in the United States' Army, which brought him into contact with the aboriginal tribes. He was two years in the field, attending the emigrating tribes west from Florida and Alabama; and he was employed several years at Washington in compiling, from the public archives, the materials for his elaborate work on climate.

In 1841, he began the practice of medicine in New York, and commenced the publication of the American Medical Journal, one of the first periodicals of its kind in America. His intellectual labors were incredible: he wrote one-half of each number, and nearly all the reviews, and during this time also prepared an elaborate work on "Vital Statistics." The Development of Man's Faculties, and the Laws of his Mortality and Reproduction, viewed in their relations to Hygiology, or State Medicine, remains unpublished. His intense labors at last produced epileptic fits, of which he died, November 8th, 1844. The Medical Professors erected a monument to his memory in Greenwood Cemetery.

2. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

BY DR. SAMUEL FORREY, M.D., A.M.

LATE OF NEW YORK. EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL JOURNAL. AUTHOR OF THE CLIMATOLOGY OF THE UNITED STATES, VITAL STATISTICS, &c.

Preliminary to the consideration of the distinctive characteristics of our aborigines, more especially as it is important to have, in every scientific inquiry, a clear idea of all the terms employed, it may be well to state that by the term *species* in natural history, is understood a collection of individuals, whether plants or animals, which so resemble one another, that all the differences among them may find an explanation in the known operation of physical causes; but if two races are distinguished by some characteristic peculiarity of organization not explicable on the ground that it was lost by the one or acquired by the other through any known operation of physical causes, we are warranted in the belief that they have not descended from the same original stock. Hence, *varieties* in natural history are distinguished from *species* by the circumstance of mere deviation from the characters of the parent stock; but to determine whether tribes characterized by certain diversities, constitute in reality distinct species, or merely varieties of the same species, is often a question involving much doubt — a doubt which can, however, be generally removed by a comprehensive survey of the great laws of organization.

Species is defined by Buffon,—"a succession of similar individuals, which reproduce each other." By Cuvier—"the union of individuals descended from each other, or from common parents, and of those who resemble them as much as they resemble each other." He adds — "the apparent difference of the races of our domestic species are stronger than those of any species of the same genus. * * * The fact of the *succession*, therefore, and of the *constant succession*, constitutes alone the *unity of the species*."

As regards the physical characteristics of the American aborigines, Dr. Morton arrives at the following conclusions: —

"Thus it is that the American Indian, from the southern extremity of the continent to the northern limit of his range, is the same exterior man. With somewhat variable stature and complexion, his distinctive features, though variously modified, are never effaced; and he stands isolated from the rest of mankind, identified at a glance in every locality, and under every variety of circumstances; and even his desiccated remains, which have withstood the destroying hand of time, preserve the primeval type of his race, excepting only when art has interposed to prevent it."

From this, and other considerations, all of which will be noticed in detail, Dr. M. arrives at the final conclusion — that there are no direct or obvious links between the people of the old world and those of the new. But notwithstanding the high authority of Dr. Morton upon this subject, we shall attempt to show, and, as we conceive, successfully, the utter fallacy of this inference.

In surveying the globe, in reference to the different appearances of mankind, the most extraordinary diversities are, indeed, apparent to the most superficial observer. The Patagonian and Caffre, compared with the Laplander and Esquimaux, are real giants, the stature of the latter being generally two feet less than that of the former. What a striking contrast does the coarse skin and greasy blackness of the African present to the delicate cuticle and the exquisite rose and lily that beautifies the face of the Georgian! Compare the head of the Caucasian, having those proportions which we so much admire in Grecian sculpture, with the flat skull of the Carib, or that of the Negro, with its low retreating forehead, and advancing jaws! Or behold in one the full development of intellectual power, as displayed in arts, science, and literature — and in the other, a mere instinctive existence! Hence arises the question — Have all these diverse races descended from a single stock? Or, on the other hand — Have the different races of mankind, from the beginning of their existence, differed from one another in their physical, moral, and intellectual nature? This inquiry opens to our view a wide and interesting field of investigation; and although the extreme diversities of mankind just adverted to would seem, at first view, to forbid the supposition of a common origin, yet we find them all running into one another by such nice and imperceptible gradations, not only in contiguous countries, but among the same people, as to render it often impracticable, independent of the individual's locality, to determine to what family of the human race he belongs. Hence we surely do not despair of disproving Dr. Morton's deduction, that our Indian 'stands isolated from the rest of mankind.'

In order to present a more general view of the subject, we shall now endeavor to point out the most important diversities by which the human family is distinguished, as we find them separated into different races, and to determine, in connection with the main object of this inquiry, and as tending to elucidate it, whether these races are merely varieties of one, or constitute distinct species.

In the general classification of mankind, we find that nearly every author has some peculiar views. Thus, while Cuvier makes the distinction of three races, Malte Brun has no less than sixteen. As the division of Blumenbach, consisting of five varieties, viz., the Caucasian, Mongolian, American, Ethiopian, and Malay, is the one most generally adopted, it may be well to present here their general distinguishing characters. Among the principal characteristics, those of the skull are most striking and distinguishing. It is on the configuration of the bones of the head that the peculiarity of the countenance chiefly depends. Although, as previously remarked, the various families of man run into each other by imperceptible gradations, yet, in the typical examples of these five primary divisions, a very marked difference is observable.

(1.) In the *Caucasian* race, the head is more globular than in the other varieties, and the forehead is more expanded. The face has an oval shape, nearly on a plane with the forehead and cheek-bones, which last project neither laterally nor forwards, as in other races; nor does the upper jaw-bone, which has a perpendicular direction, to which the lower jaw corresponds, give a projecting position to the front teeth, as in the other varieties. The chin is full and rounded. This variety is *typically* characterized by a white skin; but we will show that it is susceptible of every tint, and that it is, in some nations, almost black — and the eyes and hair are variable, the former being mostly blue, and the latter yellow or brown, and flowing. It is the nations with this cranial formation that have attained the highest degree of civilization, and have generally ruled over the others; or rather, as we would show more fully, did space allow, it is among these nations that the progress of civilization, and the development of the anterior portion of the brain, each exercising on the other a mutual influence, have gone hand in hand. Of this variety of the human race, the chief families are the Caucasians proper, the Germanic branch, the Celtic, the Arabian, the Libyan, the Nilotic, and the Hindostanee.

(2.) In the *Mongolian* variety, the head, instead of being globular, is nearly square. The cheek-bones project from under the middle of the orbit of the eye, and turn backward in a remarkable outward projection of the zygoma. The orbits are large and deep, the eyes oblique, and the upper part of the face exceedingly flat; the nose, the nasal bones, and even the space intermediate to the eyebrows, being nearly on the same plane with the cheek-bones. The color of this variety is olive or yellowish-brown, and the hair is blackish and scanty. This variety of the human family has formed vast empires in China and Japan, but its civilization has been long stationary. It has spread over the whole of central and northern Asia, being lost among the American polar race, the Esquimaux, on the one hand, and the Caucasian Tartars on the other. Extending to the Eastern Ocean, it comprehends the Japanese, the Coreans, and a large portion of the Siberians. On the south, its limits seem to be bounded by the Ganges; while in the Eastern Peninsula it is only in the lower castes that the Mongolian features predominate over the Indo-Caucasian.

(3.) The *Ethiopian* variety, which recedes the furthest from the Caucasian, presents a narrow and elongated skull; the temporal muscles, which are very large and powerful, rising very high on the parietal bones, thus giving the idea of lateral compression. The forehead is low and retreating. The cheek-bones and the upper jaw project forward, and the alveolar ridge and the teeth take a similar position. The nose is thick, being almost blended with the cheeks: the mouth is prominent, and the lips thick; the chin narrow and retracted. The color varies from a deep tawny to a perfect jet; and the hair is black, frizzled, and woolly. In disposition, the Negro is joyous, flexible, and indolent. The whole of the African continent, with the exception of the parts lying north and east of the Great Desert, is overspread by the different branches of this type. Besides which, they are found in New Holland, New Guinea, the Moluccas, and other islands. It is not true, as is remarked by M. Cuvier and others, that the people comprising this race have always remained in a state of barbarism. On the contrary, numerous facts might be adduced, showing that many Negro tribes have made considerable advances in civilization, and that in proportion to this improvement do they approximate to the physical characters of the Caucasian. For instance, in the ancient kingdom of Bambarra, of which Timbuctoo is the capital, civilization was comparatively far advanced at a time when the Britons, as described by Julius Cæsar, were smeared over with paint, and clothed in the skins of wild beasts.

These three varieties constitute the leading types of mankind, the Malay and American being no more than mere intervening shades.

(4.) In the *Malayan* variety, the forehead is more expanded than in the African; the jaws are less prominent, and the nose more distinct. The color is blackish-brown or mahogany; the hair is long, coarse, and curly, and the eyelids are drawn obliquely upwards at the outer angles. Active and ingenious, this variety possesses all the habits of a migratory, predacious, and maritime people. They are found in Malacca, Sumatra, the innumerable islands of the Indian Archipelago and the great Pacific Ocean, from Madagascar to Easter Island.

(5.) The *American* variety, which, as it constitutes the special object of this paper, we have reserved to the last. This variety, like the Malayan in reference to the Caucasian and Ethiopian, may be said to hold a similar relation to the Caucasian and Mongolian. The head, though similar to the Mongolian, is yet less square, and the face less flattened. The forehead is low, the eyes black and deep-set, and the nose large and aquiline. The skin is dark, and more or less red; the hair is black, straight, and long, and the beard deficient. They are slow in acquiring knowledge, and averse to mental cultivation. Restless and revengeful, they always evince a fondness for war; but as regards the spirit of maritime adventure, they are wholly destitute. As exhibiting the highest point of attainable civilization, the ancient empires of Peru, Mexico, and Central America, generally, may be considered analogous to those of China and India, which have been for ages stationary.

This race was, when first discovered by Europeans, spread over nearly the whole of the Americas, south of the sixtieth degree of north latitude. From this point towards the Arctic Circle, our Indian, it is generally believed, belongs to the Mongolian variety, notwithstanding the analogy of language would warrant an opposite inference. From Greenland, we trace apparently the same family of men to the north of Europe, comprising the Finland and Lapland coasts; and thence to the Polar races of Asia, which are part of the Mongolian tribes covering the immense region extending from the line of the Ural and Himmaleh Mountains, to Behring's Straits.

But before proceeding to a consideration of the characteristics of the American aborigines as connected with the unity of the human family, let us first treat of the phenomena of *hybridity*, which have a close relation with the determination of species. An identity of species between two animals, notwithstanding a striking difference in some particulars, has been inferred as a general rule, if their offspring has been found capable of procreating. Although this doctrine has been generally maintained by our most distinguished naturalists, yet some have rejected it as a hasty generalization. The production of hybrids is a phenomena observed, not only among mammifers, but among birds, fishes, the insect tribes, and the vegetable kingdom; and when we survey the numerous facts opposed to the generally-admitted law of nature, that all hybrid productions are sterile, there would seem to be some ground for doubting the soundness of the general conclusion. Thus the dog and the wolf, and the dog and the fox, will breed together, and the mixed offspring is capable of procreating. And that mules are not always barren, is a fact not unknown, even to Aristotle. But as hybrid productions are almost unknown among animals in their wild and unrestrained condition, it would seem that there is a mutual repugnance between those of different species; and thus nature guards against a universal confusion of the different departments of organized creation. Notwithstanding the occasional exceptions to the general fact of the sterility of hybrid productions, it has never been observed that an offspring similar to themselves has proceeded from hybrids of an opposite sex. The offspring of these animals is capable of being continued in successive generations only by returning towards one of the parent tribes. It is thus apparent that the *vis procreatrix* between different species, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, is very defective, and that the law of nature which maintains the diversity of tribes in the organized world, is not really infringed by the isolated phenomena observed in reference to hybrid productions. That animals generally have the same form and endowments now as at the remotest period of our acquaintance with them, is an opinion confirmed by the oldest historical records, as well as by the works of art and the actual relics found in Egyptian tombs. The zoological descriptions of Aristotle, composed twenty-two centuries ago, are still faithful to nature in every particular. Hence it would appear that insurmountable barriers to the intermixture of species, at least among wild animals, have been provided by nature in the instinctive aversion to union with other species, in the sterility of hybrid productions, and in the law of the reproduction of the corporeal and physical characters of the parent in the offspring.

These facts have an important bearing upon the doctrine that mankind constitutes a single species. It is well known to horticulturists and those engaged in breeding domesticated animals, that, by crossing and intermixing varieties, a mixed breed superior in almost every physical quality to the parent races is often produced; and it has also been observed that the intermixture of different races of the human family has produced one physically superior, generally speaking, to either ancestral race. Now, as it is a law, according to the high authority of Buffon and Hunter, that those animals of opposite sexes, notwithstanding some striking differences in appearance, whose offspring is equally prolific with themselves, belong to one and the same species, it follows that these facts afford a strong confirmation of the conclusion deduced from many others, viz., that *there is but one human species*, for, as just remarked, while the offspring of distinct species (real hybrids) are so little prolific that their stock soon becomes extinct, it is found that the mixed offspring of different varieties of the same species generally exceeds the parent races in corporeal vigor and in the tendency to multiplication. This law, however, does not apply to the moral and intellectual endowments; for we find these deteriorated in the European by the mixture of any other race, and, on the other hand, an infusion of Caucasian blood tends in an equal degree to ennoble these qualities in the other varieties of the human family. It is, indeed, an undisputed fact, that all the races and varieties of mankind are equally capable of propagating their offspring by intermarriage; and that such connections when contracted between individuals of the most dissimilar varieties, as, for instance, the Negro and the European, prove, if there is any difference, they are even more prolific. This tendency to a rapid increase is especially obvious among the so-termed Mulattoes of the West Indies. Upon this point the philosophic Prichard arrives at the following conclusion:—

"It appears to me unquestionable that intermediate races of men exist and are propagated, and that no impediment whatever exists to the perpetuation of mankind when the most dissimilar varieties are blended together. We hence derive a conclusive proof, unless there be in the instance of human races an exception to the universally prevalent law of organized nature, that all the tribes of men are of one family."

It is well remarked by Prichard, that perhaps the solution of the problem of the unity of the human family, might be safely left on this issue, or considered as obtained by this argument. The same law, as is well known, applies to our aborigines. As we spent upwards of two years, when serving in the medical staff of the army, among the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees, we saw, especially in Florida, the most remarkable intermixtures between the Indian and the Negro, as regards the physiognomy of the individual. Instead of an apparently new being like the Mulatto, the mixed offspring would often exhibit the decided characteristics of the two races, without any obvious blending. Thus, one would have the crisp and curly hair, united with a reddish, copper-colored skin, and all the other Indian features: and another would present the straight, long, and coarse hair of the Indian upon a true Negro skull; as the low and retreating forehead, the projecting jaws, the thick nose, the narrow and retracted chin, and the jet-black complexion.

We shall here also bring under notice what may be designated as *accidental* or *congenital* varieties, these phenomena having a close relation with the diversities exhibited among various tribes of mankind. Among all organized productions, we find variety of form and structure in the same species, and even in the offspring of the same parents, and what is equally remarkable, we discover a tendency to perpetuate in their offspring all individual peculiarities. This constitutes, in some degree, an exception to the general law that animals produce their like—an exception by which it were easy to explain the present existence of diversified races, originating from the same primitive species, did not a new difficulty arise in the question, having reference to the extent of deviation of structure that may take place without breaking in upon the characteristic type of the species.

We are now prepared to consider the *characteristics of our aboriginal race*, by which, in the language of Morton, they "*stand isolated from the rest of mankind.*" We shall speak first of *diversities of form or configuration*, the most important of which is, doubtless, the shape of the head as connected with the development of the brain. The classification of skulls under five general heads already given is, of course, entirely arbitrary; and as in every other corporeal diversity, so we find in regard to crania an imperceptible gradation among the nations of the earth, filling up the interval between the two extremes of the most perfect Caucasian model and the most exaggerated Negro specimen. Hence we must conclude that the diversities of skulls among mankind, and consequently in a much less degree the peculiarity of our Indian, do not afford sufficient ground for a specific difference—an inference confirmed, as will be seen by the variations which occur in animals of the same species. We might show, as we think, conclusively, did space allow, that there is a connection between the leading physical characters of human races (and especially as regards cranial formation), and the agencies of climate and their habits of existence. This is very apparent in the configuration found in our aborigines, and equally so in all other races in the nomadic and hunter conditions, consisting of the greater development of the jaws and zygomatic (cheek) bones; in a word, of the bones of the face altogether, as compared with the size of the brain. That the development of the organs of taste and smell, is in an inverse ratio to that of the brain, and consequently to the degree of intelligence, is considered by Bichat as almost a rule in our organization. By this principle, as an index to those exalted prerogatives which elevate man above the brute, was the Grecian sculptor guided. Although, upon this point, the facial angle of Camper is not an exact test; yet it may be remarked that in the human race it varies from 65° to 85°, the former being a near approach to the monkey species. Among the remains of Grecian art we find this angle extended to 90° in the representation of poets, sages, legislators, &c., thus showing that the relation here referred to was not unknown to them; while, at the same time, the mouth, nose, jaws, and tongue, were contracted in size, as indicative of a noble and generous nature.[1] In the statues of their gods and heroes the Greeks gave a still greater exaggeration to the latter, and reduction to the former characteristics, thus extending the forehead over the face so as to make a facial angle of 100°. It is this that gives to their statuary its high character of sublime beauty. Even among the vulgar we find the idea of stupidity associated with an elongation of the snout.

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[1] For a view of new cranial measurements, reference is made to Vol. II., p. 235, and the Introduction to Vol. III., pp. v, vi, by which the average cranial volume is raised to 83½°, and the average Caucasian angle to 76⅔°.—H. R. S

As regards man's *average stature, the size and proportions of his trunk and limbs, and the relations of different parts,* it has been inferred by some that these varieties, in connection with other diversities, constitute distinctive characters sufficient to class the human family under several separate species. It has been asserted, for instance, that in the Negro the length of the fore-arm is so much greater than in the European, as to form a real approximation to the character of the ape. This difference, however, is so very slight, compared with the relative length of the arms of the orang and the chimpantsi, that we are not even warranted in the inference that races long civilized have less of the animal in this respect in their physical conformation, than those in the savage state. No peculiarity of this kind pertains to our aborigines; but that uncivilized races have less muscular power than civilized men, is a fact that has been often observed, and one that we can confirm from extensive personal knowledge relative to the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees. The experiments of the voyager Peron, with the *dynamometer,* showed that Frenchmen and Englishmen have a physical superiority compared with the natives of the southern hemisphere. But these diversities are not specific, being merely variations arising from the operation of particular causes; as, for instance, the Hindoos, who live on a vegetable aliment exclusively, are less muscular, and have arms and legs longer in proportion than Europeans; and hence, too, the miserable savages, who are never well fed, but are frequently depressed by absolute want, cannot be expected to equal, in physical strength, the industrious and well-fed middle classes of a civilized community. That none of these deviations amount to specific distinctions, is apparent from two arguments, as laid down by Prichard:—"First, that none of the differences in question exceed the limits of individual variety, or are greater than the diversities found within the circle of one nation or family; Secondly, the varieties of form in human races are by no means so considerable, in many points of view, as the instances of variation which are known to occur in different tribes of animals belonging to the same stock, there being scarcely one domesticated species which does not display much more considerable deviations from the typical character of the tribe."

Among the physical characteristics of our Indian, we shall now consider that of *color* or *complexion,* the usual designation of which is *copper-colored;* but this is considered by Dr. M'Culloch as wholly inapplicable to the Americans as a race, having himself proposed the term "*cinnamon-colored.*" Dr. Morton thinks that, taken collectively, they would be most correctly designated as the "*brown-race.*" He adds—"Although the Americans possess a pervading and characteristic complexion, there are occasional and very remarkable deviations, including all the tints from a decided white to an unequivocally black skin."

Of the natives of the Marquesas, it has been said that "in form they are, perhaps, the finest in the world," and that their skin is naturally "very fair;" while in the color of their hair all the various shades found in the different tribes of the Caucasian race are exhibited.

Even among the American tribes, known the world over as the "red man," the most remarkable diversities of complexion are presented, varying from a decided white to an unequivocally black skin. Of so deep a hue are the Californians, that La Perouse compares them to the Negroes in the West Indies. "The complexion of the Californians," he says, "very nearly resembles that of those Negroes whose hair is not woolly." In contrast to these black Californians, we have on our north-west coast tribes with skins as white as the complexion of the natives of southern Europe. Captain Dixon describes a female whose "countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milkmaid, and the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her forehead was so remarkably clear that the translucent veins were seen meandering even in the minutest branches."

So far, then, we can discover no distinctive characteristics by which the American aboriginal "stands isolated from the rest of mankind." But as difference of color is the most obvious diversity of human organization that meets the popular eye, we will present to our readers the conclusion of the learned Prichard on the same point.

"That the different complexions of mankind," he says, "are not permanent characters, may be sufficiently proved by numerous facts collected from the physical history of particular races of men. It is hardly necessary, in this instance, to appeal to the infinite number of phenomena which are to be found, precisely analogous in all the circumstances of their origin and subsequent propagation and permanence in entire breeds, in the various tribes of animals, there being scarcely any tribe of warm-blooded creatures which are not subject to become thus diversified. The reader will find, in the following outline of the history of particular tribes of the human family, instances of this variation of color—of a change from white to black, and from black to white, or of both complexions actually subsisting in the undoubted progeny of the same stock; and these instances so multiplied and so well authenticated, as to leave no doubt as to the conclusion which we are obliged to draw in this part, at least, of the investigation before us, as to the great question of the unity or diversity of the human species."

The hair of our Indian presents so little diversity from the rest of mankind, as to require no special notice; but as much stress has always been laid upon the national differences of the human hair, by those who hold that the Negro is of a distinct species from our own, a few general observations will not be deemed out of place. As regards the hair, beard, and color of the iris, we observe, indeed, strongly marked varieties; all these having a relation with the color of the skin. While the head of the Caucasian race is adorned with an ample growth of fine locks, and his face with a copious beard, the Negro's head presents short, woolly knots, and that of the American or

Mongolian, coarse and straight hair, all having nearly beardless faces; and with this diminution of the beard is combined a general smoothness of the whole body. That the coloring principle in the skin and hair is of a common nature, is evident from the fact, that among the white races every gradation, from the fair to the dark, is accompanied by a corresponding alteration in the tint of the hair. This remark applies equally to the colored varieties of men, for all these have black hair; but among the spotted Africans, according to Blumenbach, the hairs growing out of a white patch on the head are white. These facts, in connection with others observed among inferior animals, as the dog, sheep, and goat, prove sufficiently, that a distinction of species cannot be established on the mere difference in the hair. Upon this point, Prichard very happily remarks:—

"That if this cuticular excrescence of the Negro were really not hair, but a fine wool—if it were precisely analogous to the finest wool—still, this would by no means prove the Negro to be of a peculiar and separate stock, since we know that some tribes of animals bear wool, while others of the same species are covered with hair. It is true that, in some instances, this peculiarity depends immediately on climate, and is subject to vary when the climate is changed; but, in others, it is deeply fixed in the breed, and almost amounts to a permanent variety."

But the so-called *woolly* hair of the Negro is not wool in fact, but merely a curled and twisted hair. This has been proved, by microscopic observation, upon the well-known law, that the character which distinguishes wool from hair consists in the serrated nature of its external surface, giving to it its felting property.[1]

Hence, it is obvious, that in no point of view can the facts presented in reference to the complexion and the hair, be reconciled with the hypothesis, that the Negro constitutes a distinct species, and, in a much less degree, the American, inasmuch as we do not find, in any department of nature, that separate species of organization ever pass into each other by insensible degrees. We will add a few facts in regard to the so-called woolly hair, which, it has been seen, is not wool in fact. Although the shape of the head, among the South African tribes, differs in a degree corresponding to the extent of their civilization, yet it would seem that the crisp and woolly state of the hair, notwithstanding the complexion is considerably lighter than among the tribes of Central Africa, experiences no modification. The Caffres, for example, who have black and woolly hair, with a deep brown skin, have the high forehead and prominent nose of the Europeans, with projecting cheek-bones and thickish lips. This tribe, as well as the Iolofs, near the Senegal, scarcely differ from Europeans, with the exception of the complexion and woolly hair. Other tribes, as, for instance, the darkest of the Abyssinians, approximate the Europeans still more, in the circumstance that the hair, though often crisp and frizzled, is never woolly. Again, some of the tribes near the Zambesi, according to Prichard, have hair in rather long and flowing ringlets, notwithstanding the complexion is black, and the features have the Negro type. The civilized Mandingos, on the other hand, have a cranial organization differing much from that of their degraded neighbors; yet, in respect to the hair, there is no change.

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[1] This topic is discussed by Mr. Browne, on the basis of a new series of microscopical observations, in Vol. III., p. 375, where this view is controverted.—H. R. S.

It will be observed that we dwell particularly upon the characteristics of the Negro; and to this we are led for the reason, that as they constitute much greater deviations from the Caucasian type than those of the American variety, it follows, that the reconciliation of the former with the Mosaic account of the unity of the human family, will the more completely disprove the conclusion of Morton, that "there are no direct or obvious links between the people of the old world and the new." He adds —"once for all, I repeat my conviction, that the study of physical conformation alone, excludes every branch of the Caucasian race from any obvious participation in the peopling of this continent." Now, if the principles developed in this essay are founded in nature, such as the origination of the diversities of man from congenital causes, and the doctrine that there is an intimate connection between physical feature and moral and intellectual character, both being influenced by local causes, then does this last conclusion likewise prove a mere postulate. That there is a remarkable coincidence between the natural talents and dispositions of nations, and the development of their brains, cannot be denied. This is illustrated in the intellectual superiority of the Caucasian race, taken in connection with the development of the anterior portion of the brain. Time was, no doubt, when the present distinction of races did not exist; and hence, at the period when man, in his gradual diffusion, reached America, the Caucasian race may scarcely have been known as a distinct variety.

"This idea (the American race being essentially separate and peculiar) may, at first view," says Morton, "seem incompatible with the history of man, as recorded in the Sacred Writings. Such, however, is not the fact. Where others can see nothing but chance, we can perceive a wise and obvious design displayed in the original adaptation of the several races of men to those varied circumstances of climate and locality, which, while congenial to the one, are destructive to the other." As difficulties, regarded by some as insuperable, have been encountered in tracing back the diverse varieties of mankind to the same single pair, Morton, like others before him, has cut this imaginary Gordian knot, by calling in the aid of supernatural agency. He thinks it "consistent with the known government of the universe, to suppose that the same Omnipotence that created man would adapt him at once to the physical as well as the moral circumstances in which he was to dwell upon the earth." Now this supposed miracle did not, of course, occur until the dispersion of Babel, and, inasmuch as man is endowed with a pliability of functions, by which he is rendered a cosmopolite—a faculty possessed in the highest degree by the inhabitants of the middle latitudes, there is not the slightest ground for the belief that it ever did occur, simply because no such special adaptation was demanded. The *chief* characteristics which distinguish the several varieties of man, viz., the comparative development of the moral feelings and intellectual powers, require no particular adaptation to external causes. Least of all could the American race, regarded by Morton as the same exterior man "in every locality, and under every variety of circumstances," have been endowed with an "original adaptation to the varied circumstances of climate and locality," inasmuch as the region inhabited by them embraces every zone of the earth, through a distance of one hundred and fifty degrees of latitude! Is not this an absolute confutation of his own theory?

As our space will not allow us to present any details, we cannot do better than give the inferences deduced by Prichard upon this subject.

"1st. That tribes of animals that have been domesticated by man, and carried into regions where the climates are different from those of their native abodes, undergo, partly from the agency of climate, and in part from the change of external circumstances connected with the state of domesticity, great variations.

2d. That these variations extend to considerable modifications in external properties, color, the nature of the integument, and of its covering, whether hair or wool, the structure of limbs, and the proportional size of parts; that they likewise involve certain physiological changes or variations as to the laws of the animal economy; and, lastly, certain psychological alterations or changes in the instincts, habits, and powers of perception and intellect.

3d. That these last changes are in some cases brought about by training, and that the progeny acquires an aptitude to certain habits which the parents have been taught; that psychical characters, such as new instincts, are developed in breeds by cultivation.

4th. That these varieties are sometimes permanently fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed.

5th. That all such variations are possible only to a limited extent, and always with the preservation of a particular type, which is that of the species. Each species has a definite or definable character, comprising certain undeviating phenomena of external structure, and likewise constant and unchangeable characteristics in the laws of its animal economy, and in its physiological nature. It is only within these limits that deviations are produced by external circumstances."

IX. LANGUAGE. C.

[3D PAPER, TITLE IX.]

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Voc. 1. Natic, or Massachusetts Language. P. 288, et seq. From a scrutiny of passages in Eliot's Ind. Bible of 1684. H. R. S.
" 2. Shoshonee. Folio 216. By N. Wyeth, Esq.
" 3. Yuma of California. By Lt. A. W. Whipple, U. S. A.

TITLE IX., LET. A., VOL. II. [1st (elementary) Paper.]

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" 2. Plan of Thought of the American Languages. By Dr. F. Lieber.
" 3. An Essay on the Grammatical Structure of the Algonquin Languages. Part I.; eight Chapters. H. R. S.
" 4. Remarks on the Principles of the Cherokee Language. By Rev. N. S. Worcester.

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4. Chippewa. Dialect of St. Mary. By George Johnston.
5. " Dialect of Lake Michigan. By Rev. P. Dougherty.
6. " Dialect of Saginaw. By George Moran.
7. " Dialect of Michilimackinac. By William Johnston.
8. Miami. By E. N. Hardy, U. S. Indian Agent.
9. Menomonie. By W. H. Bruce, U. S. Indian Agent.
10. Shawnee. By Richard W. Cummings, U. S. Indian Agent.
11. Delaware. By Richard W. Cummings, U. S. Indian Agent.

12. Mohawk. By Rev. A. Elliott.
13. Oneida. By H. R. S. and R. U. Shearman, Esq.
14. Onondaga. By Abraham La Fort. H. R. S.
15. Cayuga. By Rev. A. Elliott.
16. Comanche, or Näuni. By R. S. Neighbors, U. S. Indian Agent.
17. Satsikta, or Blackfeet. By J. B. Moncrovie.
18. Costanos of California. By Pedro Alcantara.
19. Cushna of California. By A. Johnson, U. S. Indian Agent.

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LANGUAGE.

1. OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANNER OF COMPOUNDING WORDS IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.

The great capacity of the Indian languages in making compounds and derivations, is one of their peculiarities. Thought, in these languages, appears to be seldom of an elementary character; or if there be, as is found, an elementary nucleus to words, it is connected instantly with person, quality, position, or some other secondary phenomenon. This renders the conjugation of their verbs intricate, and gives them a very polysyllabic character. This principle is also perceived by their mode of bestowing names, personal, geographical, and relative to the economy of life. They are very prone to join words together, leaving out, for euphony sake, some part of the original elements. A process which there is no grammar to explain, but which a child soon learns from its parents, one would suppose cannot be very intricate, or difficult to learn. In truth, this intricacy and complexity is only apparent; and yet it has been a puzzle to grammarians.

As yet, in the course of investigation, I have found no Indian word or sentence which does not yield to the process of analysis; and I feel prepared to announce that this entire class of American language is founded and built up on distinct roots, having a meaning by themselves. Distinct from the changes which all verbs undergo, for time, person, and object, this principle reduces all words into monosyllabic or primordial increments, and, as the process of accretion proceeds, throws them into formative developments of a dual, or trisyllabic character.

The conjugation of verbs—whether the word be a primordial, or developed and compound root of dual or trisyllabic forms—is effected by having separate particles to denote person, tense, object, and number (whether personal or impersonal). These are uniform terms, and well understood by all ages, and easily defined, and leave the action alone to be expressed by the root-form, primordial or accretive. I, thou, he; we, they, them; with their several changes for tense and number, are terms of settled and unmistakeable value. *Is*, *was*, *shall* or *will be*, with such modifications as the syntax permits, are equally fixed modes of expression, derived from the leading word of the several radical languages, expressive of being or existence. Concrete as the spoken languages are, we have these rules, by which to proceed in their analysis — a stock of primordial roots, a fixed mode of syllabical accretion, and a well-defined synthesis; Indian thought is thus brought back to its starting-point, and we are provided with rules to pursue the investigation.

It is, confessedly, illogical and impossible that the Indian's ideas should have clustered together, at the beginning, without elementary meanings. Such a botryoidal commencement of a language would be anomalous. Ideas flow together, and mix like streams. The Indian must have had some elements to make up a language from—and what were they? Earth, fire, water, wind; black, white, red; to strike, to run, to see, to eat, to live, to die, these must have been elementary ideas. Separate existence, a man, a child, a thing — these must have been elementary in the Indian mind. God, house, hill, river, plain, mountain, are terms that appear more fitted for compounds. He must have had a name for grape, before wine; for a quadruped, or bird, before he named species; for a liquid, before he specified liquids. Whatever the process of accretion was, there was a rule. It must have been known, in making compounds, what syllables or letters could be thrown away, in the new compound, without affecting the sense. There was a certain order of thought in the mind — a coherence of parts — a law of syntax.

The word with which an Indian leads off, or begins a sentence, is very material, and given with precision. The order of thought must constitute the law of grammar. I see a man, I see a house. Here the verb, as all English verbs, precedes the noun. Is it so with the Indian? The Algonquin will be appealed to for examples. Literalists, bent on making the rules of the language uniform, in the order of expression, may set in this order the verb and noun in Indian, but it is not the spoken rule of the nation. The very reverse is generally true. Néwäbumä, Newäbundän, I see a living being, I see a structure, are the ready colloquial terms, and imply definitely, I see a man, I see a house, where the objects are, as they usually are, within the range of vision; otherwise, they require further explanation. But, in these answers, the Indian gives more information than was asked of him, namely, that one is a *vital*, and the other a non-*vital noun;* the former class of nouns ending in *au*, and the latter in *aun*. Give me an apple, give me a fish — Mishemin meezhishshin, Kego meeshêshin, are reversed replies; the substantives preceding the verb. In the termination of the word shin, both nouns are shown to be of the non-vital class.

But this allusion to a principle in the syntax is merely incidental; the object of this paper being to consider the adaptiveness of the languages to the peculiar system of word-building. It has been said, that the Indian must have had a term for grape, before he made the compound term for wine, since the meaning of the latter is grape-liquor. Aubo, in the Algonquin, means a liquid, or liquor. Shomin is a grape — but this is, itself, a dual compound. Min, in the same language, means a berry. The primordial root of this word is Sho. Hence the terms: —

A Radix	Sho	A grape.
A Radix	Min	A berry.
Undecided	Aubo	A liquor.
A compound of four syllables	Shominaubo	Wine, that is, grape-berry liquor.

Here the order of thought is unmistakeable; and no one will contend for Dr. Leiber's botryoidal form of the word, without first recognizing its elements.

The word mishimin signifies an apple—a fruit, be it remembered, that was unknown to the Indians till the Discovery. This word is compounded from mish, the primordial root, and min, a berry, with the short sound of *i* thrown in for euphony. This principle of euphony requires a vowel to be interposed where two short words meet, which would bring two consonants (as in this case) together, and a consonant in expressions which would bring two vowels together. The enlargement of the word into the class of trisyllables, in all these cases, brings only *sound* into the new compound, without any enlargement of the sense. By joining the term aubo to this dualistic term, we have the Indian name for cider.

Radix	Mish	Apple.
Connective	*i*.	
Radix	Min	Berry.
Undecided	Aubo	Liquor.
Compound of four syllables	Mishiminaubo	Apple-berry liquor.

The term for rum is ishkoda wäbo. Ishkoda, apparently a concrete word, signifies fire. The word aubo would not coalesce with this term (bringing two vowels together), without the interposition of the consonant *w*.

Compound undecided	Ishkoda.	
Coalescent consonant	*w*.	
Undecided	Aubo	Liquor.
Five syllables	Ishkodawäbo	Fire-liquor.

The term ishkoda is a theme for study. It may be said that the last member of it, koda, signifies a plain, or valley.

Totosh is the name for the female breast. By adding the term aubo, we have the Algonquin name for milk, namely, breast-liquor. This mode of forming terms evinces a fixed synthesis, and is quite regular and philosophic. The following additional terms, constructed on the same principle, may be added.

Spruce beer . .	Shingoopaubo.	From Shingoop . .	The spruce tree,	and abo.
Tea	Aunebeashaubo.	“ Aunebeesh .	Leaves,	“ “
Vinegar . . .	Sheewaubo.	“ Shewan . .	Vinegar,	“ “
Ink	Ozhebeigwabo.	“ Ozhebeigade .	A writer,	“ “
Quicksilver . .	Shonaubo.	“ Shoeau . . .	Silver,	“ “
Rain-water . .	Kimewunaubo.	“ Kimewun . .	Rain,	“ “

By pursuing a similar mode of analysis respecting the class of implements, instruments, or mechanical contrivances known to the Indians, it is perceived that the original word for these things was Jëgun, which is sometimes contracted to egun, or simply gun. Puketa is the indicative form of the verb, third person singular, to strike. By adding to this form of the conjugation of the verb, the term ëgun, we have the name for a hammer, that is to say, strike-instrument. Keeshki is the name for saw-dust, such as is produced by the hand-saw. It is derived from Keeskizhun, to cut. Hence the term for a hand-saw, Keeshkiböjegun, that is, a saw-dust-making instrument.

Taushkau is the verb to split. Hence, Taushkeböjegun, a saw-mill or splitting instrument.

To break up, (any inanimate subtance,) is Pegoobidön. Land or earth is Akki; Akkum, surface of the earth. Hence, Pegoo-kumibeéjegun, a plough or breaking-up-land instrument.

See-see denotes the peculiar noise of a file. Hence, See-see-bojegun, a file or the file-noise instrument.

Kauskaun is the verb to scrape or cut off by scraping. Hence, Kauskebaújegun, a razor or scrape instrument. Keeskizhun, as above stated, is the verb to cut. Biskoona is a flame. Hence, Keeshkikoodjagun, a pair of snuffers or flame-cutting instrument.

Wassa-au is light; Biskoona, flame. Hence, Was-ko-nen-jegun, a candle or light-flame instrument.

Beesau is a term for fine grains. Hence, Beesebojegun, a coffee-mill or fine-grain-making instrument.

By prefixing, by means of a connective vowel or consonant, the verbs to spy through a tube, to drink, to pinch with, to pour in, to be round, to equal, to the same generic word for a machine, contrivance, or instrument, the following descriptive names are produced.

Sheebiaubúngegun .	A spy-glass.	From	Shebia, to spy through a tube,	and jegun.
Minnekwaujegun .	A drinking-glass.	“	Minnequa, to drink,	“ “
Ishkodakwaúnjegun .	A tongs.	“	Iscoda, fire,	“ “
Peenjebúdjegun . .	A funnel.	“	Peenjaiei, within,	“ “
Wauwiaukebidjegun .	A hoop.	“	Waweau, round,	“ “
Tibbaubeeshkobudjegun	A balance.	“	Tibbishco, equal,	“ “
Saasidjegun	An epaulet.	“	Saasid, fringe,	“ “
Mudwa-au beedjegun	A violin.	“	Mudwa-au, music,	“ “

Those terms, which relate to things unknown to the Indians before the Discovery, show the descriptive power and adaptability of the language, and illustrate its remarkable word-building power. At every change from the original root or addition, a new word must be added. The terms become concrete and polysyllabic in the precise proportion that they are required to express new ideas, yet the entire sense is clear and graphic. They are now botryoidal or bunch-words; but all their filaments are roots, whose etymology is clear.

The term wagin, denotes a dressed skin, as contradistinguished from a skin with the hair on. Hence are formed the following terms: —

Pezhikewagin	A dressed buffalo-skin.	From	Pezhiki, a cow or buffalo,	and	wagin.
Adikwagin	A dressed deer-skin.	“	Addik, a deer,	“	“
Amikwagin	A dressed beaver-skin.	“	Amik, a beaver,	“	“
Miskwagin	Red cloth.	“	Misk, red,	“	“

Monedo signifies a spirit—whatever is mysterious or a god. Hence are compounded the following terms: —

Gitchee Mönedo	Great Spirit.
Minnemönedo	Good Spirit.
Matcheemönedo	Bad Spirit.
Monedöwa	Spirits.
Monedöwee	A witch or wizard.
Monedömenais	A glass or enamel bead.
Monedöwagin	Strouds.
Monedö-ossin	A jewel or precious stone.
Monedöpewabik	Steel; spirit-iron.
Monedösug	Insects.
Monedöwäésug	Reptiles.
Monedönong	Place of the Monedo.
Monedös	A little Monedo.
Monedösh	A bad Monedo.
Monedösishing	In the little bad Monedo.

From Keege, a word, we have the following terms: —

Keegedo	To speak.
Keegedowin	A speech.
Kaugedood	A speaker.
Keegidodauding	A council or assembly.
Keegidowegumig	A council-house.
Keeugëkwàin	Advice.
Kaugikwaiwin	Adviser.

Not only verbs and substantives are thus compounded and lengthened out in their syllabical structure, but adjectives admit of similar forms. Thus, from the adjective radix misk, there is formed a variety of dual and trial compounds, which are in daily vocal use.

Misquee	Blood.	From misk, red, and nebee, water.
Misqueewon.	Bloody.	“ “ won, a substance.
Misqueengua	A blush.	“ “ equa, a female.
Misquagin	Red cloth.	“ “ wagin, a dressed skin.
Misquon	A red plume.	“ “ miquon, a feather.
Miscogaud	A red sash or belt.	“ gaud, a strip.
Misquabikedaa.	Red-hot.	“ “ wabidea, hot.
Misquossin	A red stone.	“ “ ossin, a stone.
Miscowazhinegun.	Red paint.	“ “ wazhinegon, color.
Misquawauk	Red cedar.	“ “ auk, a tree.
Miscodeed	The spring beauty; the C. virginica,	From misk, red, and ojeed, anal duct.
Miscopewabik.	Copper.	From misk, red, and pewabik, iron.
Misquakeek	A copper kettle.	“ “ akeek, kettle.
Misquanakwud	A red cloud.	“ “ anaquod, a cloud.
Miscopenasee	A red bird.	“ “ penaisee, a bird.
Misquataince	A land-tortoise.	“ “ aince, little, &c.

From the word Minno, good, is derived —

Minnomonedo.	A good God or an heavenly Spirit.
Minnogeezhik	A good sky.
Mennogeezhikud.	A good day.
Minnoiau	To be well or in good health.
Minnoinnini	A good man.
Minnoequa	A good woman.
Minnopemandizze	Good life or conduct.
Minnoiau bundumowin	A good dream.

From the word Mudjee, or Matchee as it is usually written, is formed —

Matcheemonedo.	A bad spirit or dæmon of evil.
Matcheinnini	A bad man.
Matcheeannamoosha	A bad dog.
Matchgezhikud	A bad day.
Matchekegidowin	Bad language.

One of the most striking sources of Indian compounds is that derived from men's and women's names. The open firmament of heaven is the field from which these names are generally derived. They are, consequently, sublime or grandiloquent in phraseology; sometimes poetic, always highly figurative, and often bombastic or ridiculous. And if anything in this view could denote that the national taste is not Hebraic, it would seem to be so great a diversity in the principles of naming children. For while an almost invariable element in the Hebrew law was the great deity, or the parent of the child, as in El-kanah, or Mo-ab, the Indians rely, almost entirely, on meteorological phenomena. The following examples of the personal names of each sex will denote this. In these names it will be observed that the terms for sky, cloud, sun, star, mist, wind, sound, thunder, lightning, are the stock words or roots.

Au be tuh gee zhig	Centre of the sky.
Ba bwa me au she	Low pealing thunder.
Baim wa wa	The passing thunder.
Kau che daus	The cloud in contact with the sun.
Kau ga aush e	The equinoctial wind, or storm.
Cheeng gaus sin	The noise of wind.
Kau bai be tung	Thunder round the hemisphere.
Esh ta nak wod	Clear sky, or cloudless sky.
Ke wag no quad	The driving cloud.
Cheeng waun ah quod	Thundering cloud.
Ke wai din	North wind.
Ke we tau gee zhig	Around the horizon.
Mo kau ge zhig	The sun bursting from a cloud.
Muk kud da woh quod	The black cloud.
Ma zha ke au she	Thunder reaching earth.
Nau we qua gau bo we	Place of the meridian sun.
Ning au be un	The westerly wind.
O zhau wus co ge zhig	The blue sky.
O zhau wun o	The south.
O zhau wun e ge zhig	The southern hemisphere.
O dush e je ge zhig	Close to the sky.
O guh be aun ah quod	Along the clouds.
Pa bau ge me wong	The showers.
Pa zhe ge zhig o	Variegated sky.
She bau ge zhig	Through the sky.
Ma zin	The spot on the sky.
Mèsh e min aun ah quod	Apple sky.
Sa sa gun	Hail.
Shau waun osh e kee	Southern lights.
Un nung o	The star.
Waub un nung	The morning star.

In all this display, the Deity is not referred to by a word, syllable, or letter, taken from his name.

The following are names drawn from terrene objects.

Aish qua gon a be	First, or feather of honor.
An daig we os	Raven's flesh.
Ap pau koz ze gun	Smoking-mixture.
Ba bwa me kow a	Impressions of feet.
Bis koon a	The blaze.
Kau gwa dwa	The questioner.
I au beance	The little male.
Ish ke bug ga se	The green leaves.
Ka ka konce	The little kite.
Mau gis aun e qua	Wampum hair.
Mud je ke wis	Eldest, or first-born.
Muk kud da pe nais	The little blackbird.
Nau git che gum me	Centre of the Great Lake.
Neezh e pe nais	The coupled birds.
Ne baun ah ba	The merman (or mermaid).
Na kud je wa	The last glimpse of one going over a hill.
O zhau won e pe nais e	Yellow-bird.
O zhau won o me da	Southern medicine dance.
Pais koon a au she	The rising flame.
Pa ne quon	The falling feathers.
Shin gua ba wos sin	Water-worn granite rock.
Sha wau be ke to	Jingling metals.
Cha mees	The pouncing hawk.
Wau goosh aince	The little fox.
Nay ge zhik	Splendid sky.
Waub o jeeg	The white fisher.

These are, however, perhaps in every case, duplicate names, such as have been bestowed from some incident in the man's life—forming a secondary class of names, which, it is known, every Indian bears. Sometimes there are triplicate names; indeed, some are the baby names of childhood, meaning little bird, bad boy, evil-doer, &c. But the original, or so to say, baptismal name, is studiously concealed, and never revealed by the individual bearing it. The names of animals, birds, &c., form a numerous class of these tribal names. Animals, or objects in animated nature, also form the important totemic or sirnames, which link families and clans together.

It is a characteristic of the names of females that they denote the gender in their terminal syllable *qua*. Some of this class of names are also taken from atmospheric phenomena; others are from the forest, streams, &c. A few of these of each kind will serve to show the manner in which they are compounded.

Au zhe bik o qua	Woman of the rock.
As sin au mik o qua	Woman of the pebbly-bottom water.
Ba zhik o quod o qua	Woman of the single cloud.
Baim wa wa ge zhig a qua	Woman of the thunder cloud.
Baim e je wong	The running stream.
Baim wa wa je won o qua	Woman of the gurgling stream.
Cheeng gosh kum o qua	Woman of the sounding footsteps.
Ke neance e qua	Little rose-bud woman.
Mud je ge qua wis	Eldest born daughter.
Mau je won o qua	Woman of the tide.
Mau je ge zhik o qua	Woman of the zenith
O be muh un o qua	Woman of the spray.
O mis quau bik o qua	Woman of the Red Rock.
O ge zhe je won a qua	Woman of the rapid current.
O buh bah me je won o qua	Woman of the stream.
O gin e bug o qua	Woman of the rose.
O buh bau mwa wa ge zhig o qua	Woman of the murmuring of the skies.

Combinations assume a power of expression which is calculated to give permanency to Indian names, when they are applied to the geographical features of the country.

A few geographical names from the Algonquin may be specified.

Illinois, from illine, man, and ois, a French termination.

Chicago, from Cheegaugong, a place of leeks, from the resemblance in the odor of the plant to a polecat; from Checag, a polecat, and ong, a place.

Wabash, from waub, the radix of white, and oshee, clouds borne by the equinoctial wind, and ong, locality.

Chesapeake, from che, great, and sebeeg, waters.

Manhattan, from monau, bad, and atun, channel or stream; alluding to the Hellgate passage between Long Island and New York.

Michigan, from michau, great, in relation to land and water, and saugiëgan, a lake.

Wheeling, from weel, a human head, and ing, a place.

Mississippi, from the duplication of miss, great — meaning great-great, and sebe or sipi (agreeably to French orthography), a river.

Poughkeepsie, from aupokeepsing, a sheltered cove in the mouth of Fallkill river, and ing, a place.

Singsing, from ossin, a rock or stone, and ing a place.

Navesink, from onawa, water, between the waters, and sink, a place.

Alleghany, from Allegewi, an ancient tribe, hanna, a river—the term being applied to the river Alleghany, anterior to the mountains.

Peoria, from the name of a clan of Illinois Indians.

Hockhocking, from hockhock, a gourd, and ing, a place.

The following terms, applied to towns and streams of Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, are from the Muscogee, or Creek language. It is to be observed of this language, that its plural is formed by gulgee—thus, Muscogee, a Creek Indian, Muscogulgee, Creek Indians. There is no dual. Chelokee, a Cherokee;—Cheloculgee, Cherokees; *r* taking the form of *l*, and *c* of *g* in these changes. *G* is always sounded hard in this language. St. John's river, Ecundinock, from Ecuna, earth, and finocau, quivering. This river is also called Okefinocau, a name derived from the Choctaw ooka, water, and finocau, quivering.

Seminole is from Semilole, wild, and culgee, people; hence the Creek term for them is Similoculgee, or wild people.

Talisee, derived from talofau, a town, and esse, taken.

Hoithlewaule, from Hoithle, war, and waule, to share, or divide out.

Fooskahatche, from foosowau, a bird, and hotche, tail.

Ecunhutlee, from ecuana, earth, kutlee, white, called white ground.

Sauvanogee. They are Shawnees, and retain the language and customs of their countrymen in the north-west, and aided them in the late war with the United States (1798, 1799).

Ecumchate, from ecuma, earth, and chate, red. To prevent the succession of two *c's* in this compound, the second *c* in chate is dropped.

Ocheeaupofau, from ocheab, a hickory tree, pofau, signifying in or among, called by the traders "hickory ground."

Wewocau, derived from wewau, waters, and wocau, barking or roaring—a term descriptive of the roaring of the waters at a high fall.

Tuccuntallauhassee, from epuccanau, a may-apple, and tallauhassee, old town.

Waccocoie, from wacco, a blue, a heron, and coie, a nest.

Thla, nootcheaubaueau, from thlausse, a mountain, ooche, little, and aubaulau, over. The name is expressive of the position.

Aunette, chapco, from aunette, a swamp, and chapco, long. This is the mere utterance of two words, as in the English post-office, without a syllabical fusion.

Echuse-is-li-gau, meaning (where a young thing was found) a young child having been found there.

Ooktau-hau-zau-see, derived from Ootauhau, sand, and zausee, a great deal. Unformative.

Ocfuskee, from oc, in, and fusgee, a point. In this word the combination is made (the euphony and quantity being exact) without dropping a syllable.

New-yau-kau, from New York; left bank of Tallapoosa river. This is an example of the manner in which an English word is adopted into Creek, namely, by changing consonants &c., as ork into au, and giving it an objective syllable in kau.

Immookfau means a gorget made of a conch.

Toohtogaufau, from toohto, a corn-house, and caugee, fixed or standing. This word is also unaformative, as ocfusgee, the terminal vowel is only changed from au to ee.

Soocheah, derived from soocheau, a hog, and heah, here.

Auchenauhatchee, from auchenau, cedar, and hatchee, a creek.

Sougohatchee, from sougo, a cymbal, and hatchee, a creek. An unoformative word.

Nauchee, from Natchez, a tribe who are the remains of the old Mississippi tribes. They estimate themselves at 100 gun-men, but are probably 50–250 souls (1798.) In adopting this word from another tribe, the faint sound of *a* is rendered broad, in au.

Hatchee chubba, derived from hatchee, a creek, and chubba, half-way, or the middle. An unaformative word.

Thlatlogulgau, derived from thlatlo, a fish, and ulgau, all, called by the traders fish-ponds. Here euphony required the *u* of gulgau to be preceded by a *g*.

Pinihoole, derived from pinewau, a turkey, and choole, a house. Here the syllable wau, in turkey, is simply thrown away.

Chattohoche, derived from chatto, a stone, and hotche, marked, flowered, or painted —there being rocks of that description in the river above Hoithlitegau, at an old town site called Chattehoche. This fine word is unaformative.

Tallahassee, derived from tallefau, a town, and hassee, old. Here the syllable fau is dropped.

Weetumpka, derived from wewau, water, and tumcau, resembling. (Col. Hawkins, 1799).

The syllables thla and thlat, in the above words, are, apparently, Toltec, and, so far as observed, differ from the rest of the United States tribes. The Shawnees use the *th*, but never with an *l* following.

In these Muscogee examples, it will be seen that the unoformative compounds are frequent. In a less number of words, syllables are dropped, in the joining of words, in cases, it is believed, where these dropped syllables are void of meaning

In turning from the Muscogee to the Iroquois language, the dropped syllables are more frequent, and the union of fragments of substantives, verbs, and adjectives, makes the terms more concrete, and often more descriptive, sonorous, and beautiful. Some of these terms of admired terminology follow.

Niagara: From Oniagarah, written also, in old authors, Oghniaga, and Oniagarah. The first accented syllable appears only to have been caught by the popular ear. The syllable *ar*, in this term, appears to denote rocks, as the tar in Ontario, and dar in Cadaracqui.

Ontario: This word is an example of the perfect concrete, or union of fragmentary particles, charged with the meaning of whole words. It is from the Wyandot dialect. Its history is this. Prior to the outbreak of the war against them, by their kindred the Iroquois, after the settlement of Canada, the Wyandots lived on the bay, near the present city of Kingston, the ancient Cadaracqui. It was the commencement of a portage path into Lake Ontario, by which a circuitous navigation was saved, and the first view, on reaching the summit that overlooked the lake, was one of the most picturesque and noble character. The word expresses this view.[1]

On: The first syllable of it is from onondio, a hill or mountain, and is the same syllable which is repeated in the term Onondaga. Tar, derived from tarak, is clearly the same phrase, written darac, by the French, in Cataracqui, and denotes rocks upstanding in water. In the final vowels io, we have the same term, with the same meaning, which they carry in the old Mingo and Seneca word Ohio. It is descriptive of an extended beautiful water landscape. It possesses the properties of most Indian words, namely, a transitive character. Beautiful prospect of hills — rocks — water. The name bestowed on this lake by the Five Nations, is Cadaracqui.

Erie: This term is also believed to be derived from the Wyandot language. Erigas was the name of a nation against whom the Five Nations waged an exterminating war; and the term first became familiar to the French, on seeing the prisoners of the people brought down the shores of this lake. They softened its pronunciation by dropping the final syllable. Of its meaning, we are told it was the name of the Cat nation, doubtless referring to a species of wild-cat, lynx, or cougar. The French gave this tribe the nom du guérre of Châts.[2] In Colden's map the name of this lake is written Erie, or Okswago.

Huron: Charlevoix informs us that this term is derived from the old French word *hure*, a wild bear, which was applied to this nation from the mode of wearing their hair.

When the Wyandots of the St. Lawrence, in the middle of the 17th century, formed a close league with the French, and also with the Adirondacks or Algonquins, they were brought into violent hostilities with the other, or New York members of the Iroquois confederacy. This led to a perfect separation, which has ever since existed. The Wyandots asserted themselves to be the oldest member. They were certainly living at Hochelaga, now Montreal, when Cartier first visited it, in 1534. Driven from the valley by the confederates, they fled through the Outawa river to Lake Huron, and thus became the means of bestowing their name on it. They took shelter on the high and picturesque island of Michilimackinac, rendered inaccessible, by mural cliffs, along so large a part of its shores. They cultivated large fields in the interior of this island, which, in their ruinous and deserted forms, still bear the name *les grandes jardins.* Deep glens and valleys, which were hid by tangled forests, were cultivated. The loose stones on these limited spots were carefully gathered up, and piled together in the form of stone-heaps, or irregular cairns, which are yet to be seen on the cliffs near the Arched Rock, which give the observer the idea of ancient cairns. But the harassed Wyandots were at length ferreted out of this island retreat, which the Iroquois called Ti-e-don-de-rag-hie, and compelled to seek a more northerly shelter, for many years, in the wide basin of Lake Superior. Even there the Iroquois pursued them in their long pine war-canoes, encountering on one occasion, a dreadful action in canoes near St. Joseph's.[1] They were finally repulsed by the Chippewas, at the entrance into Lake Superior, at the noted promontory of Nadowegoning, i. e., place of Iroquois bones; a name which commemorates the event. Such were the events which gave origin to the name of Lake Huron.

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[1] This word is spelt Onontario, by Conrad Wiser, in his Journal of 1737. Vide p. 338.

[2] This constitutes an elaborate and unsettled question in Indian philology and history. The French do not call the lynx, or cougar, chât; but, it appears by Gayarre's History of Louisiana, that they thus called the raccoon. From a manuscript journal, of 1791, in my possession, the Shawnees, who then lived on the Ohio, called Lake Erie Cat-land. Besides, the Shawnees were never extinguished by the Iroquois, in any sense. It is said by Colden that the Iroquois first took courage to rise against the Adirondaks, their inveterate foes in Canada, by having prevailed against a people, apparently on the Erie borders, whom the Dutch called Devils (Satana). Who these fierce men were, is not further said. La Moine says that the war of the Iroquois against the Eries, recommenced in 1653; and we have other authority to show that it was finished in two years. Lewis Evans, in his Analysis, says that the Eries had lived in the Ohio valley, and were driven thence over the Apalachians. Jefferson quotes this in his Notes. The Cattawas, whom the Iroquois fought against, were Cherokees. This is a Shawnee name in the old manuscript referred to. In the South Carolina Document (Vol. 3), the Catawbas are stated to be of northern origin, and hinted to be Eries.

This lake had previously borne (among the Algonquins,) the name of Attowa Lake, from an ancient settlement of this tribe on the Manatoulines, or sacred islands. The French named it, unsuccessfully, Mer Douce—a name as inappropriate, it is believed, as it was unsuccessful. Mild sea, indeed! it is emphatically the most stormy. The Iroquois appear to have known Lake Huron exclusively by the name of Coniatare, or from the island, Diedonderoga.

Di, or Ti, in the Iroquois, means water, and oga, place; as in Tioga (Diahoga, Iroquois), place of water; meaning rapid or strong water. The vowel e here appears to give an intensity to its antecedent syllable ti. The syllables on, and der—pronounced variously, ter, tar—meaning cliff, rock-hill, and rock, have been explained under the head Ontario. The terminals i, e, instead of the simple a, in oga, form an exclamation for a beautiful landscape. We have thus the elements of a graphic description of a most enchanting scene. See Plate 18, Vol. IV.

In the Iroquois language the inflection aga, means a place. This term is sometimes varied to oga, agreeably to the terminal vowel of the preceding word. Thus—Onondaga Derived from the repetition of On, a hill and aga, a place. By the duplication of a syllable in this language, intensity or a superlative signification is given to it; rendering the sense not simply hill, but hill on hill, or most hilly.

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[1] Tradition of Isadore. Trav. Cent. Ports. Miss. Valley.

Tioga, derived from Dia, rapid water, and aga, a place.

Ticonderoga, from di or ti, water; on, hills; dar, rocks; and aga, a place.

Saratoga, from assarat (?), sparkling waters, and oga, a place.

Canadesaga, from the term Canada, a house or town, and aga, a place; the Indian name for Geneva, New York.

Oneida, from Onëotaäug. Derived from onia, a stone, oda, a people, and aug, plural.

Otsego, from ot, water, and sego, welcome.

Adarondak, from la, an article (French), and doron, a people who eat bark, (perhaps, contemptuously said), and dak, trees.

Cataracqui, from kan, a fixture; ak, upright rock; and qui, flowing waters.

Chemung, from the Seneca word for big horn — the fragment of an elephant's tusk having been found in this river.

Cohocton, from Cohochta; meaning a stream rising in a black elder swamp, with trees hanging over it.

Ohio, from oheeo; a term denoting a beautiful river.

The following names are taken from the Dacotah group of tribes west of the Mississippi.

Arkansas, from ak, a people, (a prefix of unknown meaning,) and Kanzas, the name of a tribe.

Minnesota, from minne, colored water, and sota, a river.

These words are from four of the existing stock languages of the United States; namely, the Algonquin, Apalachian, Iroquois, and Dacotah. The object in each language appears to be to press together as many root forms or particles, as are necessary to carry the several meanings; to throw away all syllables, which are merely adjuncts or affixes, and then to put the whole under the regimen of the laws of person, tense, and number. All this is done under certain leading principles of euphony. This law of euphony requires a vowel to precede or follow a consonant. Where, in a compound, two vowels would meet, one must be dropped. Where such a union would bring two consonants into juxtaposition, one must be dropped. The radix of the word, it seems, cannot be left out of the compound, but what is merely formative in the elementary shape of words, is, at once, thrown away. By these rules the botryoidal or bunch-words, as they have been called, are formed. Whatever the primary or first idea is, that comes up in an Indian's mind, whether it be a verb or noun, which is to characterize a name, there must go with it all accessory ideas, such as those of an adjective sense or of position. Compounds of only two roots sometimes coalesce, without any syllabical change. Such are, in Algonquin, sho-min, a grape, na-ge-zhik, a resplendent sky, and the six-syllabled word, mun-gau-ne-bau-je-jun, in neither of which is there any part of the original thrown away. In the first, sho is the qualifying word to min, a berry. The term na, in the second, denotes something surpassing, and it coalesces smoothly with ge-zhik, a sky. Of the long word, mungau is the verb to enlarge; nebau is the simplest form of the verb to sleep, and ba-je-gun is a wooden instrument, to lift or cast away snow. The meaning is, literally, enlarge — sleep — — instrument, or simply, a snow-shovel. Such is also the term weeling, the place of a human head. Words of this kind are deemed unaformative. Such too, in the Muscogee, is the word Ocfuskee, from oc, water, the preposition in, and fuska, a place; such also is the word Chattahotchee, from chatto, a store, and hotchee, figured or painted.

2. A MEMOIR ON THE INFLECTIONS OF THE CHIPPEWA TONGUE.

BY REV. THOMAS HURLBURT.

[Note Preliminary. — I have delayed my task much longer than I expected; but since I last wrote I have been under the necessity of making another journey to the Cherokee country. During our stay, my travelling companion was taken sick, and this circumstance delayed my return. I returned two or three weeks since, and now consider myself settled for the year. During my residence in the Cherokee country, I made a large collection of materials in regard more particularly to the languages of the southern tribes. The Rev. Mr. Buttrick, long a missionary of the American Board of Missions, and long a missionary to the Choctaws and Cherokees, furnished me with a manuscript copy of the Choctaw grammar. The Rev. Evan Jones has also systemized the Cherokee language. I have a small printed synopsis of this language. These two gentlemen, with others of the Presbyterian missionaries, would be able to add much to your store of materials. My residence in the Cherokee country has been of much benefit to me, and will enable me to take more enlarged views of matters relating to the Indians in general.

I find the Cherokees in the habit of making pottery exactly similar to that I have seen everywhere, from the Hudson Bay region to Red river. Thus this problem is solved with me: the present race of Indians were the manufacturers of these antique remains.]

Accretion, or Word-Building.

Question 315. The leading and distinguishing characteristic of the languages of the Algonquin family is their synthetic, or rather poly-synthetic character. The fragmental parts of various words and parts of speech, are united with the verb, and with it form one concrete word. The derivation of a portion of these fragments is evident. For example; from *nen*, (I,) comes *ni;* from *ken*, (thou,) comes *ki;* from *wen*, (he,) comes *o;* from *mino*, (good,) comes *min*, &c. These fragments, away from their connection with the verb, have no definite meaning attached to them at all. In all the various inflections of the verb, the fragments of the pronouns are inseparably connected; also as occasion requires, the adjective, preposition, and adverb. United with these are the adjuncts; such as number, person, mood, tense, and case. There is a class of particles invariably placed immediately before the root. These particles vary the shade of meaning, and make the language definite. All roots are found in the third person, singular number, present tense. Then there are the ground forms; such as the active, passive, optative passive, causitive, reflexive, reciprocal, &c. The *themes* of conjugation are numerous; such as affirmative, negative, doubtful, plaintive, assimilative, definitive, repeating.

The principles of the language appear to correspond more with the ancient than with the modern languages. It is, I think, of Asiatic origin, and a cognate of the Hebrew. My reasons for this belief are the following.—1st, the radix is always found in the third person, singular number, present tense. The radix, or root, in the Hebrew is the same, with the exception of its being in the past tense; there being no present tense in the Hebrew. 2d: The general principles of the two languages are, in many respects, similar. The rules that govern in the formation of the European languages do not, without great violence, apply to the Indian. The Indian languages seem naturally to fall into the track of the Hebrew. 3d: The fragments of pronouns used in connection with the verbs and nouns, are some of them identical in both languages, and nearly all the Hebrew pronouns and plurals bear strong affinities to the Indian.

HEBREW PRONOUNS.			CHIPPEWA PRONOUNS.	
1st. per., sing.	־נִי	ni, I, or me.	1st. per.. sing.	ni, I, or me.
2d. per., m.	־כָה־ךָ	kau.		
2d. per., f.	כִיךְ	k-ki.	2d. per. “	ki, thou, or thee.
3d. per., m.	ו־הוּ	hoo oo.	3d. per. “	oo he.
3d. per., f.	־הָ	ha hau.	3d. per. “	au him (accusative.)
1st. per., pl.	נוּ	noo.	1st. per. pl.	ni-min.
2d. per., m.	כֶם	kam.	1st. per. pl.	ki-min.
2d. per., f.	כֶן	kan.	2d. per. pl.	am gam im.
3d. per., m.	מו ם	m-mo.	3d. per. pl.	wug.
3d. per., f.	הֶן ן	n han.	3d. per. pl.	wun.

The fragmental parts of pronouns attached to both nouns and verbs, are nearly identical. In this respect also the two languages agree.

It might be expected that, if there is such a remarkable coincidence in the pronouns, plurals, &c., that some phrases and roots would be found the same, or similar.

Accordingly we find

אִישׁ Ish, a man.
אִשָּׁה Ishau, a woman.
אִשְׁתְּךָ Ishtakau, thy wife.
אֱנוֹשׁ A man. אֲבָשִׁים Men; wicked men; depreciating.

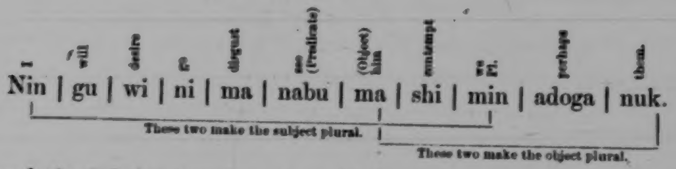
The particle *ish* in Indian, corresponds with its import in Hebrew in the four preceding examples. *Unishinala*, man. The *un*, is a euphonic prefix; *nAba* is the male of any kind. *Ki nAbam*, thy husband; *nA*, to approach; *nAb*, a handle, a projection. The essential root for the word man is *ish—Ishkwa*, a woman. This is the word used by Crees. They are a cognate of the Chippewa. The latter use *Ikwa*, a woman; dropping the *sh*. The article *kwa* is affixed to almost all the names of women. It signifies also a bay, an opening, to part, to peel off, &c.: *Newish*, my wife, the predominal prefix being merely added to the *ish*. Again; *ish* implies wretchedness, commiseration, worthlessness; as *inini*, a man; *ininiwish*, a bad or wicked man; *wigiwAm*, a house; *wigiwAmish*, a poor or worthless house. כֶּם, *kam*, 2, m., pl.; *gam*, 2, pl., Chippewa. נוּ, noo, 1 pl.; nAn, 1 pl., Chip. ים, im is a frequent pl.; also in Chip. בֵּן, בְּנֵי, pina, child; children, *pinachAyuk*. The southern Chippewas use this word only in reference to the embryo before birth; but the northern ones use it in reference to children up to eight or ten years of age. The *yuk* is the pl.; the chA, in its literal signification, means a projection, to protrude; as *ochAse*, his nose, *chAngAkosin*, it protrudes or sticks out, (*puchAgwin* henus.) Here is *bina* in Hebrew and *pina* in Chip. The *chA* was probably added to express the appearance of the mother before parturition.

I presume a thorough examination of the two languages would show many more striking resemblances.

The idea that our Indians were descendants of the Jews, I always considered merely as a poetic one, and fit only for works of fiction. But, in spite of my prejudices to the contrary, parts have developed themselves, and shown a resemblance between the Hebrew and Indian languages in general, which I cannot find between the Indian and any other language. I have no inferences, but let the facts speak for themselves.

Words in all the Indian languages are highly compounded, as

Wabi — he sees.
Wabiiwa — he causes to see.
Wabundumaga — he sees for, with.
Manatizi — he is deformed, ugly, disgusting.


I
will
desire
go
disgust
see (Predicate)
(Object) him
contempt
perhaps
them.
Nin | gu | wi | ni | ma | nabu | ma | shi | min | adoga | nuk.
These two make the subject plural.
These two make the object plural.

A free translation of the above word would be — Perhaps we will desire to go and look with disgust on the wretched objects.

It will be seen, that in the above word there are roots, or fragments of roots from two verbs; *nAb* being taken from *wAbi*, the *w* changed to *n*, to make them coalesce smoothly — *mA* being taken from *mAnAtizi*.

The rules by which words, fragments of words, and particles are compounded, are very similar to the Hebrew; vowels commuted, lengthened, dropped; fulcrum vowels thrown in, &c., and the paragogic *n* thrown forward thus:—

1. *OsAgiAn* — he loves him.
2. *KA-Os-A-giAsen* — no, he loves him not.
3. *KA-Osagiasedoganun* — No, he loves him not perhaps.

The *n*, it will be perceived, is thrown forward one syllable in the second instance, and four in the third.

316. Yes. The roots are not numerous; but still abundantly sufficient to express clearly all the subjects that formerly came under their observation. There is no particular lack of terms necessary to a clear exhibition of all the doctrines of Christianity. The language abounds in abstract terms. The roots are dissyllabic.

I am persuaded that more of the particles, in the concrete words, are fragments of words descriptive of the thing or act, and that, if fully understood, they would have an effect on the mind similar to that of pictorial representations passing in review before the eye. *We* is a particle that expresses wish, desire. W*Esini*, he eats; WEWE*sini*, he desires to eat. W*Ejewa*, he goes with. WETO*kuwa*, he is assisted. *We*, desire. *Wewe*, he marries. *Wewewe*, he desires to marry, or, literally, he desires an intense desire. The doubling of the root implies intensity.

WAsayA, light. *WAbishkA*, white. *WAbi*, he sees. *WA*, what—what is it? In all these latter examples, *wA* is the essential root, and seems to have a radical meaning. The primary senses of *motion*, existence, &c., are expressed without their relation to objects or persons. *PimAtiziwin*, life. *PimAtizing*, to live. *PimAtizim*, to live.

317. The substantives more rarely combine into one; verbs and substantives oftener, as *okimA*, a chief, *inandum*, he thinks — *okimAwandum*, he thinks he is a chief. Adjectives and substantives combine thus—*minO*, good, *inandum*, he thinks; *midwandum*, he is pleased, or, literally, he is good-minded. *Muchi*, evil—*muchiinandum*, he is evil-minded. In the latter case, both words retain their quota of syllables. In the verbal formations, however, is the great field where combinations are made — as, *nishkAtize*, he is angry, *nishkAdandum*, he is angry-minded. *WAbumA*, he is seen, *nishkAbumA*, he is seen with anger. *Undonaiga*, he seeks, *unduwAbumA*, he is sought; literally, he is sought to be seen. *Pukwishiwa*, he hopes for, or desires to receive. *PukwisAbumA*, he is looked to with the hope that he will bestow something. *PukwisawimA*, in mind it is hoped he will bestow something. By examining the foregoing examples, it will be seen how words in this language are compounded. Adverbs and prepositions are incorporated with the verb — as, *penA*, he is brought, *petuwA*, it is brought to him. *PetumowA*, it is brought for him. *IzhA*, he goes, *izhAdok*, he goes perhaps, *izhAwug*, they go, *izhAdoganuk*, they go perhaps, *izhAwAud*, if they go, *izhA-*

wAgwan, if perhaps they go. As far as I recollect, the verbs, on coalescing, never retain their full quota of syllables. I freely confess, that I have not studied this part of the language as much as other parts. I have, however, often turned my mind to it; but have not been able, thus far, to discover many certain rules relating to the combination of roots. Besides the ordinary roots, such as *nipA*, he sleeps, *pimosa*, he walks, *wAbi*, he sees, *pApi*, he laughs, &c., there is a class of particles that have a fixed and radical meaning wherever they appear — as *an*, the mind, *sa*, to glide, *wA*, sight, light, white, *wA*, to approach, *we*, wish, desire, *mo*, undulating motion. The general rule for compounding will be seen in the examples above given. The secondary root is placed before the one taking it in, and drops all but the essential root, which often consists of but one syllable; the word taking in this assistant, accommodates its first syllable, if necessary, in order that the transition may be easy, as *puninA*, he is dropped, *wAbumA*, he is seen, *punAbumA*, he is dropped from sight, or, he is lost sight of.

318. Yes. See examples given under Question 315.

319. Substantives have variations to denote gender, number, or class, and case, as *okimA*, chief, sing., *okimAg*, Pl.; *inini*, man, sing., *ininiwug*, Pl. Gender or class — as *kekoyuk*, fish, an., *usinen*, stones, in. All plural substantives in the nominative case end in *g* or *k*. All those in the inanimate form end in *n*. *N* or *un* is the suffix particle to denote the accusative to the third person, *ininiwug niwAbumAg*, men I see them, *ininiwun owAbumAn*, men he sees them. There is no dual number in any of the languages of the Algonquin family. In the Iroquois and Cherokee languages there is a dual. There is an inclusive and exclusive plural — as, *ninoAgiiwamin*, we love, excluding the party addressed. *KisAgiiwamin*, we love, including all, both those speaking and spoken to. *NosinAn*, our father, ex., *kosinAn*, our father, in., *kosinAnin*, our father, including those speaking, spoken to, and spoken of. In the animate forms of substances there are three first persons plural; but the last instance of these does not extend to verbal inflections.

320. In the pronouns, no distinction is recognized between male and female; the names of women, however, mostly have the word *kwa* affixed. See 315. The class of objects is always explicitly denoted, both in the verbal and substantive formations—as *ninsAgiAg ninejAnisuk*, I love them my children; *ninsAgitOnum nimuzinuigunum*, I love them my books. From these examples, it will be seen that nouns animate or inanimate do require verbs animate or inanimate, and *vice versa*.

321. Substantives proper are not susceptible of many changes. *OkimA*, a king; *okimAng*, of or pertaining to a king; *okimAngin*, like a king. Nouns may precede or

follow the verb indifferently, as *mechim mezhishin*, or *mezhishin mechim;* food give me or give me food. Substantives are converted into verbs, and susceptible of all the inflections of the verb proper, with the additional inflection I call the diminutive. *Nintokimʌm*, my king; *nintokimʌw*, I am a king. *Okimʌns*, a little king; *nintokimʌnsew*, I am a little king.

322. There is a class of particles which seem to indicate independent or generic action; but I cannot discover that many of the roots are composed of such particles. I am inclined to the opinion that all formerly were; but the meaning has been lost. In the root *nipʌ*, he sleeps, I see no generic sense in the particles; *ninipʌ*, I sleep; *kinipʌ*, thou sleepest; *nipʌ*, he sleeps. It will be seen that in the third person the pronoun is not to be found. This is the case in all intransitive verbs. In the root *nʌzikun*, approach thou it, the *nʌ* has a generic sense. In *nʌb*, a handle, *nʌba*, &c., under Ques. 315. Particles are prefixed and suffixed to denote person, object, case, &c., as *nipʌ*, he sleeps; *ninipʌʌ*, I cause him to sleep; *ninipʌiigon*, it causes me to sleep. *Men*, fruit, berry, grain; *nimenʌ*, I give (to) him. In the Indicative Mood, the agent is always prefixed, and the object suffixed, as *ni*, I; *a*, him. There are four moods; Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative, and Infinitive. There is a way of forming the Potential Mood, but it is by prefixing the particle *tʌ*, may, can, might, &c.; but this particle is only one out of a class of ten, and if we make *tʌ* a separate mood, we must then make nine more. There are three primary tenses; Present, Perfect, First and Second Future. Besides these, there are a past definite and indefinite, and remote definite and indefinite. Also, a Pluperfect definite and indefinite, and remote definite and indefinite. The ground forms of conjugation are numerous, such as active passive, optative passive, causative, vicarious, dative, reflexive, reciprocal, transitive and intransitive, direct and inverse. All the ground forms are designated by particles affixed to the root. In the themes of conjugation I include the positive and negative; also, depreciating, doubtful, assimilating, definitive, and repeating. There is an infinitive. I was, however, a long time before I could decide whether it was a true infinitive, or a participle; but I have concluded that there is too much abstractedness for the participle. Nouns of quality are formed from verbs. As far as I recollect, every verb may become a noun, and *vice versâ*. *Kekitong*, to speak; *neming*, to dance; *pepʌging*, to cry (alone). *Kʌkitowit*, speaker; *nʌmit*, dancer; *pʌpʌgit*, crier. To conjugate the verbs to love, to see, to burn, through all the inflections of which they are susceptible, would be a work of years.

323. Yes. *Wʌbishkʌ*, white (as a house); *wʌbishkize*, white (as a man); *wʌbishkʌpikut*, white (as a metal); *wʌbishkegut*, white (as a piece of cloth or skin). The same adjective cannot be applied to a man as a rock; *ugʌshiyie*, small (as a man); *ugʌsin*, small (as a rock). Adjectives are not declined, for comparison; but adverbs are used to supply the place of degrees of comparison. But very few adjectives are used sepa-

rately from the nouns or verbs that they qualify. *Weshkobun,* it is sweet; *weshkobizi,* he is sweet. *Wunishishit inini,* a good man; *wanishishing p*ᴀ*shkizigun,* a good gun; *onishishi inini,* he is good man. As the adjective assumes the form of the verb, it of course is governed by the same rules.

324. There are many pronouns, and they assume many different forms; there is one form or set for the declaratory or independent form of speaking, and another set for the subjunctive, or dependent form. The subjunctive form does not always, or even generally, imply condition; but merely marks the dependence of the word, or sentence, on something that went before, or on something that is to come after. There are personal, relative, and demonstrative pronouns.

There is one anomaly, in regard to the pronouns, I must attempt to explain; and that is, that there are more than three persons. An assertion so extraordinary as this, I am aware must be supported by the best of evidence.

In order to make this appear as well as we can, in the absence of anything in the English, or any other language that we know of, analogous to it, we will adopt the following method. The figures represent persons.

1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th.

From 1st to 2d	Ki—in.	From 4th to 6th	O—mim*a*ni.
“ 2d “ 3d	Ki—*a*.	“ 4th “ 3d.	O—igon.
“ 3d “ 4th	O—*an*.	“ 5th “ 4th	O—igoni.
“ 4th “ 5th	O—*a*ni.	“ 5th “ 3d.	O—igon.
“ 3d “ 5th	O—mim*a*n.	The same as from 4th to 3d.	

I may remark that the person that is the accusative of one, is, in the same position, the nominative of another; for instance, Peter, John, James, Peter says to John, Peter *otin*ᴀ*n* Johnun; the un is added to show that John is the accusative to Peter. Johnun *otin*ᴀ*ni* Jamesun. This is as clearly, perhaps, as I can explain this matter within my limits.

Nen	I, mine, me.	Iw	That; that thing.
Ken	Thou, thine, thee.	Mandu	This; this thing.
Wen	He, his.	Inew	Those; those things.
Nen*u*wind	We, ours, Ex.	M*a*min	These; these things.
Kenuwind	We, ours, In.	Ok*o*	Those persons.
Kenuw*a*	You, yours.	On*o*	Those — things.
Wenuw*a*	They, theirs.	Inew	Those persons, Accus.
Wanan	Who, whose, whom.	M*a*mik	These persons.
Wananun, both Sing. and Plu.	Who, whose, whom, Accusative.	Wagwan	Whoever.
Wananuk, Plu.	Who, whose, whom.	Wagwanun	Whoever, Accusative, Sing. and Plu.
Aw	Him; that one.	Wagwanuk	Whoever, Pl.

FRAGMENTS OF PRONOUNS.

INDICATIVE MOOD.—*Intransitive.*

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1.	Ni, nim, nin	I.	1.	Ni, —, min	We; Ex.
2.	Ki, —, —	Thou.	1.	Ki, —, min	We; In.
3.	—, —, —	He.	2.	Ki, —, in	You.
4.	—, —, wun	Him; his.	3.	—, —, wug	They.
			4.	—, —, wun	Them; theirs.

Transitive.

1.	Ni, —, *a*	I; him.	1.	Ni, —, *anan*	We; him; Ex.
2.	Ki, —, *a*	Thou; him.	1.	Ki, —, *anan*	We; him; In.
3.	O, —, *an*	He; him.	2.	Ki, —, *awa*	You; him.
4.	O, —, *ani*	Him; him.	3.	O, —, *awan*	They; him.
			4.	O, —, *ani*	Them; him.

1.	Ni, —, *ag*	I; them.	1.	Ni, —, *ananik*	We; them; Ex.
2.	Ki, —, *ag*	Thou; them.	1.	Ki, —, *ananik*	We; them; In.
3.	O, —, *an*	He; them.	2.	Ki, —, *awag*	You; them.
4.	O, —, *ani*	Him; them.	3.	O, —, *awan*	They; them.
			4.	O, —, *ani*	Them; them.

Inverse Transitive.

1.	Ni, —, ik	He, me, or I am seen by him.	1.	Ni, —, igonan	He; us; Ex.
			1.	Ki, —, igonan	He; us; In.
2.	Ki, —, ik	He; thee.	2.	Ki, —, igowa	He; you.
3.	O, —, igon	He; him.	3.	O, —, igowan	He; them.
4.	O, —, igoni	Him; him.	4.	O, —, igoni	Him; them.

1.	Ni, —, igog	Tney; me.	1.	Ni, —, igonanik	They; us; Ex.
2.	Ki, —, igog	They; thee.	1.	Ki, —, igonanik	They; us; In.
3.	O, —, igon	They; him.	2.	Ki, —, igowag	They; you.
4.	O. —, igoni	Them; him.	3.	O, —, igowan	They; them.
			4.	O, —, igoni	Them; them.

Inanimate.

1.	Ni, —, *dan*tou-yan.	I; it.	1.	Ni, —, *danan*	We; it; Ex.
			1.	Ki, —, *danan*	We; it; In.
2.	Ki, —, *dan*	Thou; it.	2.	Ki, —, *danawa*	You; it.
3.	O, —, dan	He; it.	3.	O, —, *danawa*	They; it.
4.	O, —, duminitoni-yani.	Him; it.	4.	O, —, dumini	Them; it.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1.	Ni, —, danun-tonun.	I, them, things.	1.	Ni, —, dananin-tonanin.	We; them; Ex.
2.	Ki, —, danun	Thou; them.	1.	Ki, —, dananin.	We; them; In.
3.	O, —, danun	He; them.	2.	Ki, —, danawan	You; them.
4.	O, —, dumini	Him; them.	3.	O, —, danawan	They; them.
			4.	O, —, dumini	Them; them.

SUBJUNCTIVE PRONOUNS — *Intransitive.*

1.	——	yan	I.	1.	——	yang	We; Ex.
2.	——	yun	Thou.	1.	——	yung	We; In.
3.	——	t	He.	2.	——	yag	You.
4.	——	nit	Him.	3.	——	wad	They.
				4.	——	nit	Them.

Transitive.

1.	——	muk	I; him.	1.	——	mungit	We; him; Ex.
2.	——	mut	Thou; him.	1.	——	mung	We; him; In.
3.	——	mad	He; him.	2.	——	mag	You; him.
4.	——	manit	Him; him.	3.	——	mawae	They; him.
				4.	——	manit	Them; him.
1.	——	mukwa	I; them.	1.	——	mungitwa	We; them; Ex.
2.	——	mutwa	Thou; them.	1.	——	mungwa	We; them; In.
3.	——	mad	He; them.	2.	——	magwa	You; them.
4.	——	manit	Him; them.	3.	——	mawad	They; them.
				4.	——	manit	Them; them.
1.	——	mit	He; me.	1.	——	miyungit- minowungit- miyum-mingit	He; us; Ex.
				1.	——	minung	He; us; In.
2.	——	mik	He; thee.	2.	——	minag	He; you.
3.	——	migot	He; him.	3.	——	migowad	He; them.
4.	——	migonit	Him; him.	4.	——	migonit	Him; them.
1.	——	miwad	They; me.	1.	——	miyungitwa	They; us; Ex.
2.	——	mikwa	They; thee.	1.	——	minungwa	They; us; In.
3.	——	migot	They; him.	2.	——	minagwa	They; you.
4.	——	migonit.	Them; him.	3.	——	migowae	They; them.
				4.	——	migonet.	

Subjunctive Inanimate.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
1.	—— duman-toyan.	I; it.	1.	—— dumang-tayang.	We; it; Ex.
2.	—— dumun-toyun	Thou; it.	1.	—— dumung, &c.	We; it; In.
3.	—— dung-tod	He; it.	2.	—— dumag	You; it.
4.	—— duminit-tonit	Him or his; it.	3.	—— dumowad	They; it.
			4.	—— duminit	Them; it.
1.	—, dumanin toyanin	I; them.	1.	—, dumangin toyangin	We; them. Ex.
			1.	—, dumungon “	We; them. In.
2.	—, dumunin “	Thou; them.	2.	—, dumagon “	You; them.
3.	—, dungin “	He; them.	3.	—, dumowachin “	They; them.
4.	—, duminichin “	Him or his; them.	4.	—, duminichin “	Them, theirs; them.

INDICATIVE MOOD — *Transitive* — *Inanimate* — *Inverse.*

1.	Ni, igon, agon, un	It; me.	1.	Ni, igonan	It; us. Ex.
			1.	Ki, igonan	It; us. In.
2.	Ki, igon	It; thee.	2.	Ki, igonawa	It; you.
3.	O, igon	It; him.	3.	O, igonawa	It; them.
4.	O, igoni	It; him.	4.	O, igoni	It; them.
1.	Ni, igonun	They (things); me.	1.	Ni, igonanin	They; us. Ex.
			1.	Ki, igonanin	They; us. In.
2.	Ki, igonun	They; thee.	2.	Ki, igonawan	They; you.
3.	O, igonun	They; him.	3.	O, igonawan	They; them.
4.	O, igoni	They; him, his.	4.	O, igoni	They; them.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

1.	—, igoyan	It; me.	1.	—, igoyang	It; us. Ex.
			1.	—, igoyung	It; us. In.
2.	—, igoyun	It; thee.	2.	—, igoyag	It; you.
3.	—, igot	It; him.	3.	—, igowad	It; them.
4.	—, igonit	It; him.	4.	—, igonit	It; them.
1.	—, igoyanin	They; me.	1.	—, igoyangin	They; us. Ex.
			1.	—, igoyungon	They; us. In.
2.	—, igoyunin	They; thee.	2.	—, igoyagon	They; you.
3.	—, igochin	They; him.	3.	—, igowachin	They; them.
4.	—, igonichin	They; him, his.	4.	—, igonichin	They; them, theirs.

The following terms are so anomalous, that I almost despair of making them fully understood.

The accusative is double. It is rather a bungling manner of expressing the following idea—*I see his friend.* The Indian, however, phrases it thus—*I see him his friend. NinsAgiA onejAnisun, I love him his child. NiwAbumA okwisun, I see him his son.* But the meaning of the phrase is not *I see his son,* for there is no connection between the two parts of the sentence. *NewAbumimAn okwisun,* means, I see his son. I see the one that stands in the accusative to the third person, and in that relation.

INDICATIVE FORMS.

Singular.	1.	Ni, —,	iman	I, him, his; or them, theirs.
	2.	Ki, —,	iman	Thou, him, his.
	3.	O, —,	iman	He, him, his.
	4.	O, —,	imani	Him, him, his.
Plural.	1.	Ni, —,	imananin	We, him, his; or them, theirs; Ex.
	1.	Ki, —,	imananin	We, him, his, &c., In.
	2.	Ki, —,	imawan	You, him, his, &c.
	3.	O, —,	imawan	Thy, him, his, &c.
	4.	O, —,	imani	Them, him, his, &c.
Singular.	1.	———,	imuk	I, him, his; or them, theirs.
	2.	———,	imut	Thou, him, his, &c.
	3.	———,	imad	He, him, his, &c.
	4.	———,	imanit	Him, him, his, &c.
Plural.	1.	———,	imungit	We, him, his; ~~or them~~, theirs; Ex.
	1.	———,	imung	We, him, his, &c., In.
	2.	———,	imag	You, him, his, &c.
	3.	———,	imawad	They, him, his, &c.
	4.	———,	imanit	Them, his, him, &c.

Transitions between First and Second Persons.

Ind. Mood.	Ki, —, in on	I, thee.	Ind. Mood.	Ki, —, igo.	We, thee.
Sub. Mood.	———, inan	I, thee.	Sub. Mood.	———, igoyun	We, thee.
Ind. Mood.	Ki, —, minim	I, you.	Ind. Mood.	Ki, —, igom	We, you.
Sub. Mood.	———, inu-goh	I, you.	Sub. Mood.	———, igoyag	We, you.

Ind. Mood. Ki, —, m, w, i, Thou, me. In this transition there seems to be no particular particle to designate it; but the word seems to be cut short as—

Kiwabum	Thou seest me.	Kiwejew	Thou accompaniest me.
Kipisindam	Thou listenest (to) me.	Kitizh	Thou sayest (to) me.
Kibukita	Thou strikest me.	Kiwabundee	Thou causest me to see it.

Sub. Mood.	———, iyun .	Thou, me.	Ind. Mood.	Ki, —, imin .	You, us; or Thou, us.
Ind. Mood.	Ki, —, im .	You, me.			
Sub. Mood.	———, iyog .	You, me.	Sub. Mood.	———, iy*a*ng	You, us; or Thou, us.

It may be that in some instances more than the essential pronoun has been given. In this language so much depends on euphony, and there are so many vowels commuted, lengthened, dropped, or added, that in many instances it is difficult to determine with precision what constitutes the pronoun.

The pronouns undergo many more changes than are here noticed. In all the moods, tenses, and themes, there are various changes: as—

NindinAg	I say to them.
Nindin*a*doganuk . . .	I say perhaps (to) them; or, perhaps I say to them.
K*a*wen Nindin*a*seg . .	No, I say not (to) them
“ Nindin*a*sedoganuk	Perhaps I do not say to them.

From these examples it will be seen that the incorporation of other elements makes great changes in the pronoun. The forms of the pronouns that I have given are all of them in the present tense, and such as are used in connection with the ground forms of conjugation. Some slight changes are made in the pronouns in consequence of incorporating the tense; but the greater number of changes by far are made in the incorporation of the themes of conjugation, which fall into the locality of the pronouns, and thus it often happens that the plural pronouns are separated by these themes, and one part thrown to the end of the word.

Nindin*a*g	I say to them.
Nindin*a*buneg . . .	I said to them.

Almost all the Indian languages that I am acquainted with, seem to have a particular abhorrence of mixed syllables, more especially in the middle of a word. The final consonant is seldom, if ever, lost or dropped out of the word; but is thrown forward to the end of the word. See examples under 315, where the final consonant is thrown forward some three or four syllables.

VOWEL SOUNDS.

a as in paper.
a̱ “ “ father and all
e “ “ see.
i “ “ pine.
i as in pin.
o̱ “ “ good.
o̱ “ “ moon.
u “ “ nun.

The consonants are the same as in English, excepting *g*, which has a uniform sound as in gun.

3. REMARKS ON THE IOWA LANGUAGE.

[The ensuing paper on the Iowa language is chiefly, if not wholly, from the pen of the Rev. William Hamilton, who has been devoted as a missionary among the Iowas and Sacs, on the Missouri, for the space of fifteen years. He has studied the Iowa language grammatically, and reduced it to a written form.—H. R. S.]

315. Grammatical principles of the language: The principles of the language correspond more with the ancient than with the modern class of languages; with the Hebrew, so far as my knowledge of it extends, more than with any other; particularly in the conjugation of verbs, which is done by the help of pronouns, or fragments of pronouns. They also have some modes of expression which, I believe, are peculiar to the people of the east. Anything great is said to be like God, (see Job i. 16.) "The fire of God:" margin, [meaning] "a great fire," and similar examples.

Many of these words are compound. The compound words generally include the simple words (but often abbreviated) which express the idea; as shung-ka-me-na che-kae, he came on horseback.

Shung-a, a horse; a me-na, he sits upon; che-ka, he comes.

Ha-pae-ha-kre-ka, I left him.

Ha-pae, I have thrown away.

Ha-kre-kae, I have come.

Ha-hu-kae.

316. Its vocabulary: Strictly speaking, the vocabulary of the language is not founded on generic roots, any further than the component parts of compound words may be so considered.

There are not over fifty or sixty words of one syllable in their language, about one-half of which are nouns.

317. Process of syllabical accretion: All the syllables of the simple words are not contained in the compound words. Euphony seems to be the principal rule for dropping or changing letters and syllables; yet these changes follow certain uniform rules. Certain letters are thrown in before certain consonants. Two vowels coming together, one of them is often dropped; as

No-ra-the-na-ha, put for na-o-ra-the-na-hȧ, tree, wood, what it bears, (see pp. 35, 36, Elementary Book.)

Me-wȧ-rė-ke-tio, mé-shkún-yoé-hnè-yóe-koé, "I will not be the one who will buy it for you," or, "I will not buy it for you."

Me from *meae*, I, *wé*, it, them, *re*, you, from *deae*—*r*—substituted for *d*, *he;* for *tu-me;* for *ha-tu-me*. First person, singular, from *ru-me*, he buys; *ha* is dropped on account of the preceding syllables. *Shkún-yae*, not; *kne yae*, future ending or future tense, *ru-ne-kne-yae*, he will buy; *kae* used at the end of words to denote a pause.

318. Absorbing power of verbs and substantives: Yes to all the questions.

319. Laws of concord: No varieties to designate number, gender, or case. No plural. The plural is known from the verb. There are some forms of expression denoting a dual, rather than a plural number. No, to the rest of the questions.

320. Gender: Three genders. 1st. The gender is indicated by the name, as wåùg-ae, man; hé-rúng-ae, a woman. 2d. By the words tò-kae, a male; méng-ae, a female. 3d. By *me* at the end of the word, as wåsh-ĕ-kae, a man-person; wash-e-kae-me, a female person. Women and men often bear the same name, except that this feminine termination is attached to the woman's name. Wåg-kwå-ha, wang-kwa-ha-me. No answer to the remainder of the question.

321. Principal changes of form of substantives: The noun precedes the verb, both in the nominative and objective cases, *wa-rú-chae ug-kún-rae*, food give me; sha-ha, pa-hu-châe ega chae-he-kae, Sioux, Iowa, one he killed; A Sioux killed one Iowa.

Substantives and adjectives, and even adverbs are converted into verbs by being conjugated.

322. Laws of accidence of verbs: The third person singular, indicative present, is the ground form of the verb. Verbs are conjugated by the help of fragments of pronouns, and the actor is distinguished from the object by the fragment pronoun being in the nominative case in the former, and objective in the latter.

U-ré-che-kae, I strike you; ún-rá-che-kàe, you strike me; o-ché, he strikes.

The ground form may be used infinitively, or both verbs may be in the same mood and tense, the former of which is used infinitively.

Kae-krá-he, ha-kun-ta-kae, I love, I want, or I want to love. This is the most common. Re-ra-ta, ra-kun-shra? water, he drinks, do you want? do you want a drink? This is not so common.

There are forms answering to the participle, but not always used in the same sense as the English participle.

Na, at the end of the word, makes the participle: sometimes ta-ha expresses the same idea.

Shka-cae ta-ha-kae, he is playing; shka cae ka, he plays; shka-cae-na, playing.

Verbs may be converted into nouns, by the encletick pronouns. Naha ha-ka, he cries; ha-kae-na-hae, one that cries or a cryer.

Wajeoh, he dances; wa-ghe-na-ha, he that dances.

Echae kae, he speaks, echae-na-ha.

Indicative Present.

Singular.		*Plural.*	
1. Kae kra he kae	I love.	1. Heg kra he we kae	We love.
2. Rae kra he kae	You love.	2. Rae kra he we kae	Ye love.
3. — kra he kae	He loves.	3. — kra he nyae kae	They love.

Imperfect.

1. Kae kra he e kae a rae kae . . . . . I did love.
Rae kra he e kae a rae kae . . . . . I did love, &c.

Perfect.

1. Hae kra he arae . . . . I have loved.

Pluperfect.

Hae kra he a rae e kae e rae kae . . . . . (Not often used).

Future Tense. A.

[A. There is also a form conveying the idea of future, but not expressing it so positively as the form on the opposite page—as

1. Hae krahehna, or hae krahehnashee.
2. Rae krahehnae.
3. Rae krahehnae . . . . It.
Rauhneyae kae . . . . You will do it.
Rauhnachae. . . . . Will you do it?

Future in full.

1. Hae kra he hne yae kae	I will love it.	1. Heg kra he ton ye kae.
2. Rae kra he hne yae kae.		2. Rae kra he ton ye kae.
3. Mra he hne yae kae.		3. Kra hen yae hne yae hae.

1. Hae kra he hne yae kae . . . . I will love.

Past Future.

Hae kra he hne yae e kae u rae kae . . . . . I *was* going to love, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Hae kra he shae . . . . If I love, etc.

POTENTIAL MOOD.

Hae kra he a skae. . . . . . . I may love, etc.

Future Tense.

Hae kra he kna skae	I may (will) love—*i. e.* perhaps I will love.

Optative Mood.

Hae kra he to	Let me love.

——— Mood.

Hae kra he tema, or Hae kra he tan ye	That I may love.

Imperative.

Kra he rae Kra he ka rae Kra he ha	Love thou.
Kra he we rae Kra he we ha	Love ye.
Kra he naya Kra he na	Loving.

Middle voice.

Ha *ke* kra he kae	I love myself.
Ra *ke* kra he kae	You love yourself.
Ke kra he kae	He loves himself.

So through all the moods and tenses.

Passive voice.

Singular.		*Plural*	
1. Heg kra hen yae kae	I am loved, or,	1. Wae wae kra hen yae kae	We are loved; or,
2. De kra he nyac kae	They love me,	De kra hen yae we kae	They love us,
Krae he nyae kae.	etc.	Wae kra hen yae kae	etc.

So through all the moods and tenses.

Reflective voice.

So called because it contains both the *object* and the *actor*, or the action is reflected back upon the object which is represented by the objective form of the fragment pronouns.

There are six forms of this voice, answering to the 1st, 2d, and 3d person singular and plural; but as the 3d person singular is the ground form of the verb, it leaves only five to be conjugated.

	Singular.			*Plural.*	
2.	Hen dae kra he hae	You love me.	2.	Hen dae kra he we kae	Ye love me.
3.	Heg kra he kae	He loves me.	3.	Heg kra hen yae hae	They love me.

In the above the first person is wanting, because it would be the same as the middle voice.

2. De *or* re, *you, or thee, object.*

1.	De kra he kae, or Meae de kra he hae	I love you.	1.	Hen de kra he we kae	We love you.
3.	De kra he kae	He loves you.	3.	De kra hen yae kae	They love you.

In the above the 2d person is wanting, which would be the same as the middle voice — Ra ke kra he kae You love yourself.

3. *Ae, he, she, it.*

As the 3d person singular is the ground form of the verb, he, she, or it is always supposed to be the object, when there is no other expressed.

4. *Wae, wae (wa, wa) us.*

2.	Wae wae rae kra he kae	You love us.	2.	Wae wae rae kra he we kae	Ye love us.
3.	Wae wae kra he kae	He loves us.	3.	Wae wae kra he nyae kae	They love us.

In the above the 1st person is wanting, being expressed by the middle voice.

5. *De, plural, vos.*

1.	De kra he we kae, or Meae de kra he we kae	I love you. Vos amo.	1.	Hen de kra he we kae	We love you.
3.	De kra he we kae	He loves you (vos).	3.	De kra hen yae we kae	They love you.

Here the second person is wanting, as it is found in the middle voice.

6. *Wa (wae), them.*

1.	Wae kae kra he kae	I love them.	1.	He wae kra he we kae	We love them.
2.	Wae rae kra he kae	Thou lovest them.	2.	Wae rae kra he we kae	Ye love them.
3.	Wae kra he kae.	He loves them.	3.	Wae kra he nyae kae	They love them.

Second (*long*), *Present, Indicative*—JRA.

Singular.		*Plural.*
1. Ha ta wae kae	I count.	1. Hen ra wae we kae.
2. Jra wae kae	You count.	2. Jra wae we kae.
3. Ra wae kae	He counts.	3. Ra wae nyae kae, so all the moods and tenses.

Third (*long*), JRAE.

1. Ha cae kae, or e wa c ae kae	I go.	1. Hen ra we kae, or he wen ra we kae.
2. Jrae kae c wa jrae kae	You go.	2. Jra we kae, or c wa jra we kae.
3. Rae kae c wa rae hae	He goes.	3. U son yae kae, or e wa ren yae kae.

Fourth (*long*), JRE.

1. Ha ce hu fae kae	I shake.	1. Hen de hu fae we kae.
2. Jre hu fae kae	You shake.	2. Jre hu fae we kae.
3. De hu fae kae	He shakes.	3. De hu fae nyae kae. j sh f th.

Fifth, JRO SHRO.

1. Ha to ke kae	I hold.	1. Hen ro kae we kae.
2. Shro jro ke kae, or eyrokekae	You hold.	2. Jro kae we kae, or e shro kae we kae.
3. Ro ke kae, or eroke kae	He holds.	3. Ro kaen yae kae, or e ro kae nyae kae.

Sixth, JRU.

1. Ha to fae kae	I take.	1. Hen ru fae we kae.
2. Jru frae kae	You take.	2. Jru fae we kae.
3. Ru fae kae	He takes.	3. Ru fae nyae kae.

Seventh (*long*), JWA SHWA.

1. A pah ta kae kae.	1. He wah ta kae we kae.
2. A jwah ta kae kae.	2. A juah tu hae we hae.
3. A wah ta kae kae.	3. A wah ta kae nyae kae.

Besides these seven conjugations, there are other forms.

1. The fragment pronoun is used in the middle, or at the end of a word; as wo pa a *ha* kae, I understand.

2. There are others which contain the fragment pronoun, or its equivalent, in two of these places; as,

	Singular.			*Plural.*
1.	Wa *ha* ke tu jtan dae *ha* kae	I forgive.	1.	*He* wa ke ru jtan dae he *he* we hae.
2.	Wa *ra* ke *jru* jtan dae *ra* kae	You forgive.	2.	Wa *ra* ke jru jtan dae *ra* we kae.
3.	Wa ke *ru* jtan dae he kae	He forgives.	3.	Wa ke *ru* jtan dae hen yae shae.

323. Adjectives are not varied, unless they become verbs.

Wa je ka *he*	A good man.
En ro *ne*.	A good rock.

There is only a positive and superlative. The superlative is expressed by ton-ra, very, or by the encletick jna-hce (shna hche). The comparative is expressed by circumlocution, or one is said to be good, the other bad; as in Hebrew, "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated;" that is, loved less.

The words man and gun must be separately employed.

324. How many pronouns has the language?—Besides the simple pronouns, there are also fragments, or parts of pronouns, used only in connection with other words, as in the conjugation of verbs. There are personal, adjective, and relative pronouns; but no distinction between the masculine and feminine.

He wen rae ta ho	*Let us go*, including the person addressed.
He wen rae to	Let us go, not including the person addressed.

Under the latter form of the verb, the Deity would be addressed; but I am not sure that they are always careful to observe the distinction.

325. Are pronouns susceptible of inflections for tense, number, and transitive object? Pronouns and fragment pronouns have the oblique cases. The fragments are properly prefixes; but become suffixes only by a change of place. See conjugation of the verb.

326. Has the language prepositions?—Prepositions are of two kinds.

1. Independent words, which follow the noun, as ma, ha, rotata, in one ground.
2. Suffixes and suffixers. Na, a tree; na ta, at the tree. Enra as kae ta, rack near to. *A* me na kae, he sits upon. Pen menakae, to sit. Poe, to throw; o poe kae, he throws in.

327. What is the number and character of their adverbs?—No, to first question. Na yae, to stand or stand up. Na yae rae, stand thou (wh); yan rae, lie down or sleep. Eta is used at the beginning of the verb, to give the signification of these. Hun chae, yes; often hu'. Neg ae ka (neng ee ka), no.

328. Is there a definite and an indefinite article?—Eya is used as an indefinite article, from eyang kae, one; it answers to our *an*, which also conveys the idea of one.

The particle naya (encletick), at, there, etc., in reference to a place, has sometimes the force of the definite article, as wang a ka he *naya*, the chief.

329. How many conjunctions have the Indians?—See list in a proof-sheet. Aeta, *one;* ku (encletick), nugk, but (encletick); kyu (encletick), or. Have no word answering to neither or either. Ta na ha arae kju, ru fae rae; which, that, is, it, or take it. Take either of them.

No chronological conjunctions.

N. B. See, at the end of the words, for other remarks.

337. Substance, motion, quality, and position: The examples under this number would be translated by the corresponding terms in English, except where a different word entirely is used; as, wa yeng ae, a bird, e pne to, a black bird, not wa yegae thae wae. Unless the species of bird described was not known, then they would use the adjective thae wae, *black*.

338. Forms to denote possession: To denote possession, the possessive case of the pronoun is used, or, its fragment, or particles denoting possession, used in the conjugation of verbs.

Junegae	mentawae	arae kae j-sh	jugae	heg ke monokae.
Horse	my	it is	horse	he stole mine, or from me.

Juga monakae, he stole the horse.

339. Agreement in number: The singular or plural of *nouns* is known by the *verb*. If in the objective case, by the plural fragment of the pronoun.

340. Moods: One more mood than in English, termed *causal*, because it depends on another verb to govern it—as, Eyingae wawae ke cae tan ye, wa wa kug ka, his son, that he might die for us, he gave us. He gave his son to die for us, or that he might die for us. It answers sometimes, but not always, to the infinitive, wa ce, I eat (for wa ha ce), ha kunta, I want—I want to eat. There is a tense more than in English, which I have denominated past future or imperfect future—as, O ha ce hne yae e kae a rae kae, I was going to whip him. Literally, I will whip him, it was.

The 3d person singular, Indicative present, is the ground form, and most simple. There is no interrogative mood, but the encletick cae? is added to words when a question is asked.

341. Inflections for past tense: I know of no form of reference to a dead person, except women call a dead brother e cen to, instead of the usual term brother. This term is nearly the same as e cen to ega, a young man, or boy. Engae signifies small, or the offspring of any thing.

342. Words of a sexual character: The men close the sentences with kae, the women with ke. There is a different set of interjections in part, as you will see by the 2d proof-sheet of the grammar. *Me* is added to all names.

343. Is the language adapted to the purposes of Christianity?—Nine chapters of the Old Testament have been translated; 20th chapter of Exodus, a few Psalms, and Matthew's Gospel, but not printed, except the 20th of Exodus, on page 58 of Elementary book, and two or three Psalms, thirty-two pages of Matthew. Some of the truths can be expressed with a great deal of force and beauty. Others are with more difficulty expressed.

There is not much difference in the relative space occupied. In Iowa the words are syllables, which increases the space. In the 20th chapter of Exodus, there are about the same number of letters in English and Iowa. These translations were made some years since, with the assistance of an interpreter, and, of course, are not as good as could be made now, with our increased knowledge of the language. Most of the verses may be translated separately (except where the connection will not admit of it), yet the arrangement is often very different. There is a word for virgin, mé thang kae, different from e ceh me yeg ce, a maid, or young girl. It corresponds with virgin in English.

344. History, poetry, and general literature: Their poetry, if it deserves the name of songs, seems to be quite inferior. Their songs are short; generally of one sentence or two, so far as my knowledge extends.

Some of the hymns, I think, are quite expressive. (345). The language seems copious enough to express all their own ideas. Having no idea of Christianity, they have, originally, no terms to express many of its truths. See also under (343) to answers to same questions.

345. Is the vocabulary copious?—Foreign words, or their meaning, can, in general, be readily expressed by a new-coined word (mostly compound), or by a little circumlocution. It, in one sense, may be said to be homogeneous. But other languages resemble it. There is no more difference between the language of the Iowas, Otoes, and Menomonies, than between the language of a New Englander and Southerner. A few words are common to one tribe, and not to the others. They say the Winnebago is the first language. This may be true; if so, the Iowa, Otoe, and Missouri language would be one dialect, the Omahaws and Ponka another, the Konza, Osage, Quapaw, and

Ahachae (a band of Osages) another, or perhaps the Omahaws, Pangkaws (Poncas), Konzas, etc., might all be called one dialect.

The Osage, Kanza, Quapaw, etc., are the same language. The Omahaw and Ponca are the same. Some say there is no difference between the language of the first and last named; others say there is some difference. I inquired of a Konza Indian, not long since, who said they were the same; he could understand all the Omahaw. Many words of the Winnebagoes are the same in Iowa; so some of the old men who speak Winnebago tell me.

346. Radix of the noun and verb: There are but few words of one syllable in their language. Not over sixty or seventy. There are a few particles of one syllable, which are used in verbs to change the signification, but signify nothing alone, or at least have a very different meaning: e. g., heka is a tooth; added to wokapa, just, it makes the verb, wokathoheka, he justifies, etc.

Many words simple in English are compound in Iowa.

Ehe, beard, hair of the chin; the-pa, toes, nose of the foot, na wopa, finger, nose of the hand, copper, red-iron; silver, manthapka, white-iron, gold; yellow-iron, or yellow silver, or money.

4. LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

BY ADAM JOHNSON.

Sir:—I have the honor of transmitting herewith, such portions of the language of the Indians of California as I was able to procure during my stay in the Indian service of the country. It has been exceedingly difficult to obtain any correct idea of their language, or any considerable amount of it, in consequence of so few persons as yet understanding it sufficiently to give such information. Neither the Spanish nor native Californians have ever thought of acquiring any of the Indian languages of the country. The few Americans who have resided at any place in the vicinity of Indians, have, as yet, learned but little of their language; sufficient only to transact the most ordinary business.

As instructed, I gave out to persons professing to understand the language to some extent the blanks of the Indo-American vocabulary furnished me by the Department; but I regret to say, that in not one single case have they been returned to me, although I have frequently requested such persons by letter and otherwise to do so. I have therefore been compelled to pick up single words at a time, and such detached sentences as I could, from those Indians who have been under my immediate observation. Such words as I have written down I have no doubt are correct; but I have not yet been able to arrive at the idiom of the language, and prefer not attempting at present to arrange the examples into any system. This I may do hereafter, if I can obtain sufficient light in regard to the language or languages of that people. I once thought the Indian tongue of this country might be one and the same, and that the seeming difference existed in dialects alone. Experience of a few years, however, among the various bands of Indians, has brought me to a different conclusion. A marked difference exists in the numerals of the tribes or bands, and in their names of the sun, moon, and other natural objects. I have seen several bands of Indians recently brought into close proximity, and, in some instances, living in the same ranchora or village, who could not understand one word of each other's language. You will see in the portions of language spoken by four different bands of Indians, which I herewith transmit, the difference I have alluded to. The manner of expression is also different in some of the tribes. For instance, the "Co-co-noon,"—a portion of whose vocabulary will be found herein—speak quite slowly, nasal, and indistinct, as if without a palate. The Indian speech is usually rapid, detached, and guttural. They have their songs of peace and plenty, war and want, their war-dance, &c.

Tuolumne tribes, or bands of Indians residing on the Tuolumne river. Cornelius is their "great chief." Under him there are six sub-chiefs, or captains, belonging to different ranchoras, which contain from fifty to two hundred Indians, men, women, and children. The names of those sub-chiefs, or head men are as follows:—"*Cypriano,*" of the "Nu-mal-tachee" band; "*Mul-lat-te-co,*" of a band of the same name; "*Nu-mas-se-can-o,*" of the "A-pang-as-se;" "*La-pap-poo,*" of the "La-pap-poos;" "*Haw-haw,*" of the "Ap-laches;" "*Ty-poxe,*" of the "Si-yante" band, known as the Typoxies.

The following language is common to all these bands except the *Haw-haws,* who have resided farther in the mountains.

SUBSTANTIVES.

Spiritual and Human existence—Terms of Consanguinity—Names of parts of the Human frame.

These Indians, like all I have found in California, possess but a vague idea of a God or superior Spiritual Power. They have but few and simple traditions of their origin. Many of them do not believe in any kind of existence after death—indeed, they seem not to have thought of such a thing. Some of them have told me that before the establishing of the missions among them, their people only thought they were born and lived like the coyóte, and when they were killed, or died, that was the last of them. They say the Pádres told them other things, but they did not know whether they told them truth or not.—Many of them are inclined to think it a case of "quién sábe."

They do, however, believe some of these great men are a kind of witches, and possess extraordinary power. Such persons have generally been brave in battle—escaped some imminent peril — pow-wowed over some sick one who afterwards got well, or did some act not comprehended by the balance; hence he is termed a "*Witch.*" Some are great, and others small in their supposed powers.

4.	One man	Me wook.
5.	All men	Me woom.
6.	Woman	Osock.
7.	Boy	Es a co.
8.	Girl	O sote co.
9.	Infant	He kin me te co.
10.	Father	Oh pah te.
11.	Mother	Oh tah te.
12.	Husband	Nang ah te.
13.	Wife	O sal.
14.	Son	An tchoe.
15.	Daughter	Too net.
16.	Oldest brother	Ta tche.
17.	Sister	Ta ta tche.
18.	Indian	Mah woom.
19.	White man	O yah e yock.
20.	Head	How nah.
21.	Hair	E sock.
22.	Face	Mar cus co.
23.	Scalp	Took toy e.
24.	Ear	Tol co.
25.	Hair of Squirrel	Oo ses.
26.	Eye	Hoon teh.
27.	Nose	Nee to.
28.	Mouth	Ah wook.
29.	Tongue	Nep pe tah.
30.	Tooth	Cotteh.
31.	Beard	Hah muck.
32.	Neck	Lo luc.
33.	Arm	An nah.
34.	Shoulder	May el ke.
35.	Back	Wool pas.
36.	Hand	Te such.
37.	Finger	Tche ki e.
38.	Nail	Sal lah.
39.	Breast	Ung ni oo.
40.	Body	We mah.
41.	Leg	Le pe tah.
42.	Naval	Lo to.
43.	Thigh	Wah ke sah.
44.	Knee	Hung i oo tah.
45.	Foot	Hat tah.
46.	Toe	Las las kie.
47.	Bone	Co tche tshe.
48.	Heart	Moos ke.
49.	Liver	Lul leh.
50.	Windpipe	Toc co lah.
51.	Stomach	Wan ne to.
52.	Bladder	Poor si o.
53.	Blood	Keet chow.
54.	—— and	Keet chow wah.
55.	Vein	Coo ci i lo.
56.	Sinew	Pas sock a.
57.	Flesh	Ot che co.
58.	Skin	Tal kah.
59.	Seat, or buttocks	Hung i ah.
60.	Ankle	Ho tchan ke.
	Lips	How wot killis.
	Ears	Tol ca su.
	Eyes	Hoon tus.
	Nose	Ne tos.
	Teeth	Cot ters.
	Hands	Te soos.
	Toes	Las i las kie.

War — Hunting — Travelling.

61.	Town, or many houses.	Coo ta tes.
62.	House	Os tcha.
63.	Door	O coo ye.
64.	Lodge	Oo tcha.
65.	Chief	Hi ap po.
66.	Warrior	Hoi e tche.
67.	Friend	Pat chel.
68.	Enemy	Moh et.
69.	Bow	Sul lu ke.
70.	Arrow	Mock cul lu.
71.	War-club	Tack ki yeh.
72.	Spear	Tack tchu yah.

73.	Axe	
74.	Gun	Sco pe ta.
75.	Knife	Ki i ye.
76.	Flint	Cul looh.
77.	Boat	Sah o si lah.
78.	Ship, or big boat	O yanne sah o si lah.
79.	Sail	So kil leh.
80.	Mast	Woo cun ne.
81.	Oar, or paddle	We con cil lah.

Costume and Decorations.

82.	Shoes	Mum guoh.
83.	Leggins	Tal lu ce.
84.	Coat	Capote.
85.	Shirt	Cottau nah.
86.	Breech-cloth	Su et cha.
87.	Sash	Pat cha.
88.	Head-dress	Sal lah.
89.	Pipe	Pah umah.
90.	Tobacco	Cah hoo.
93.	Pouch	Shu desh.

Astronomical and Meteorological Phenomena.

92.	Sky	Woo tcha.
93.	Heaven	Le lat tah.
94.	Sun	He am ah.
95.	Moon	Comah.
96.	Star	Wol de so.
97.	Big star	He se comah.
98.	Clouds	Se sah.
99.	Day	He ma ah.
100.	Night	Cow willah.
101.	Light	He em pal lac.
102.	Darkness	Po zat tah.
103.	Morning	How zep pah.
104.	Evening	So wa tah.
105.	Midday	Tcho oo pano watto.
106.	Midnight	Cou willah la too ka.
107.	Early	He mack ka.
108.	Late	Le lack a ocho.
109.	Spring of year	Luca tas sette.
110.	Summer	Hel lac e non.
111.	Autumn	Loke tatte.
112.	Winter	Omuch e non.
113.	Year	Hel ki e tu te.
114.	Wind	To to sah.
115.	Lightning	Tim e la lah.
116.	Thunder	Tim e lo.
117.	Rain	Nu cah.
118.	Snow	Cah lah.
119.	Hail	Cah min nah.

Geographical Terms.

120.	Fire	Woo kah.
121.	Water	Keekah.
122.	Ice	Susah.
123.	Earth	Wal leh.
124.	Sea	Pol lu co.
125.	Lake	Tal tah.
126.	River	Wae cae mette.
127.	Spring	Ullo lah and Ul ul.
128.	Little river	Wah cue mette co.
129.	Valley	Po lah u.
130.	Hill	Lama catche, or little mountain.
131.	Mountain	Lam ah.
132.	Plain	Po lay u.
133.	Meadow	Polah u ut cocotchu (Valley of much grass).
134.	Bog	U moc cah.
135.	Island	Cho e lo.

Metals and the Mineral Kingdom.

136.	Stone	Low wak.
137.	Rock	How wak.
138.	Silver	Let ta ma.
139.	Iron	Lah wok.
140.	Gold	No name, except Spanish oro, for gold, copper, or lead; but they call metals of all kinds, "How wat tah."

Horticulture and Agriculture.

141.	Oats	So lu.
142.	Potato	Ol lu tchu.
143.	———	
144.	———	
145.	———	
146.	———	

Botanical Terms and Vegetable Kingdom.

147.	Tree	Su su.
148.	Log	Gu e teck.
149.	Limb	He wellah.
150.	Wood	Su su.
151.	Post	Cu y ah.
152.	Stump	Too tchu ne.
153.	Pitch pine	Sac co.
154.	Sugar pine	You too.
155.	White pine	Sang ac cu.
156.	Spruce pine	Mo nec cu.
157.	White oak	La kah.
158.	Burr oak	Te la le.
159.	Chicopin	Ko casso.
160.	Shrub	Lim mah
161.	Leaf	Tar ta.
162.	Bark	To leche.
163.	Grass	Hor sack.
164.	Weed	Woch a wah.
165.	Flowers general name	Loy e ye mah.
166.	Manzeneto	Ay ya; this term is the Spanish for "little apple." The bushes bear small fruit which the Indians use in great quantities.
167.	Raisins	Pe pe la.
168.	Grapes hanging upon the vines	Yoot tu mah pe pe la.

General Articles of Food.

169.	Bread	Kin mah (made of grass seeds, &c.)
170.	Indian meal	Nu pat tee " " "
171.	Flour	Sal lah " " "
172.	Meat	Mitche ay mi.
173.	Fat	Su met to.
174.	Sugar	You yon mah.

Native Quadrupeds.

175.	Beaver	Et tcha seh.
176.	Deer	Oo we ah.
177.	Bear	Oo som mette.
178.	Elk	Hack ki ah.
179.	Large coyote	Hit te chu.
180.	Little coyote	Po ho la.
181.	Fox	Yew wellah.
182.	Wolf	On no pu.
183.	Dog	Tchoo co.
184.	Squirrel	Tech asse.
185.	"	Te cha.
186.	"	Te cha so.
187.	Hare	Spe la le.
188.	Panther	He le tche.
189.	Antelope	Hel lu su.
190.	Little antelope	Nay wock su.
191.	Polecat	Ton qua ah.
	Tail of an animal	Shu keh.

Domestic Animals introduced at the Discovery.

192.	Horse.	
193.	Cow.	
194.	Sheep.	
195.	Hog.	

Reptiles, Insects, &c.

196.	Toad	O lac te coy.
197.	Frog	Yan nah
198.	Snake	Lou wotte.
199.	Lizard	Su me calle.
200.	Fly	Haw mock o su.
201.	Mouse	Pus se mak.
202.	Ant	Te se ni reh.

Birds, and Ornithology generally.

203.	Bird	
204.	Claw	Tis su.
205.	Goose	Lang lang.
206.	Duck	Wotte wotte, or Het et tah.
307.	Partridge	Heck ka ka.
208.	Dove	Huil loo we.
209.	Crow	Tchal callo.
210.	Raven	Mul lo.
211.	Eagle	We pi accas.
212.	Hawk	Hop a so.
213.	Lark	Yock cuil.
214.	Butterfly	Wal eh po took nah.
215.	——	

Fishes and objects in Ichthyology.

216.	Fish	Cos se mo.
217.	Eel	Noo cet teh.
218.	Minnow	Hoo oo to.
219.	Scale	Ame chepe.

ADJECTIVES.

220.	White	Ka la la.
221.	Black	Ka lu le.
222.	Red	Yel lu le
223.	Green	To to can no.
224.	Yellow	Tche te te.
225.	Great	Taw taw callo.
226.	Small	Tau watto.
227.	Strong	Hoo le na.
28.	Weak	Taw moo sa.
229.	Old	On no so.
230.	Young	Hu ac ke.
231.	Good	Cot che.
232.	Bad	Us sette.
233.	Handsome	Tchu to.
234.	Ugly	Oo set unke.
235.	Alive	Oo tche atche.
236.	Dead	Tchum sah.
237.	Cold	Tu ni eh.
238.	Hot	Wool te te.
239.	Sweet	Tchu yah.
240.	Salt	Coy yock.

PRONOUNS, PERSONAL AND RELATIVE.

I, Thou, &c.

241.	We, excluding the person addressed	Ot te men.
242.	This person, or animate being	Nang sung nung neck.
243.	All present	Itoo.
244.	All, every person or thing	Itook.
245.	Part	Cah wotte.
246.	Who	Mun nuck.
247.	What	Mitche can neh.
248.	What person?	Mun nuc one wook.
	Where are you going?	Min net wook sus.

ADVERBS.

249.	Near	Hi em.
250.	Far off	Tot to.
251.	To-day	Eu in.
252.	To-morrow	He yan o
253.	Yesterday	O mach.
254.	By-and-by	Oo satte.
255.	Yes	Hoo et.
256.	No	Aw oo ta.
257.	Perhaps	Hunn na.
258.	Never	Oo so hanno.
259.	Forever	Oot cam me.

PREPOSITIONS AND PERSONAL TERMS.

260.	Above	Le lack.
261.	Under	Ohi e kit.
262.	Within	Wan neh.
263.	Without	Etchem.
264.	Something	Tin ne mitche can no.
265.	Nothing	A woot ah.
266.	In the house	Wan ne otchu.
267.	Through the water	Kick koo cip allas.

VERBS.

268. To eat	Watcha oo nim.	278. To think	Tu lu lux ah.
269. To drink	O su mah.	279. To call	Ya yac co.
270. To laugh		280. To live	Pan nass sa.
271. To cry	No tcho.	281. Man to go	Woox e teech.
272. To love	Co chick sus.	282. Boy to go	Woo sah.
273. To walk	Watchie woo num.	283. To dance	Watchi canta.
274. To run	Hoo watte.	284. To die	Watchi chum sah.
275. To see	Su ya cutch.	285. To tie	Watchi su hee put.
276. To speak	Watchi lee wa.	286. To kill	Watchi u nipum.
277. To strike	Watchi cul tam.	287. To learn	Watchi wool te te.

PARTICIPLES.

288. Eating	Oo woo mah.	290. Laughing	Pussa loo cook.
289. Drinking	Loo ta mah.	291. Crying	No tchu sabs.

MODE OF COUNTING.

1. One	Keng et ta.	6. Six	Tem mo qua.
2. Two	Ah te co.	7. Seven	Can nee e qua.
3. Three	Tol loc et tu.	8. Eight	Cow win tah.
4. Four	O essah.	9. Nine	Wa ay.
5. Five	Mah ho qua.	10. Ten	Nah ach ah.

In a former report I gave the Numerals of some of the Indians in Sacramento Valley as follows:—

1. One	Wic tem.	6. Six	Tum bum.
2. Two	Parcim.	7. Seven	Top u im.
3. Three	Pas u um.	8. Eight	Peut chim.
4. Four	Tchu im.	9. Nine	Poll o im.
5. Five	Mar cum.	10. Ten	Wat chum.

From this they count "Nah ach ah-Reng et to," or ten-one; "Nah ach ah-Ah te co," or ten-two; "Nah ach ah-Tol lee et tu," ten-three; "Nah ach ah-O essah," ten-four; "Nah ach ah-Mah ho qua," ten-five, &c., until they arrive at another ten, which is two tens or the fingers and toes of one person. Two tens are therefore equal to one person, which is expressed thus—"Reng e me woom." Five persons, or "Masse Reng e me woom," is one hundred. Thus they count with great rapidity almost to infinity.

Points of the Compass.

East	He som.	North	Tam ah lin.
West	Hol lo win.	Sooth	Tchu much.

Sentences.

I shoot, "Kanne-took cum-mah." He shoots at me, "Took-koo-tah in-neh." I shoot a duck, "Took-koo-mah wat-te-watte in-neh." All the snakes, "Itoo la-pa-ya." Rattle-snake, "La-wotte." Striped snake, "Tah-pan-na-ra." Black water-snake, "Hoo-mo-le." Spotted snake, "He-kí-ya." The rattle of a snake, "Hip-pe." Little red Ant, "Te-he-ni." Common Ant, "Hoo-coo-mel." They say the ant is so called because it is always gathering seeds and food, &c.

Farewell, Adieu, or Good-bye, "Wooksum-mah." The end of the world, "Lip-pe met-te hal-le." The Heavens fall and the world is at an end, "Pet-tekah hel-lack."

I have lost the Indian word for the verb *to burn*, but they make a distinction between burning with a blaze and burning without a blaze. Thus they say of a candle, torch, or any substance in a blaze, that it burns; but of a segar, or any substance burning without a blaze, that it only consumes.

Indian Female Names.

Ic co las sie.—Lu net te.—La lip pa.—Pu pu sah.—Otte wotte. — O celia. — Oo cau cus. — O you tcha. — Wa ha le. — Pe ta che. — O chee lee. — Wal lu cum. — Tol to se.

The following is a portion of the language of the remnant of a tribe or band known as the "Co-co-noons." They live on the Mercede river, with other bands, under their chief "Nuella." There are the remnants of three distinct bands residing together, each originally speaking a different language. The aged of the people have difficulty in understanding each other, while the younger communicate more readily. It is difficult to get a correct knowledge of any of their languages, and I have therefore been obliged to pick up words as I could, without reference to order.

Indian	Yata ho cotch-nano.
White man	Yo cotch sa sack.
Head	O to.
Hair	To lus.
Face	Fi le u.
Forehead	Pa lu.
Eyebrow	La pet.
Scalp	Po itch.
Ear	Took.
Eye	Ses sah.
Nose	Thedick.
Upper lip	Tam mouch.
Teeth	Ta lee.
Tongue	Tal cotch.
Mouth	Sam mack.
Chin	O con cus.
Neck	Ra is.
Arm	Tcha ee.
Shoulder	Me ak il.
Upper arm	Po tait.
Elbow	Kay o sol.
Lower arm	Kay fel.
Wrist	Kay o.
Hand	Po dũs.
Vein	Te kil.
Thumb	Com mo chuch.
First finger	Tu look ohy.
Second finger	Ho cu.
Breast	Tam ah.
Body	Lo ho.
Finger nail	Ka sch.
Leg	Co we.
Navel	Thro took.
Foot	Tach'atche.
Toes	Po dus.
Heel	Wot to tras.
Bone	Tcha.
Heart	Pumus
Skin	Frorts.
Joint	Shoo tah.
Bow	See kill.
Arrow	Too yos.
Enemy	
Friend	Nort tcho.
Chief	O teen.
Warrior	Fran ette chet.
Indian village	Woom deb.
One tent, or wigwam	Dib see.
Sash for waist	True e tut.
Door of house, or tent	Sommat.
Sky	Tre poda.
Sun	Su you.
Moon	Of fa um.
Stars	Tchi e tas.
Day	Hi al.
Light	Ta ech.
Darkness	Tsu book.
Morning	Ke he deh.
Evening	Co hol le.
Midday	Seo pud e hoe.
Midnight	
Spring of year	Tcha ke he.
Wind	Ho oue lit.
Lightning	Cotch mette ha teambe.
Thunder	Me me ach.
Rain	Sa el.
Snow	Hi yo.
Hail	Schad dit thy.
Fire	Sot toll.
Water	Illeck.
Ice	Tall ap pi.
Earth	Attil la.
River	Mo heil.
Spring	Po heil.
Lake	Sah leck
Mountain	Wa hats lo bit.
Plain	Tah wootch te del.
Forest	Tchabackill.
Bog or mire	Lalloo midde haddeyo ka.
Meadow or valley of grass	Sho dock man na.
Island	Toido ho.

A portion of the Language of Indians residing on King's river, and about Tulare Lake.

Head	Ut no.
Hour	Ce lis.
Ear	Took.
Nose	Tu neck.
Eyebrow	Te mak teel
Forehead	Pel u.
Mouth	Shem ah.
Lip	Hep a tee.
Tongue	Tal kat.
Teeth	Ta lee.
Chin	Ud sil.
Shoulder	Wa keel.
Arm	Cup sal.
Elbow	Coy o shul.
Wrist	Shoo to wash.
Knuckles	O ko kah.
Fingers	Ming o less.
Finger-nail	Cashick.
Stomach	Sort.
Teats	Min neet.
Breast	Peãch.
Navel	Chaw took.
Hips	Wit to ke.
Leg	Hash ish.
Thigh	Coy e.
Knee	Po su la.
Ankle	Cuy yock.
Foot	Tat tal.
Toes	No mit.
Shoe	Su ul.

3

Water	Il lick.
River	At i kelk.
Sun	O op.
Moon	Ta ah mem na.
Stars	Sah el.
Wood	Hit teh.
Bark	To not to
Tool	Po mook.
Handkerchief	Pan e o.
Bone	Tcha.
Meat	Tchet tah.
Bread	Tal.
Leaf	Tapas.
Hand	Hot to ye.
Fire	Os sel.
Smoke	Moo track.
Tent	Teh.
Knife	Na cot che.
Pot	Cu esh.
Night	Col lo.
Day	Tah oh.
Bank	E leep.
White	Sach ah.
Black	Le muck.
Red	Tus coo met.
Green	Hatch amie.
Man	U cotche.
Bow	Tul lap.
Arrow	Te ush.
Fox	Ow wooh.
Dog	Pu esh.
String of a bow	O noh.
Back " "	Tul lack.
Feather	Lah sish.
Beads	Ca hah.
Tail	Co tah.
Arrow point	Cat cha.
Arrow, next to string	Wa cu cuish.
Horse	Het tah.
Dung	Pot teck.
Stone	Shil lee.
Beard	To moot.
Boy	Wo chippe.
Girl	Mo rella.
Bur	Chon til.
Ring	Le quash.
Sash	Tuc co me.
Louse	Te ette.
Crow	Hot tore.
Track	Tille.
Leaves	Sap pash.
Fish	Loo pet.
Gun cap	O sil.
Infant	Wit tee pe.
Brother	Nep tah.
Sister	No tah.
Head-dress	Shaw neil.
Owl	Him nah.
Bill	Sem mah.
Claw	Cash e cam e.
Wing	Hap el.
Feathers	Shoe ca shoe ma.
Face	To mot te ni.
To laugh	Hi ghe.
To cry	Ka hi.
To dance	Kal lang ah.

Numerals.

One	Yat.
Two	Po noy.
Three	So pah.
Four	Hot a puna.
Five	It sin eh.
Six	Tchl e pe.
Seven	Num chin.
Eight	Mon uck.
Nine	Chop po not.
Ten	Tre o.

These Indians also count by tens, as heretofore explained in regard to others.

Vocabulary of the portion of Indians residing near to Maj. Reading's, on the upper waters of the Sacramento river.

These Indians are not far from those whose language I transmitted in 1850; but having been out of the Sacramento valley much of the time since, I have not been able to obtain much of their language. Such as I have been enabled to get I herewith transmit.

Man	Win ne ke.
Woman	Dock e.
Boy	Pistit win e ke.
Girl	Pistit dock e.
Infant	Cru tut.
Wife	Pacho ni.
Indian people	Win toon.
Head	Pock.
Hair	Tomi.
Eye	Chu te.
Teeth	She.
Beard	Ket cheek e.
Hand	Shim.
Leg	Mout.
Foot	Mat.
Heart	Ched ick.
Blood	Seek.
Town, or village	Ke il.
Chief	Che ke tu.
Bow	Chì ta mus.
Arrow	Mūte.
Knife	Teck a mus.
Pipe	Sol cock.
Tobacco	Sol.
Sun	Tu ku.
Day	Kit to ko.
Night	Chip pe.
Morning	Hou nah.
Evening	To co chip pe.
Wind	Cley hi.
Rain	Lu hol lo.
Snow	Yo lah.
Hail	Yo lah pock ah.
Fire	Pau.
Water	Mem.
Earth, or land	Kosh.
River	Mem pum.
Mountain	Ku tah.
Stone	Shun.
Salt	Welth.
Wood	Do che.
Glass	Clack us.
Pine	Chock.
Flesh	Knop bas.
Dog	Shu ket.

Bear	Wimal.
Wolf	Shed it.
Deer	Knop.
Elk	Cou let.
Beaver	Mattuse.
Bird	Chil chil.
Egg	Clame.
Duck	Cut cut.
Fish	Cheet.
Salmon	Nu rut.
Name	Et is nah.
Affection	Yo o coney.
White	Ki yah.
Black	Chu lu la.
Red	Tar de.
Great	Cum wah sah.
Small	Cru tet.
Old	Kiet cha.
Good	Chol la be.
Bad	Chip pah.
Dead	Diple.
Cold	Tem e.
Warm	Pel la me.
I	Nett.
Thou	Mi.
He	Mat.
This	It.
That	Et.
All	Cote.
Many	Boo yah.
Who	Paw pe.
Near	Chaw keen.
To-day	Paw tu kah.
Yesterday	Sen clum us.
To-morrow	Hon sat che.
Yes	Umenah.
No	Ellubi.
To eat	Bas.
To drink	Mehani.
To run	Cli se he.
To dance	I on ah.
To sing	Chow e.
To sleep	Kin o.
To speak	Lack ah.
To see	Win.
To love	Yo o coney.
To kill	Pit a ke.
To sit	Kent lah.
To go	He a lah.
To come	Wey.
To swim	Tu-le.
One	Ket tet.
Two	Pot tem.
Three	Po noth lah.
Four	Clow it.
Five	San shem.
Six	
Seven	
Eight	
Nine	
Ten	
Bread	Chou.
Soup	Clu pus.
Rope	Check.

Where are you going?	Rit he ran me.
Stop and sleep here, and to-morrow morning go	Toto po kino hon sat uh he ah.
You come to-morrow morning, early, and work for me.	Hon sah yu mi wey ah hon ih oc tu mi uh net.
I am talking for your good	Net et boo yah lac ah mi cho la bi.
I ride a horse	Shu kit pen tith la.
You are a fool	Me eh cho lo ko.
On top	Pen ti.
To be sick	Koy ah.
To go yonder	Num te he ah.
To come here	Pè wey.
To go quickly	Che se he ah.
To listen	Mont meu ni.
To wash	Is ley.
To work	Oc tume.

VOCABULARIES.

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK. BY LIEUT. COL. J. C. CASEY, U. S. A.	ASSINIBOINE. BY E. T. DENIG, FORT UNION.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO. BY CAPT. J. H. EATON, U. S. A.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX. BY CAPT. J. H. EATON, U. S. A.
God	Hee sah' kee t am isse', Pul'kee[1]	Wau cóñ tùn gah		Pó shai an kee
Devil		Wau coñ sheè chah	Chéen dee	Hó ee sah mo
Angel		Nah' ghhó		Áh tsah náh chee
Man	I'stee (human), hō nōn' wah (male)[2]	Wee chas tah	Ten nái	Oát see
Woman	Hōk' tee (female)[3]	Weé yah	Es tsón nee	Ó kee ah
Boy	Chee pah' no see'[4]	Oe'hh sheé nah	Esh kée	Ahk' tsah kee
Girl, or maid	Hōk' too chee (little female)[5]	Weè kosh kah	Et aít	Kee áh tsah kee
Virgin	Hōk' tee chee lah' ka sikkat'[6]	[10]	Kánh tin	Aí lash to kee
Infant, or child	Isto chee'[7]	Chin cháh	Ah wái	Wée hah
Father	Cha'l' kee (*pl.*, chal kul' ke)	Ah tai (mee ahh tai, my father)	Shee jhái	Táh cho
Mother	Cha'ts'kee (*pl.*, chats kul' kee)	Hoóñ coo (ee naw', my mother)	Sho máh	Tsée tah
Husband	Cha' hee' (*pl.*, cha he tah' kee)	Heé keé núñ coo[11]	Shah cánh	Ho mó ee yáh mah shee
Wife	Cha' hai' wah (*pl.*, cha hai tah' kee)	Tow weé choo[12]	Shah áht	Ho mó ee ai
Son	Cha poo' tsee (man speaks)[8]	Chee hint' coo[13]	Shee gái	Ho mo cháh wee
Daughter	Cha' chas' tee (man speaks)[9]	Chee wint'coo[14]	Set sée	Ho mo cháh ah lee

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[1] Poyah fik' cha a chah' ka. [2] *Plural*, ho non tah' kee. [3] *Pl.*, hōk tuk kee, or tah' kee. [4] *Pl.*, chee' pah nuk' kee. [5] *Pl.*, hōk tŭk o tsee. [6] Female untouched.

[7] Ho kó see (*pl.*, ho ko so tsul kee); hol wah' ko see, helpless one. [8] Cha chŏs' wah, woman speaks. [9] Cha chŏs' wah, woman speaks.

[10] There is no word to distinguish the virgin, except by alluding to her having lost or retained her virginity; viz., wèe oc'h hhon óhh a, lost; wèe oc'h hhon ó hhàsh in èe; equal to, in French, elle est percé ou elle n'est pas encore percé.

[11] Ma heé keé nun, my husband. [12] Mee tow' wee, my wife. [13] Ma chinch' shee, my son. [14] Ma choonch' shee, my daughter.

Brother	Cha'thla ha (elder)[1]	Tó man doh (first-born)[5]	Shin ní …	Páh pah
Sister	Cha won' wah (elder)[2]	Tuck sheet koo, Ma tunk shee	Shee tái jhee[9]	Cháh woo
An Indian	Istee teah' tsee	Ee'ks chai wú chás táh	Ten nai[10]	Hó ee tai
A white man	Istee hat' kee	Wàh sheé choòñ	Ten nái lah kí	Áh ko hón nah
Head	E kah'	Pah, h.[6]; Tàh páh, b.[7]	Hut zee tsín	Ó sho quin nee
Hair	E kaísee, or e kah' is see	Páh háh, h.; Tàh hée, b.	Hut zée	Tí yah wee
Face	Tōth' l ō fáh	Eè tái, h.; Tàh pó ghai, b.	Hun née	Nó po min nee
Scalp	É kah hál pee (head-skin)	Weè cháh páh háh, h.; Tàh páh heè	Hut zee zís	Mó tsee quin nee
Ear	Hats kō'	Nó ghhai, h.; Tàh nó ghhai, b.	Hut jáh	Láh jo tin nee
Eye	Tōthl' wah	Ish tah, h.; Ish táh, b.	Hun náh	To nah wee
Nose	Yu pó	Po' ghai, h.; Tàh pó ghhai, b.	Hut chíh	Nó hah hù nee
Mouth	Chōk wáh	Ee, h.; Ee, b.	Huz zái	Ah' wah tin nee
Tongue	To los wah'	Chai zs'hee, h.; Tàh chái g'ge, b.	Hut tsó (Hut tàh, lips)	Hó nin nee
Tooth	Nó tee, or nuttee	Hée, h.; Hée, animal is mentioned	Hur gó	O' ah nah wee
Beard	Chōk 'his' see	Poò tée heè, h.; E heé, (buffalo)	Hut tah gáh	Tsée po nin nee
Neck	Nōk wah'	Tah hóo, h.; Tah hoo, b.; Lotay, bird	Hur kóee	Kís een nee
Arm	Sāk' pah	Ish tó, h.; Is'h tó, b.	Hur góng	Ah sin nee
Shoulder	Fōl ō wah'	Am in dó, h.; Am' in dó, b.	Hur koce tsin	Ts'hoo tin nee
Back	Ee thlah'	Tah pá tah, h.; Chaun kah hoo, b.[8]	Hun nai dái (Hur gárn, spine)	Máh sin nee
Hand	In' kee, or ing' kee	Nàp pái	Hul láh	Ah see kat so ah wai[12]
Finger	In' kee wee sah' ka	Nàp pái, wáh ée; Shak kai (claws)	[11]	Áh see ai lah palh ton nai
Nail	In' kee ko sus' wah	Shàk kái; Wah sháh kai (of a bear)	Hul lah shgáhn	Thóu chee ee wai
Breast	Hōk' pee[3]	Mè coó, h.; Tah mah' coo, b.	Hi git	Pó hah tan nee
Body	E nah'	Tah chúñ	Hujz 'ghee	Klóo nin nee
Leg	Hats' ka wah (from knee to ankle)[4]	Hoo	Hut jást	Sáh quin nee

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[1] Younger, Cha' cho' ree (man speaks); elder, cha' chith' l wah; younger, cha chith l wochee' (woman speaks).

[2] Cha won wo cheé, younger (man speaks); cha thla' hah, elder; younger, cha cho see (woman speaks).

[3] All the breast, hok' pe tă pik' see (flat).

[4] Thigh, huf' fee.

[5] Soón kàh koo, second-born; mèe teem' àn dò, my; Mis' soon, my.

[6] (h) the parts of a human being.

[7] (b) those of a beast.

[8] Back-bone, also.

[9] Widow, bah kánt es tsón nee.

[10] A Pueblo Indian, kees áh nee.

[11] Thumb, hul lah tsó; first finger, hul lah tsóas so dai; second finger, hul lah nái see; third finger, hul lah nái jee; fourth finger, hul lah yáz.

[12] Thumb, áh see klah nah kee.

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.	ASSINIBOINE.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
Navel	Hōts' o wah	Chaìk páh	Hut tsai	S'hah mo lo quin nee
Thigh	Huf' fee	Chaì cháh	Hut soas kít	Ọ́ ee yeen nee
Knee	Tōlk' o wah	Tah hhúñ kai	Har kóat es tán nee	Ó shin nee
Foot	É lee	Seè yáh, Tah seé yah,[5] Wah seé yah[6]	Hur kái	Wai quin nee
Toe	É lee, wee sáh ka	See páh hoo	Hur két tso	Tó quin nee wai
Heel	É lee, chis' ka	See ái teo	Hur két tahl	Ái ko sin nee
Bone	Fo' nee, or fun' nee	Hóo hóo	Tsin	Sáh wee
Heart	Fay' kee	Chaun tái	Hut jái dis jó el	Eé kai ai nan nai
Liver	Lo' pee	Pee	Hah zit	Háh quah lin' nai
Windpipe	Nōk fif' pah[1]	Lo taí min noó min nóo	Huz zól	Tó yah lan nai
Stomach	Im pās' sah'	Eai g'nai	Hup pít	Móo lo quin nee
Bladder	Ho sil'ka tsan'ka	Hah laí zabah	Hul lijz	Hái pik chah
Blood	Tsāh' ta, or tsāh' tee	O waí	Tilh	Áh tee
Vein	Tsāh' tee fuk'ka (blood-cords)	Ic'k kúñ	Hut sóas	Kó lo wee
Sinew	Ah' tso fuk'ka	Kuñ	Hut tsút	Klée wee
Flesh	A pess' wah	Chò née chàh (Tah dó, animal)[7]	Hut tsính	Shée ee lai
Skin	É nah hal'pee (body-skin)	Hah	Hujz z'hol (hide, hah káh gee)	Chái mee
Seat	Tal' ko wah	On zái	Hut tláh	Háh tsee pon nee
Ankle	Hats' ka wah, ithl chōt' kah[2]	See kuñ pah zshó nah	Hur két tseen (cat-skin, nish tó ee)	Mó ah tlee ah quin nee
Town	Ta ló fa	Wee chó tee (Indian camp)[8]	Hlah ko kín	Kloo ah lah wai
House	Chok'kō	Teé pée (house or lodge)[9]	Dahl li kín	Te'hah quin nee
Door	A how' kee	Teé ó pah	Tah del kúlh	Clém mah tee nee
Lodge	Chok'ko, atal' kee	Wah kái ah (Sioux)[10]	Chah tée	Kái hom pon nai
Chief	Mik'ko (king)[3]	Hooñ gháh,[11]	Shee nan tí	Pái ai ee nah quai[12]
Warrior	Tŭs ta nuk'kee, hib ŏts' kee[4]	E tún chuñ	Ten nái yah s'honh	Hái mo quee
Friend	His'see (*pl.*, his sul kee)	Co dáh	See kís	Keé heh
Enemy	Hó thlee (*pl.*, hò thlul kee)	Tó kah	To she kái dah	Eé nah quai

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[1] Œsophagus, sin nŏk mĭl' ka.

[2] Small of the leg.

[3] See a pāh' ya, head man, or chief of a tribe.

[4] Little captain.

[5] Tah seé yah, of a horned beast.

[6] Wah seé yah, of a bear.

[7] Wāl chó né cháh, dried meat.

[8] These Indians never saw a town, but would say "many houses."

[9] Tée pée ó tah, many houses.

[10] More frequently, Teé peé.

[11] Wè cháh shah áh táh pée (Sioux).

[12] Cacique, cháh quee moas see.

Kettle	Al'k üs wah'	Chái ghah	Pesh is sáh	Wáh lee ai kee tái lee
Arrow	Ch lee[1]	Wa hínk ah pee	Kah	S'ho ai lai
Bow	Et' sa, or ay' tsa, or, ay' cha kō tok'see	Ee tás ee pah	El teén	Peék lah nai
War-club		Wàh chun'hh peè	Pel ah clísh	Táhm chah pah náhm nee
Spear	Cho fun' wah éto ap pa kŏf' kee	Wèh hoó kàh zàh	Tsai dee tánh	Lauza (Spanish)
Axe	Po chŏs' wah; hatchet, po chos wo che	Ons pái	Tsen nílh	Keé ee lai
Gun	Ay tsah' (rifle, ay tsah sa tah' hee).	Chó tun' kàh	Bai del tónh[10]	Tó ah ñun nee
Knife	Slahf' ka, or, slof' ka	Ménah	Pesh (penknife, pink nah gó ee)	Áh chee un nee
Flint	Chló no to	Chaun keé a pah	Pesh is toó gee	Ah chee ah tái at lah
Boat	Pith' lo	Wáh tah[7]	Tsin ah élh	Klái lou nee
Ship	Pith' lo chok'ko (house-boat)	Tàh tá wàt tàh (literally, wind-boat)[8]		
Sail	Hunna weé la		Ah gah koúh	
Mast	Po kappe, or, pith lo im po kappe[2].		Tsin	
Oar	Is kaf' ka, or, is kahf ka	Wah teé chág gáh bó gah	Tsen	
Paddle	Is kaf' ko, or, is kahf ko chee	Wah teé chág gáh bó gah	Klejz bee hahl káh dee	
Shoe	Ist" elee 'pi' kah[3]	Haúm pah (moccasin)[9]	Kái en doát so see	Mó quah wee
Legging	Huf'fa tich' ka[4]	Hons kàh	Is t'leh	Kái woo láh wee
Coat	Ai o kof ke tah' (hunting-shirt)[5]	Cheé ee gee nún kah	En nái zee	Oó choon nee
Shirt	Ai o kof ke tah' ko chok'konnee	Ma haín tah' oòm pèe	El ki	Peé tsah móo choon nee
Breechcloth	E kŏf' kah, chok sah ka, tuk hukka[6]	Chài gee nún cah	Kles sóaz (pantaloons, klah jee ai)	Peé tlah nee
Sash	Se won a ke tah'	Ee peé gàh càh	Sis	Aí neen nai
Head-dress	E ka sim enah hitska, or heets ka	Wah taí sheen dáh cah	Tsah hoát tso see[11]	Kém po yen nai
Pipe	Hee chee pŏk wah	Chàn núm pàh	Eh toas tsái	Tái po k'lee nan nai
Wampum	Lo nup hat kee (beads, white)	Weé o kè aìnàh		Hái pee quin nai
Tobacco	Hee chee	Chaun deé	Nah 'to	Ah nah
Shot-pouch	Sŏk cha ta pik see (or flat bag)	Soo ó zu háh	Tan nah gée zee	Wáh tan nai
Sky	So tah'	O cás so tah (literally, no clouds)	Ee yáh	Áh po yan nai

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[1] The *ch* like the guttural *ch* in German or Scotch.

[2] Ship; its pole.

[3] Is'tee, man; élee, foot; pai' ke ta, to put in.

[4] Huffee, thigh; attich' ke ta, to put in.

[5] Ka' bah, a white man's coat.

[6] Istee ho ma a pah weets kah.

[7] Wah tah pai tah, steamboat, or fire-boat.

[8] These Indians never saw a ship, but this name was given to it by the white interpreters. Of course, neither sail or mast has a name, though they would call the sail, shée náhsée pé náh, and the mast, chaun hóska, or a long stick.

[9] Cháuñ haûm pàh, boots or shoes.

[10] Pistol, bai del tónh él tsee see.

[11] Hat, tchah ahs kún nee.

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.	ASSINIBOINE.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
Heaven		[2]	Ee yáh del hilh	Áh po yan nai
Sun	Has'see	Om páh weè	Cho ko no í	Yáh to kee ah
Moon	Has'see	How wee	Klai ho no í	Yáh o nán nai
Star	Ko tso tsum'pa	Wee cháh pee	Sonh	Mó yah choó wai
Day	Nittah'	Om pai too	Cheén go	Yáh to
Night	Nith leé	Haw hái pee	Klái go	Taí lee ah kee ah
Light	Ha ya yá kee	Ah ó zsha`ñ z`sha	Hoas eén go	Taí ko hah nan nai
Darkness	Yo mōts' kee	Eo óch pàh zàh	Chahl kélh	Tai quin nah
Morning	Hat ha yat' kee	Hi ák kee nee	Es kán go	Eé chee teh
Evening	Yahf' kee	Hhtí ee toò	Ee ee áhn go	Soón nah keeah
Midday	Hassee fatsa laí kee (sun lies straight)	Weé cho kúñ eò ì àh	Es nin áh ahn go	Eé tee wah pah
Midnight	Nith lee in nel'k uppah	Haw hái pee c`ho kúñ	Klai elh née	Téh lee nah wee tee keeah
Early	Hat ha yat' ko see	Om pah keé oo (by daybreak)	Heel cheén go	Tém sham lee
Late	Yo mots' ko thlah'nassęe[1]	Wee óch pai gah	Yah dels ánh	Téh nah lah keeah
Spring	Ta sáh' tsee	Wái too	Tah'n go	Téh lah quai keeah
Summer	Mis'kee	Min` dò kái toò	Sheén go	Ó lo ee keeah
Autumn	Thla fo baks	Pe tí ee too	Nil tseet só	Áh mee ash nee keeah
Winter	Thla fo	Wah neé ee too	Hí go	Taí ah tsin nah
Year	Mis'kee	Mah có chah	Lah náh hi go	Taí pee quaì keeah
Wind	Hó tallee	Tah tái	Née yoal	Oól to keeah
Lightning	Tok'kee hattee, a to yee hatteet	Ő wah neè hin`k aù dah	Ní il kish	Wée lo lon nan nai
Thunder	Tin it' kee	O teé	Ai dit níh	Coó lo lon nan nai
Rain	Os'kee	Mah hháh zshu	Nah el tính	Ló nah wai
Snow	He to tee thlok'ko lai jee	Wah	Yas	Oó pin nah keeah
Hail	He to tee nil' ka	Wah sóo	Nee 'lo	Mó pin nah keeah
Fire	Tōt' ka, or, taté kah	Paí tah	Konh	Máh kee ai
Water	Wé wah, or, o eé wah	Mih' nee	Tonh	Keé ah wai
Ice	He to tee, or, wéwah ok hó to tee	Cháh ghhah	Tin	Klém kai an nai
Earth	E ka na	Máh cáh	Klaijze	Áh wai kai lin nai

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[1] Going to darken.

[2] No name. They might say "above," or "in the clouds."

Sea	Wè hat ka (white water)	Minne wáh zèe chàh	Ton'h nee hai leéh	Cháh to lee lah nah
Lake	Ok' hassee	Mee dái	Bai ai kít	Eé chah to lo keeah
River	Hat'chee thlókko	Wáhh pah	Ton'h nai leéh	Cháh wah nah
Spring	We kai wah'	Weé wée	Ton'h hah leéh	Cháh qui yee
Stream	Hatch'oochee (little river)	Wahh páh na	Ton'h chee nai leéh	Cháh pah nee yo
Valley	Pan' ee, or, pan o fa	Cahh hhái (a coulee, or ravine)	Tsur kí	Áh tai lah nai
Hill	Thlan' ee	Pah háh	Tah his kít	Tái po kee ah li yai
Mountain	Thlan' ee thlok'ko, or, thlan' hal' wee[1]	Hhái	Tzilh	Yáh lah nai
Plain	'Kon ta pik'see (eka na, earth)[2]	O min dáh	Hun tél	Taì wo lin nai
Forest	Eto ófa (in the woods)	Chaun wó hah, or, chaun ah tah	Tsan táh hil kit	Tán nah ai yai
Meadow	Hi ok' poo chee	[9]	Ho et só	Eé chah hi ah pen náh
Bog	Ok le wah' hee[3]	Mah káh hhin deé hhe deé	Nah ho dit tsónh	Hái mo loo loo ah
Island	O tee	Weé tah	Tonh bee náhjz leéh	Hek et to yai
Stone	Chat'to	Eé yah	Tsai	Áh ah lai
Rock	Chat'to	Eé yan tun' kah	Tsai ai ánh	Áh lah nah
Silver	Chat'to ko na wah'[4]	Múzzah skáh[10]	Pesh lah kí[11]	Láh tai ko hon náh
Copper	Chat'to ko na wah lah' nee[5]	Muz'zah zeé	Pesh lee c'hee	Héh shee lo wáh
Iron	Chat'to	Muz'zah	Pesh	Tai see lee hai lai
Lead	Chleé[6]	Muz'zah soo	Bai del ton'h pah káh el eé nee	Hái chap pin náh
Gold	Chat'to ko na wah mah' hee lah'nee[7]	Muz'zah zeé	Pesh lit só tlah leé nee	Lah tai loo pee tsín nah
Maize, or corn	Atseé, or, at cheé	Wàh com mí zah	Nah táhnh	Mée wai
Wheat	Tīl e ko		Tlo nah tánh	Keé ah wai
Oats	Chlŏkko in hom pe ta			
Potato	Ah hah'[8]	Paung g'hha tun'g gah	Náh mas see	Cháh pee mo wai
Turnip	Ah'hah hat kee	Teep' se nah		
Pea	Ta lāhk' chop ko		Nah oát lee nah máz zee	Keé ah pee mo wai
Bean	Ta lāhk' thlokko	Oák shù shù nah	Nah oát lee	Nó wai

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[1] High.
[2] Tapik'see, flat.
[3] Quicksand, ŏk sam oh' kee.
[4] Means, also, money generally.
[5] Yellow metal.
[6] Same as arrow, which was replaced by bullets (lead).
[7] Real yellow metal.
[8] Bog, or mild potato (a vine), ah'hah ŏk lou ka.
[9] Not distinguished from prairie, or plain.
[10] These Indians know nothing about metals and their value. Therefore, muz'zah, being iron, the rest become white iron, yellow iron, &c., according to their color.
[11] Tin plate, pesh let sáh; iron spoon, pesh it tái.

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.	ASSINIBOINE.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
Melon	Chas′ talle (water) fa mé tsa (musk)	Şák kah ú tap pee	Tah nes káh nee[2]	Mái loo oón nah
Squash	Ta haí ah	We cháh nòha nòha	Nah gée zee	Mó tai ah láh
Tree	E tó	Chuñ (kind of wood is mentioned).	Tsin	Táh ko lee po teé
Log	E to wah′ kee (tree lying)	Chúñ sá chah	Nis táhn	Koóm mai
Limb	E to lot′ see	Chauñ ísh to	Tsin bah káhn	Yáh chin nai
Wood	E tó (the wood, e to s sel ko ee)	Chauñ	Chijz	Táh wai
Post	Chŏk illeé	Chauñ bó san dah	Tsih ee ee áh	Táh mai
Stump	E to tsis′ ka	Chúñ, cáx áh	Tsai ho koát	Mó ee chun nai
Pine	Tsu leé, or, choo leé	Chuñ wap pah	In dis c′hee	Áh shai keeáh
Oak	Lok tsa sum′pa (live oak)[1]	Ou toó hoo	Chai c′hil	Weé mah wai
Ash	E to hat′ka	P sái		[4]
Elm	Tola (bay)	P ái		
Basswood	(Hickory, o tsee)			
Shrub	E to kin′tee	Chauñ hoó	Cho ee ahje	
Leaf	E to is′see (tree-hair)	Wahh pái	Bai tánh	Shái il lee
Bark	E to hal′pee (tree-skin)	Chauñ háh	Ee las tóje	Tsée gun nai
Grass	Pah′hee	Pai zshé	Kloh	Pái wee
Hay	Pah′hee hal pee (dry)	Pai zshé, sá chah	Kloh hez kíjz	Pái koo see náh
Nettle	Ista ta la ka	Hoo wée chah′ cahh tah	Chilh hosh ée	Háh wai
Thistle	Ista ta la thlokko	Wah hhoó pai pai	Chilh hosh ée	
Weed	Ah tŏk′ thlah	Pay zshé hoo[3]	Chilh	Hlál ai ah
Flower	Pah pah ee	Wahh cháh	Bai lah táh	Oó tai áh wai
Rose	(Sassafras, we so)	Weé zée zéet káh	Hosh dít see	Mo chee koo tai ah wai
Lily	(Arrow-root, koont ee hat kee)	Wahh cháh hous kah		
Bread	Tuk laí kee	Ah‵h hhó yàp pèe	Pah	Moo lon nai
Indian-meal	Atsee im fo lot ka	Wae com m′i za reke póm pee	Nah tánh ah kánh	Ó wai
Flour	Hōts katte hat kee	Ah‵h h′ho yàp pèe mindóo	Ah kánh	Keé ah o wai
Meat	A pess′ wah	Tah do	Et tsín	Sheé lai áh wai

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[1] White oak, kol lah′; water oak, miskol wah.

[2] Water-melon, tés een yah; poplar, tees; cedar, dil kís; willow, ki.

[3] Different weeds have different names.

[4] Cotton-wood poplar, polah; cedar, I′ yee kon nah; willow, peé lah.

Fat	E nē há	Wah shé	Et tsín lah kí	Sheé lee shan náh
Beaver	Ets hasswah	Cháp pah	Chah	Peé hah
Deer	E tso, or ē cho	Tahh′ chah	Pinh	Shó hee tah
Bison, or buffalo	Yah no sah	Wó tah chah[3]	Ai yán nee	Too shee kai wo wai non′ nah
Bear	No ko see	Wah ghúnh seè chah (grizzly)[4]	Shahs	I′ ee shai
Elk	E cho pai kah	Ah‵h h′hah càh, male; o póñ, female	Tzai	Háh lee ko
Moose		Taáhh		
Otter	O sa ná	Pe túñ	Chah	Seé hah
Fox	Tso lá	To káh na (prairie fox)[5]	Mi dot le jeé	Hláh nah kó nah
Wolf	Ya há	Shunk tó kah chah	Mi et tsó	Yoo nah wee kó nah
Dog	E fah	Shunk kah	Klee cháh ee	Wáh tsee tah
Squirrel	E thlo	We cháh	Kloz el kí	Yeé ah shee
Hare	(Rabbit, cho fee)	Mun tin‵ chin nah skàh	Kah et tsó	Pó keeah
Lynx	(Wild-cat, ko ak o chee)	Eig a mó	(Coyote, mí ee)	(Coyote, sóos kee)
Panther	Kōt sa	Eig a mó tún ka	Nash to et só	Hoák tee táh shon nah
Muskrat	(Raccoon, wood ko)	Sink pái		
Mink	(Opossum, sok ha hat kee)[1]	É koos sah		
Fisher	(Goat, tso wa tá)	Ska cháh		
Mole	Ta ko	Weé ash poo náh	Nah zis see′	Yái ee ai
Polecat	Ko no	Mah kah		
Hog	Sōk hah′	Weet kó	Pes só tee	An′ chee mo ah
Horse	′Chlokko (e cho, deer; thlokko, large)	Shún kah tún gah	Klinh	Toó shee
Cow	Wa ka (Spanish, vaca)	Petái hái ska (domestic animal)	Pái yo ee	Wah cah shee
Sheep	Ya pee fai kee (horn-twisted)	Táhk chahh hoó hoó nah	Tai pái	Keéah nai lo
Turtle, or tortoise	Lo tsá	Kái ah	Chech tah gi hee	Ái to wi
Toad	Sōk pa[2]	Tah pái g‵ha wah án do wàh[6]	Chahl hut só (frog, chahl en nái zee)	Táh keeah[8]
Snake	Chitto	Indo hái nah	Klish	Chée to lah
Lizard	A tsōk le pá	Tàh she náh hai chah (ground-lizard)[7]	Nah s′ho ee	
Worm	′Ka fun a ka (earth-worm)	Waum′ an doós kah hoús kah	Chos	I′ ah so ah

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[1] White hog. Strange anachronism!

[2] Frog, ko tee; bullfrog, sub ŏk ta.

[3] Cow, petáy; bull, tah tún gah.

[4] Black bear, man to.

[5] Red fox, shún gah shá nah.

[6] Frog, tah pái ghà nàh.

[7] Wood-lizard, zee chah.

[8] Frog, táh keeah wee ó.

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.	ASSINIBOINE.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
Insect		Wam an doós kah		
Fly	Tsa na, house-fly; horse-fly, chlo no	Wah nah ghee nah	Tsai tó ee	Shón nat tee kón nah
Wasp	Foh tsah tee (foh, a bee; tsahtee, red)	Tó hhah mó hha	Ses nal tso ee	Ó hah pah
Ant	Tŭk o tsa	Tah chaún wakin mìn dùs kák	Hóo lah	Hóo pis keeah
Bird	Fuss wah	Zit káh nah	Tsít ee	Quáh moo ah lah tah pah
Egg	E tsŏs tah kee, or, e chos tah kee	Weét kah	Bee génjz ee	Mó wai
Feather	Tah fah′	Weé yah càh	Tah	Láh wai
Claw	E′ lee ko so so wah	Shàk kái	Bil lah shgáhm	Shon chee ee wái
Beak	Chŏk wah	Pó ghai	Bet táh	Ó ton nai
Wing	Tahl′ pa	Hoo páh	Pet ahs tséen	Ai pee sai wai
Goose	A hak wa	Mah gháh	Hoaz	Náh nah thlee
Duck	Fo tso	Pah hhón tah	Nahl ái lee	Ai ah
Swan	A hak wa thlokko	Mah gháh ska		
Partridge	Ko ai kee			Táh chil chee
Pigeon	Pats ee	Kee á nah	Hos pía et tsó	Tó lo ah wáh
Plover	(Curlew, a lo lo)	Choo wic′hh		
Turkey	Pen wah	Wàh kun dáihh shoo	Táh jzee	Tó nah
Crow	O sáh wah	Ah′ a‵h nàh	Gáh gee	Kó ko
Raven	Kahk ee	Coug ghái	Gáh gee	Kó ko
Robin	Is pok wah	Chauñ coó shah	Kai lee cheé	Quée shah hah pah con nah
Eagle	Hat kee tik fan ka, lum hee (bald)[1]	Wàm min deé (war); hoo yáh (bald)	Et tsáhn tsah, or, tahl tsó ee	Keé i ki lee
Hawk	Ai o (chicken)[2]	Chai túñ	Et tsáh	Peé pee
Snipe		See kúñ zeè nah		
Owl	O pah[3]	Hee húñ	Nes jah	Móo hoo qúee
Woodpecker	Tit ka (large)	Zoòñ zóne tah	Tsai een kálh lee	Tám too noo noo
Fish	Thla thlo	Hho gháñ	Hloh	Keéash se tah
Trout	Tsa lo			
Bass	(Eel, stŏk won nai o tsee)[4]			

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[1] Striped eagle, fuss he thla.

[2] Screaming hawk, ke okka; swift hawk, cho ikko chee.

[3] Screech-owl, large, ist ik nee; small owl, a full o.

[4] Little tie in the water.

Sturgeon		Hho gháñ tùn gàh[1]		
Catfish	Ōkèe an wah	Hho ghañ sap pah		
Perch	San ta lak wah			
Sucker	Chok po e hee	Tah máh kai, or, ho man dús kah		
Minnow		E bo hó tah		Móo to lee keeah
Fin	Thlathlo e tahl'pa (fish-wings)	Ho áp pai	Pee gon el kálh dee	
Scale	Hal pee	Tap síñ	Po wúsh	Mee tchah ee leé
Roe	E tsos tah kee	Ho chin chah nah	Pet c'hee	Keé shee tah mó wai
White	Hat kee	Skáh	Klah 'ki	Kó ban nah
Black	Lus tee	Sáp pah	Klah jzín	Qúin nah
Red	Tsah tee	Shah	Lee c'hee	
Green	Pa hee lah nee (grass-yellow)	Weé to to	Toat lijz	Áh shai nah
Blue	Ok ho lah' tee	Tó	Toat lijz	Hleé ah nah
Yellow	Lah' nee	Zeé	Klit tsó	Lóo pee tsín nah
Great	Thlokko	Tún gah	En tsáhz	Hláh nah
Small	Chōt kee, la bōts kee	Chuús chee nàh	Él tsee see	Tsáh nah
Strong	Yik chee	Soò táh	Pit tséel	Tsoóm mai
Weak	Yik chikko	Soo tásh nee	To jel áh dah	Koós ee nah
Old	A tsu lee	Wee chách cha	Hahs tính	Kláh shee
Young	Mane teé, or, ma nit'tee	Koash káh	Ton nee yí	Tém tsah nah
Good	Hin klee	Wash tái	Yah shónh	Kó kee sheé
Bad	Hol wa kee	Seé chah	To yah shónh	Quáh ko kah shám mai
Handsome	Hin thlo see, or, hēe thlitta	Wash tái[2]	To neĺ tái dah	Hó ee ko kah s'hee
Ugly	Hol wa kee	Seé chah	Chee c'hu lah	Wó sah moo
Alive	Hee sah kee	Nee	Et ah kee náh lah	Eé chai ai nee ái
Dead	E lottee	Tahh	Tah tahs tsánh lah	Áh shah kee áh
Life	Hee sah keet	Ne áh		Tãi mo hee
Death	E mil ka	Thai		Háh pah
Cold	Ka suppee	Snée	Hah kújz	Tai tsái
Hot	Hai ee	Caút tah	Hoz tó	Chah tel nah

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[1] Ho màn dús kah tún gab.

[2] The same as "good," except you name the part designated, as "handsome face," "ugly face," &c.

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.	ASSINIBOINE.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
Sour	Ka mŏk see	Sku yá mi ne	Lah kún dah	Ó pee
Sweet	Tsam pee	Skú yah	Lah kún	Chée quah
Pepper	Ho ma	Chain páh soò soò	Es ee c'hee	Kó lah
Salt	Ok tsan wah	Sstush sstai nah	Es s'hee	Máh wai
Bitter	Ho mee	E stús tah	Dit c'hee	Páh lee
I	Annee	Meé ah	Sheenh	Hó o
Thou	Che mee, or, tsee mee	Neé ah	Neenh	Tó o
He	E mee	É ah	Nah gí	Loók o
She		É ah	Nee láh	Loók o
They		É um' peè	Nah kláh nee	Loók o
Ye		Neé um' pèe	Bit chee ún tel tee[5]	Ah c'hee
We (inclu.)	Po mee	Oon kée	Kah dai kút chee nee	Hó o no
We (exclu.)		Neé um' pèe	Kah dai kút chee nee	
This (an.)		Hai[1]	Tee	Loók kee ah
This (in.)		Dai	Tee	
That (an.)		Caah	Nah 'gi	Oók see
That (in.)		Caah	Nah 'gi	
These (an.)		Dai teé nah é o tun cah[2]	Teo dáhl tso	Loók kee ah
These (in.)		Coáh cháuñ tun caùd oòm pee[3]	Teo dáhl tso	
Those (an.)		[4]	Nah nah hláh	Oók see
Those (in.)		[4]	Nah nah hláh	
All	O mul' ka	Owáse	Dáhl tso	Tém hlah
Part	A pul' wa, o pul wo see	Ap páh (half, hun gai)	El húee do	Eé pah cheo ni yái
Who	Is taí mah	Tú ah	Hi	Chóo wah pee
What	Is tó mah	Táh quee	Yah	Qúah chee
What person	Istee istaí mat	Tú ah hai		

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[1] In all such references, mention is made of the objects or persons, and then their language is perfectly intelligible.

[2] That wood that lies out of doors.

[3] Those who are in the house.

[4] The same as below. The distinction between "these" and "those" is made by pointing the finger to the object, or otherwise naming it.

[5] Another, nah hó hi; many, hlah.

What thing	Nah kee istó mat	Táh quee hai		
Which person		Took taí hai	Tah hí dah	Quah hah pee
Which thing		Took taí wash ee		
Near	A wó lee	Ash káh nah	Nah húd dee	Ló tai
Far off	Ho paí ee	Taí hund	Niz záht	Hó thlo mah shee
To-day	Mu cha nit′ta	Am pái haw	Tee c′hee	Láh ee kée
To-morrow	Pok′ see	Hi ák à chàh	Es káhn go	Tái wah née
Yesterday	Pok san′gee	Hhtan′ a hàh	At táhn dah	Tésh soo quah
By and by	Hattee to see	Hai staí nah	To ho dée nah	Wét tso tel ah páh
Yes	Ngkah′	Hów	Ah óoh	Ai ái
No	H′kast′, mungst′	Hé áh	To táh	Ho ló
Perhaps	Mo me haks, mo mais o mees	Cháh, tó ká chá, or, nah chat′ch	Pil láh	Hón quah teé
Never	Nit′ta is tó fon	Tó húntoo hai cháish	To to shah tái dah	Kó shee kah tél lai ah
Forever	Im mung kee, im mung kath lees	To hunt too hai chai	Tah hláh gee	Is′h ahl tai máh
Above	Oh′hon a pah	Wah kaún too, or, ak kaún	Woót tah ko	Eé ah mah qúee
Under	E le tsa	O coón	Weé yah ko	Máh nee chah qúee
Within	O fa	Mah háne too	Wóon nee dee	Tái lee to quee
Without	To pa thla	Tuncaúd too	Kló ee dee	Tái ah lah quee
Something	Nah kee	Tah quóhh	Had dee dáh teenh	Tén quah ho lee
Nothing	Nahk sikko	Táh qu nísh	Ét tee	Él hlah
On	O wah kee	Ah cáb	Tah bo ó ko	Ah lo tai keéah
In	O fa	Mah han′e		Oó lai
By	Tim pee (near)	Coke tí		Tó shee ah
Through	Thlo bo tee	O gee nún		Pée quai ee keeah
In the sky	So ta o fa	Mohh` peè ah ik i tí	Ee yáh del hilh	
On the tree	E to o′ hõith lee	Chúñ ik it i		
In the house	Chokke o fa	Te máh hane		
By the shore	Wee a fop kee	Minné cák an dah		
Through the water	Wee ofa ŏk ai it, or, ok ho ya mit	Min′ne ó hauñ		

ENGLISH.	MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.	ASSINIBOINE.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
To eat	Pah po ta	U tah[1]	Et ai sheénh (one eats)[2]	Ee tor'[5]
To drink	Is ke ta	Yat káh	Et ai shtleénlh[3]	Too toó
To laugh	A pel ke ta	E hháh hháh	Ish tlóh[4]	Shee qúee
To cry	A kaich ke ta	Chái ah	Chit chah	Ko yái ah
To love	A no kee tse ta	Chaun taí ma doó zah	Shin nee yah shónh	Kee ái tsah nah
To burn	Nik lai tse ta	Hóhha núgh hháh	Déel lit	Chah pee keéah
To walk	Ya ka pe ta	Maún nee	Dáh nee ho tah sháh	Ah'l loo ee áh
To run	Lit ke ta	Doóz a hah	Ish tlélh	Yai lah háh
To see	Hee tse ta	Ak keé tah	Tesh ée	Oo náh
To hear	Po he ta	Nau hhó	Dis tsáh	Áh wat ee ah wah
To speak	Po naí ye ta	E áh	Yes teé	Pai yái
To strike	Nof' ke ta	Ap páh	To bee stel née	Yach to háh
To think	A ke thlai tse tá	É uk e c'huñ	N tsis kés	Ah nah wáh
To wish	An hĕts ke tá	Ah wáh chin	Hah tée lah	Ho an dee shai mah
To call	Hoïch' ke tá, or, ho ĕch' ke tá	Ke póng	Háh ko yai	To mo shái mai áh
To live	Laí ke tá (at any place)	Nọ áh	Tah quee kai hah s'tee	Keeah quai yái
To go	Aí ŏ tá	Kin dáh	En no tsáhl	Ah nái
To sing	Ya hai ke tá	Do áh (songs, i pee ah)	Ho jee tahl	Tai nai áh
To dance	O pan' ke tá	Wah chée	Il gish	O ti yái
To die	É le tá	Tink it tah	Tahz tsáhn lah	Ah shai keéah
To tie	Won'naí e tá	Kash káh	Pai set tlóh	Is tah óo
To kill	Il leé tse tá	Kit tái	Et tsee seénh	I ee náh
To embark		Wát tah má hane		
Eating		Wó táp pee	Ee tór	Ee to ee áh

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[1] A verb in Assiniboine can be conjugated the same as one in English:—I eat, wah wah tah; he eats, eu tah pee; they eat, wo tap pee; do you eat? wi at ink ah tah; have you eaten? wah nah wi at a; I will eat, wah wat ink ah tah, &c., &c.

[2] Several eat, tah tee teénlh.

[3] Several drink, tah tee tleénlh.

[4] Several laugh, tah tho tlóh.

[5] *Third person plural, or what several do*:—They eat, ee tor ah wái; drink, too too nah wái; laugh, ah shee quee ái; cry, ah ko yái; love, eé kee ai tsah nah; burn, áh chah pee-keéah; walk, áh mah loo ee áh; run, ih lah wah háh; see, áh woo náh; hear, eé hat ee ah wáh; speak, ah pai yai; strike, ae yach to hah; think, ah nah wah nah wai; wish, ho nan dee shai mah nah wai; call, to no ish ai min ah; live, keeah quai nee yái; go, ah wah nái; sing, tai nah pá; dance, o tee ee wái; die, ee ah shai keeáh; tie, eé wis tah óo; kill, hlah táh.

Drinking		Yat kúm pee	Too tóo	Too too ee áh
Laughing		E hháh hháp pee	Shee quée	Shee quee cho yáh
Crying		Cháy ap pee	Ko yái ah	Ko yai áh
To be, or exist	Ó me tá	Wah óo (I am); ne wáh oo (I exist)		Ee mái
I am		Daí wah oo		Ho ee mái
You are	Tó yits kist	Né yah oo	Neesh tah sen táhl	To o nó
He is	Tó yist	É dái oo		Look o nee mái

NUMERALS.

ENGLISH.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	ASSINIBOINE.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEX.
One	Tláh ee	Wash eé nah	Tó pin tai
Two	Nah kée	Noóm pah	Qúee lee
Three	Tanh (nasal)	Yám min nee	Hah ee
Four	Tee (nasal)	Tó pah	Áh wee tai
Five	Es t'lah	Záp tah	Áhp tai
Six	Hus táh	Shák pah	Tó pah lík keeah
Seven	Soos tsél	Shak kó wee, or, u she nah (the odd number)	Qúil lah lik keeah
Eight	Tsai pée	Shák kan dó ghah	Hí ah lik keeah
Nine	Nas tái	Noom'p chee wón kah	Tén ah lik keeah
Ten	Nez náh	Wix chém mèe nàh	Ahs tém hlah
Eleven	Tlai tsáh tah	Ak kái washé (or, one more)	Ah's tem to pi áhl to
Twelve	Nah kee tsáh tah	Ak kái noòm pàh (or, two more, &c.)	Áhs tem quee lee áh'l to
Thirteen	Tanh tsáh tah	Ak kái yam' me nee	Áhs tem hah ee áhl to
Fourteen	Tee tsáh tah	Ak kai tó pah	Áhs tem ah wee tai áhl to
Fifteen	Es tláh ah táh	Ak kai zap' tah	Áhp tai ee áhl to
Sixteen	Hus táh ah táh	Ak kai shak pah	Tó pah lik kee áhl to
Seventeen	Soos tsáh ah táh	Ak kai shak ka	Qúil lah lik kee áhl to

ENGLISH.	NAVAJO, OF NEW MEXICO.	ASSINIBOINE.	PUEBLO, OF ZUÑI, NEW MEXICO.
Eighteen	Tsai pée ah tah	Ak kái shak kan dó ghah	Hi ah lik kee áhl to
Nineteen	Nas tái ah táh	Ak kai nom'p chee wón kah	Tén ah lik kee áhl to
Twenty	Nah teén	Wix chém me nee noómpah	Quil lee kah náhs tem hlah
Twenty-one	Nah teén tláh ee	Wix chém i nee noómpah súm wash é nah[1]	Quil lee kah náhs tem to pi áhl to
Twenty-two	Nah teén nah kée	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum noómpah	Quil lee kah náhs tem quil lee áhl to
Twenty-three	Nah teen tánh	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum yám minee	Quil lee kah náhs tem hah ee áhl to
Twenty-four	Nah teen tée	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum tópah	Quil lee kah náhs tem ah wee tai áhl to
Twenty-five	Nak teén es tláh	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum záp tah	Quil lee kah náhs tem ahp tai áhl to
Twenty-six	Nah teén hus tah	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum shák pah	Quil lee kah náhs tem to pah lik kee áhl to
Twenty-seven	Nah teén soos tsél	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum shak kó wa	Quil lee kah náhs tem quil lah lik kee áhl to
Twenty-eight	Nah teén tsai pée	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum shak an dó ghah	Quil lee kah náhs tem hi ah lik kee áhl to
Twenty-nine	Nah teén nas tái	Wix chém i nee noómpah sum noómp chee woón kah	Quil lee kah náhs tem ten nah lik kee áhl to
Thirty	Tah teén	Wix chém i nee yám minnee (or, three tens)	Hi ee keeah nahs tém hlah
Forty	Tis teén	Wix chém i nee tópah	Ah wee tai keeah nahs tem hlah
Fifty	Es tlah teén	Wix chém i nee zop tah	Ahp tai nee keeah nahs tém hlah
Sixty	Hus tlah teén	Wix chém i nee shak pah	To pah lik keeah nahs tém hlah
Seventy	Soos tsel teén	Wix chém i nee chakówee	Quil lah lik keeah nahs tém hlah
Eighty	Tsai pee teén	Wix chém i nee shak an dó gah	Hi ah lik keeah nahs tém hlah
Ninety	Nas tai teén	Wix chém i nee nomp chee woón kah	Ten nah lik keeah nahs tém hlah
One hundred	Nez nah teén	Opah wàh gheè	Ah see ahs tém hlah
One hundred and one	Nez nah tláh	Opáh wàh g‘hee sum washénah	Ah see ahs tém hlah to pi áhl to
One hundred and two	Nez náh nah kée	Opáh wàh g‘hee sum noompah	Ah see ahs tém hlah quee lee áhl to
One hundred and three	Nez nah tánh	Opáh wàh g‘hee sum tam' minnee	Ah see ahs tém hlah hah ee áhl to
One hundred and four	Nez nah tée	Opáh wàh g‘hee sum tópah	Ah see ahs tém hlah ah we tai áhl to
One hundred and five	Nez náh es tláh	Opáh wàh g‘hee, one hundred; sum, more; zaptah, five	Ah see ahs tém hlah ahp tai áhl to
One hundred and six	Nez náh hus táh	Opáh wàh g‘hee sùm shákpah (six, &c.)	Ah see ahs tém hlah to pah lik kee áhl to
One hundred and seven	Nez náh soos tsél	Opáh wàh g‘hee sùm shák kó wee	Ah see ahs tém hlah quil lah lik kee áhl to
One hundred and eight	Nez nah tsai pée	Opáh wàh g‘hee sùm shàk kan dó gah	Ah see ahs tém hlah hi ah lik kee áhl to
One hundred and nine	Nez nah nas tái	Opáh wàh g‘hee sum noómp chee woòn kah	Ah see ahs tém hlah ten nah lik kee áhl to

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[1] Literally, — twenty-one, two tens and one; twenty-two, two tens and two, &c.

One hundred and ten	Nez nah nez nah	Opáh wáh g'hee sùm wix chém i nee	Ah see ahs tém hlah ee ábl to
One hundred and twenty	Nez náh bah ah náh teen	Opáh wàh g'hee sùm wix chéminèe noómpah	Ah see ahs tém hlah quil lee kah nahs tem hlah ee ábl to
One hundred and thirty	Nez nah bah ah táh teen	Opáh wàh g'he sùm wix chéminèe yám i nèe	Ah see ahs tém hlah hi ee keeah nahs tem hlah ee ábl to
One hundred and forty	Nez nah bah ah tis teen	Opáh wàh g'he sum wix chéminee tópah	Ah see ahs tém hlah ahwee tai keeah nahs tem hlahee ábl to
One hundred and fifty	Nez nah bah ah es tláh teen	Opáh wàh g'he sùm wix chéminee záptah	Ahsee ahs témhlahahptai nee keeah nahs temhlah ee ábl to
One hundred and sixty	Nez nah bah ah hus tláh teen	Opáh wàh g'he sùm wix chéminee shák pah	Ahsee ahs tém hlah to pah lik keeah nahs temhlah ee ábl to
One hundred and seventy	Nez nah bàh ah soos tset teen	Opáh wàh g'he sùm wix chéminee shakkó	Ahsee ahs témhlahquil lah lik keeah nahs temhlahee ábl to
One hundred and eighty	Nez nah bah ah tsai peé teen	Opáh wàh g'he sùm wix chéminee shak an do fiah	Ah see ahs tém hlah hi ahlik keeah nahs tem hlah hee ábl to
One hundred and ninety	Nez nah bah ah nas tái teen	Opáh wàh g'he sùm wix chèminee noómpche woón kah	Ah see ahs tém hlah tennah likkeeah nahs temhlahee áhlto
Two hundred	Nah kée dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he, hundred; noóm pah, two	Quee lee kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Three hundred	Táh dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he yám min nee	Hah ee kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Four hundred	Teén dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he tó pah	Ah wee tai kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Five hundred	Es tláh dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he záp tah	Ahp tai kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Six hundred	Hus tán dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he shák pah	To pah lik keeah kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Seven hundred	Soos tsét dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he shak kó wee	Quil lah lik keeah kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Eight hundred	Tsai pée dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he shak in dó gha	Hi ah lik keeah kee náh see ahs tém hlah
Nine hundred	Nas tái dee bai toát tsil	Opáh wàh g'he noómp chee woôn kah	Ten ah lik keeah kee náh see ahs tém hlah
One thousand	Nez náh dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó pá wah ghee	(They do not reckon beyond this)
Two thousand	Nah teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee noómpah	
Three thousand	Tah teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee yám min nee	
Four thousand	Tis teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee topáh	
Five thousand	Es tlah teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee zaptah	
Six thousand	Hus tah teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee shakpah	
Seven thousand	Soos tset teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee shakkówn	
Eight thousand	Tsai pee teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee shakandogah	
Nine thousand	Nas tai teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee noómpchee wóon kah	
Ten thousand	Nez nah teén dee bai toát tsil	Koké tó páh wàh g'hee wix chém i nee	
One hundred thousand		Kóke tó pah wah ghee opáh wàh g'hee	

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING VOCABULARIES.

MUSKOGEE, OR CREEK.

ENGLISH SOUNDS OF THE VOWELS AND CONSONANTS IN SYLLABICATION.

a, always broad, as in father.
ah̆, prolonged *a*.
ai, like *i* in fine.
ay, like *a* in famous.
h̆, like the Scotch *ch* in loch — guttural aspirate.
ō, long, as in poke.
ŏ, short, as in hock.
ch, like *ch* in the Scotch word loch, or German *ich* (*I*).

ASSINIBOINE.

ahh, *ihh*, *ohh*, &c., to express the guttural sound of *h*, as in the German.

(′) the full accent.

(ˋ) the half accent.

In many of the words, the whole of the syllables are equally accented. This mark (ñ) above a word, denotes its nasal pronunciation, as in the French.

An Indian seldom can go as far in numerals as one million. They cannot realize any number over 10, 20, or 30,000; but words can be found to go on with the numerals merely by repeating the word thousand, and adding hundreds; then 1, 2, 3, &c., as far as ten hundred thousand; thus: — koké tó páh wàh gˋhee (1000), opáh wàh gˋhee (100); ergo, 100,000.

Koké tó páh wàh gˋhee (1000), opáh wàh gˋhee (100), wix chéminee (10); or, 10,000,000.

Koké tó páh wàh gˋhee (1000), opáh wàh gˋhee (100), wix chéminee (10), shák pah (6); literally, six times ten hundred thousand, or 6,000,000.

In this way, it might be carried on to one hundred millions by us, although no Indian in this tribe would have any idea of the number as a total.

X. STATE OF INDIAN ART. C.

[3d Paper, Title X.]

TITLE X.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, STATE OF INDIAN ART.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE X.

TITLE X., LET. A., VOL. II. [1ST PAPER.]

1. Modern Art.
   A. Existing Handicraft Skill. (9 Plates.
      1. Pipe-Sculpture.
      2. Ornamented Pipe-stems.
      3. Canoes of Bark.
      4. War-clubs and Hatchets.
      5. Cradles.
      6. Musical Instruments.
      7. Domestic Arts.
      8. Apecun, or Head-Strap.
      9. Muskrat Spear.
      10. Dressing Skins.
      11. Forest Embroidery.
      12. Modern Implements.

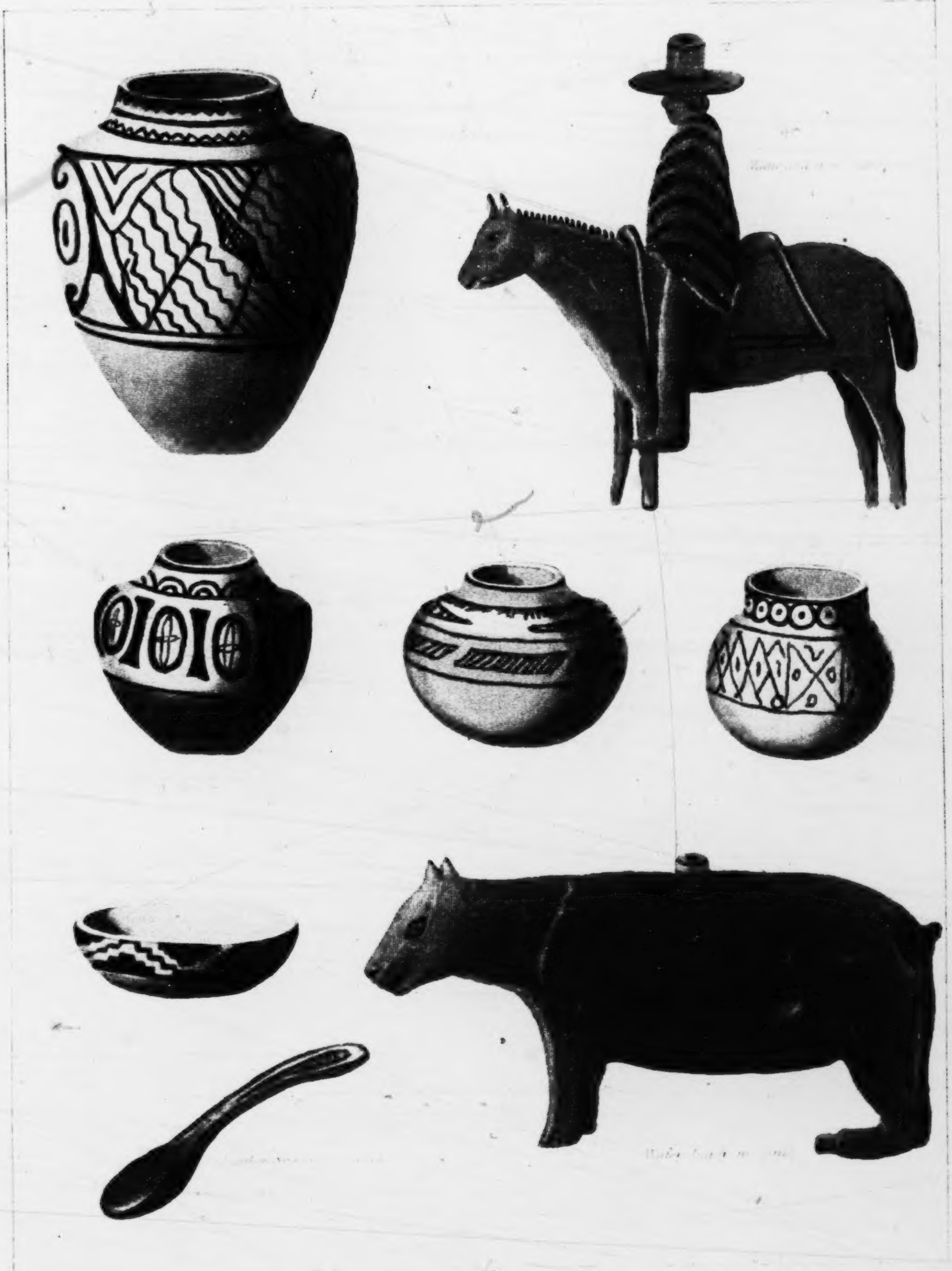
TITLE X., LET. B., VOL. III. [2D PAPER.]

A. Modern Art.
   1. Handicraft Skill in Arts of first necessity. (3 Plates.)
      1. Making Fire by Percussion. Plate, p. 228.
      2. Trituration of Maize. Plate, p. 228.
      3. Preparation of Arrow-heads, &c., from Flints or other Silicious Materials.
      4. Handicrafts of Oregon Indians.

TITLE X., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3D PAPER.]

A. Modern Art. (With Plates.)
   1. Earthenware of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.
   2. Domestic Handicrafts of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes.
   3. Making Blankets.
   4. Spinning and Weaving of the Navajoes. By Maj. E. Backus, U. S. A., and Lt. Long.

B. Antique Indian Art.
   1. Its Generic Type of Architecture.
   2. Arts at the Era of the Discovery of America. By Thomas Ewbank, Esq., U. S. Com. of Patents. (With Plates.)
   1. Ancient American Bronze-cutting Instruments
   2. Spinning.
   3. Basket Hydraulic Press of the Yepiti.
   4. Gold and Silversmiths.
   5. Aboriginal Arts and Artizans.,



EARTHEN VESSELS FROM THE PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXIC

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STATE OF INDIAN ART.

A. MODERN ART.

THE condition of the Moqui and Navajo Indians, without laying claim to much art of ancient origin, exhibits an ingenious adaptation of skill in their actual manners and customs.

1. EARTHENWARE OF THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO.

The existing state of the potter's art among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, denotes the advantages derived from newly-acquired tastes, the result of contact and traffic with the Spanish. Such are the forms of the vases, Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, and the bowl, Fig. 6, Plate 38. The lingering taste for the gross imitative forms of the true Indian period, are seen very strongly characterized in the water-jugs, Figs. 2 and 7, and the ladle, Fig. 8. This existence of two eras of taste, without mingling or fusion of them, is a curious evidence of the long periods of time required to eradicate old, and fix new national tastes, and is a striking evidence of that undigested state of arts in which the Pueblo Indians exist.

2. DOMESTIC HANDICRAFTS.

The cradle of the Navajo Indians resembles the same article made by the Western Indians. It consists of a flat board, to support the vertebral column of the infant, with a layer of blankets and soft wadding, to give ease to the position, having the edges of the frame-work ornamented with leather fringe. Around and over the head of the child, who is strapped to this plane, is an ornamented hoop, to protect the face and cranium from accident. A leather strap is attached to the vertebral shell-work, to enable the mother to sling it on her back. (Vide Fig. 2, Plate 7.)

A peculiar kind of net-work, or rather a close-banded cap, is worn by the men, which is gracefully ornamented by feathers, and held under the chin by a small throat-latch, Fig. 3, Plate 7.

Tradition gives much value to an antique pipe of serpentine possessed by this tribe, which is used for state ceremonies. This pipe is a straight tube, which admits a wooden handle, and has a rest at the point of attachment, so that it is necessary to stoop in smoking it, (vide Fig. 1, plate 7.)

3. Making Blankets.

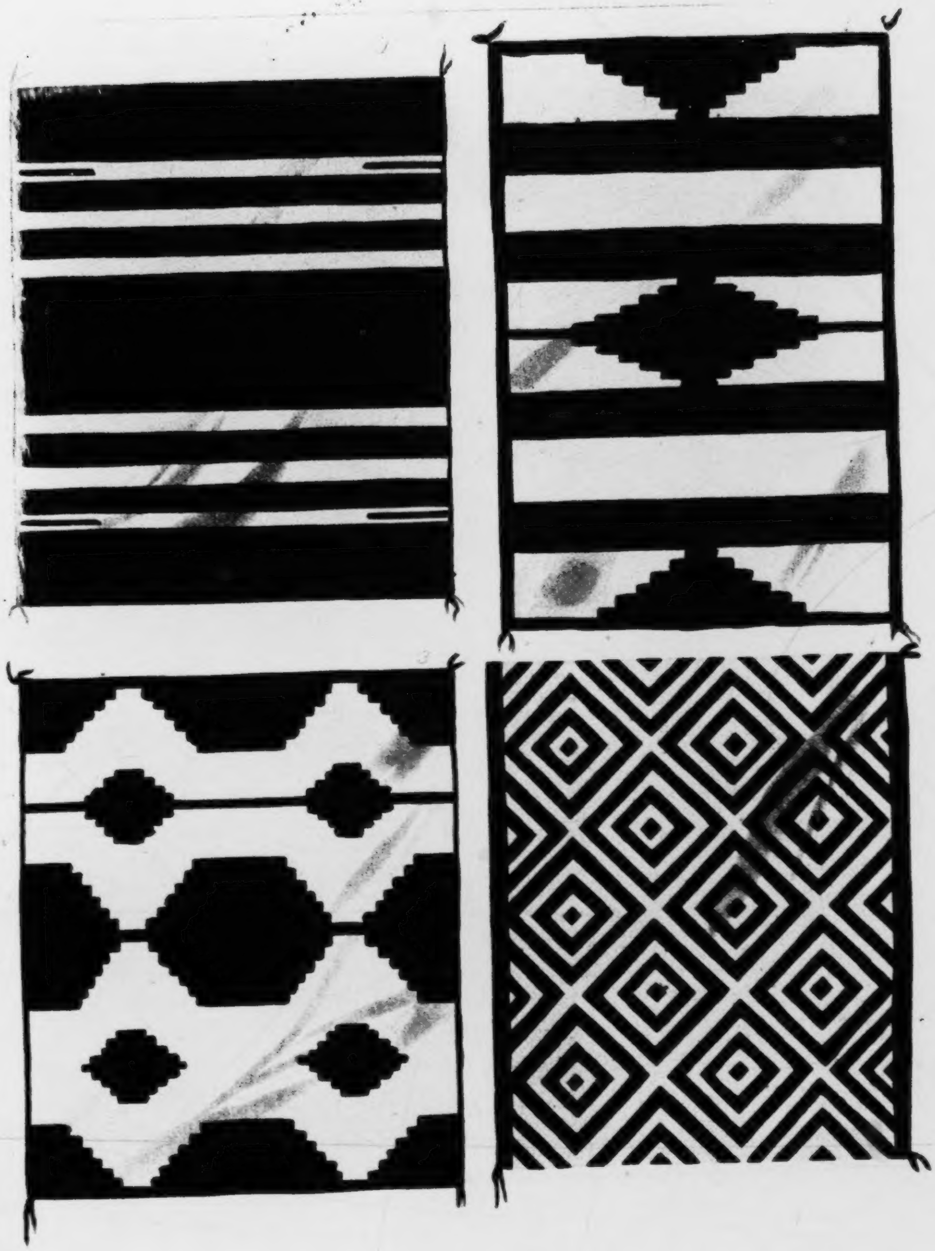
The manufacture of the blanket by the Navajoes is, by far, the most striking exhibition of skill in art possessed by them. Patterns of it are exhibited in Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, Plate 36. They are simple geometrical figures, in which the diamond and parallels form prominent figures. The colors, which are given in the yarn, are red, black, and blue. The juice of certain plants is employed in dyeing, but it is asserted by recent authorities that the brightest red and blue are obtained by macerating strips of Spanish cochineal, and altamine dyed goods, which have been purchased at the towns.

This art is entirely in the hands of the Navajo females. There is no evidence that it owes any part of the manipulations to the opposite sex. Nor is there any well-founded presumption that it is of ancient standing. The sheep was not known in the country till the expedition of Coronado in 1542. It is raised as an article of food to be used in seasons when hunting fails. The native has thus become a shepherd, an employment in which he is represented as an adept; driving his flocks where grass and water are to be found. The wool is cut from the skin of the animal after it has been slain. Death is thus the price of it. The art of shearing the living animal is wholly unknown.

4. Spinning and Weaving.

The following observations on the mode of spinning and weaving in the Pueblo of Navajo, are made by Maj. E. Backus, U. S. A., whose opportunities, as the commanding officer of Fort Defiance, gave him peculiar facilities for inquiring into the facts.

"Fig. 4, Plate 37, represents the spindle, and is in the form of a boy's top, with the addition of a stem fifteen or eighteen inches in length. Fig. 5 shows the method of applying the spindle to the purposes designed. The spindle is entirely of wood, and the vessel in which it stands (Fig. 6,) is an earthen bowl, which affords a smooth surface for the lower point of the spindle to turn upon. Its operation may be thus described: The wool or cotton is first prepared by carding. It is then fastened to the spindle near its top, and is held in the left hand. The spindle is held between the thumb and first finger of the right hand, and stands vertically in the earthen bowl. The operator now gives the spindle a twirl, as a boy turns his top, and while it is revolving, she proceeds to draw out her thread; precisely as is done by our own operatives, in using the common spinning-wheel. As soon as the thread is spun, the spindle is turned in an opposite direction, for the purpose of winding up the thread on the portion of it next to the wooden block."



BLANKETS MADE BY THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF NEW MEXICO

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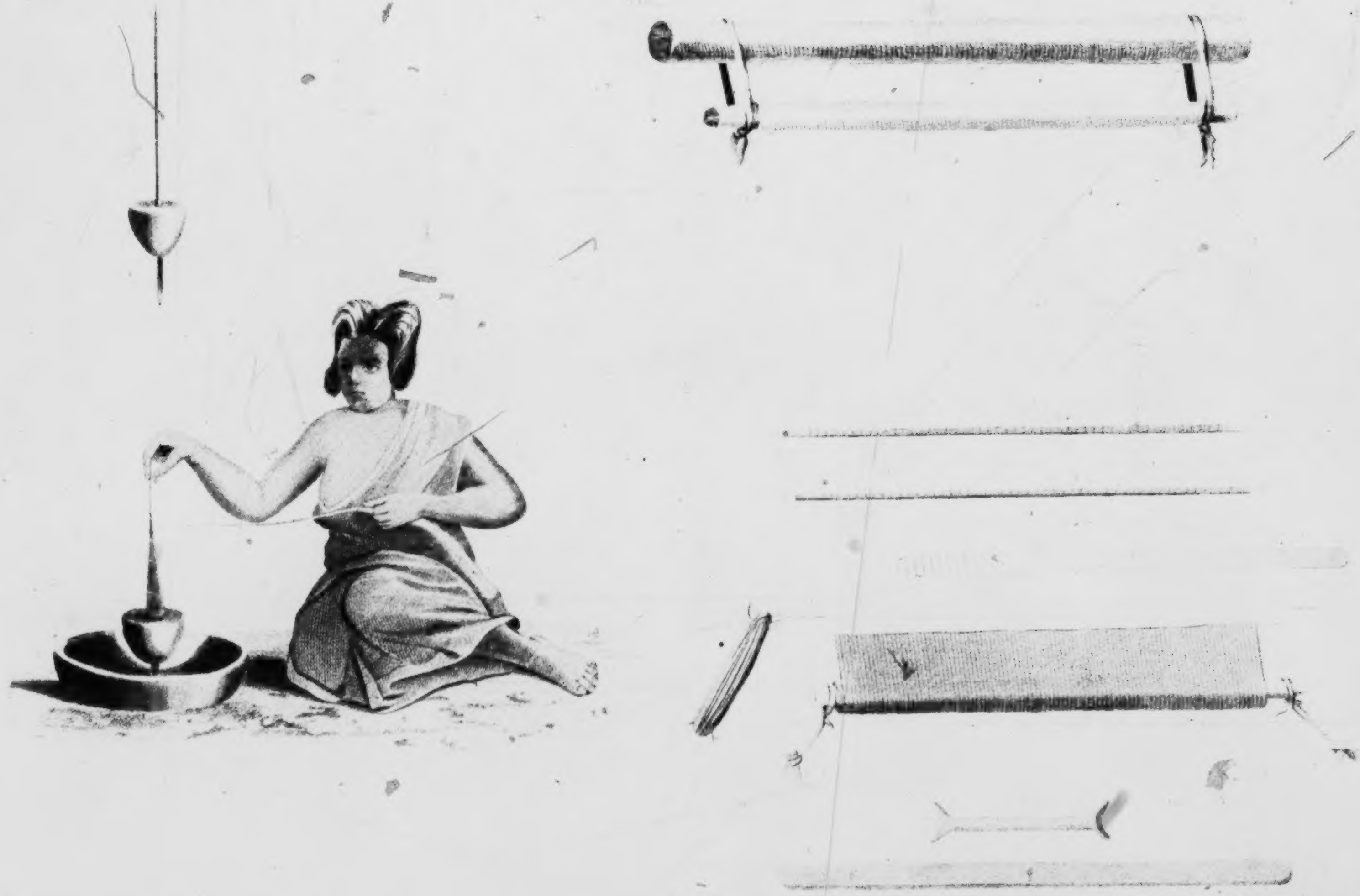

MODE OF SPINNING AND WEAVING BY THE PUEBLO INDIANS

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The process of weaving is described and illustrated as follows, by Lieut. Long, of the 2d Regiment of Artillery.

"Fig. 1 represents the loom of the Pueblo Indians, used by them for weaving blankets, &c. *A a* is a beam, or more frequently a joist of the room in which the loom is placed; *b b* are cords, by which *c c* is suspended from beam at joist *a a*; *c c* is a bar, to which the web is attached; *d d* and *d' d'*, are small bars attached to the two branches of the web; *e e* is a beam, around which the cloth or blanket is rolled, when woven. It rests upon the floor, and is held in its place by being attached by cords to pins *g g*, driven in the floor for that purpose.

"Fig. 2 is a slat or narrow board, quite thin, and usually two and a half feet long, by one and a half or two inches wide. Fig. 3 is the shuttle used for passing the yarn, or filling between the branches of the web. The web is so arranged that the branches cross between *d' d'* and *e e*.

"The operation of weaving is very simple. The weaver sits upon the floor, in front of his loom. Having wound yarn upon the shuttle, he takes hold of *d' d'*, or *d d*, and draws it to the front, thereby separating the branches of the web. He then inserts Fig. 2 in the opening, and turns it edgewise, thus forming an opening sufficient to allow the shuttle to pass. A sufficient length of yarn is unwound, and the shuttle is then passed through. Fig. 2 is then turned on the side, and is used to press the yarn in its place. To make the contact closer, a short, pointed stick is used. This the weaver inserts between the threads of the web, and presses it upon the yarn with considerable force, thus making a thick and firm fabric.

"As the blanket or cloth is woven, it is rolled on the implement *e e*."

B. ANTIQUE INDIAN ART.

1. ITS GENERIC TYPE OF ARCHITECTURE.

Without a just view of the state of the Indian arts at the respective periods of the discovery and settlement of the country, it is impossible to judge accurately of their antiquities, condition, or history. There was a predisposition, from the outset, constantly to overrate it. Robertson, with a soundness of judgment that merits the highest praise, asserts this, from the best survey he could obtain of the arts and means of the people, and these people judged in the highest points of their attainment; namely, in Mexico and Peru. Wonderful was it, indeed, to behold such structures as Cholulo, and the immense square blocks of basalt which formed the temple of the Sunat Cuzco, which only appear to have their prototypes in the pyramids of the Nile and Euphrates. These were confessedly Indian arts; whether they were transplanted or of indigenous growth has constituted the whole pith of inquiry. Yet we are called to doubt whether the rude earth-works and mounds of the Mississippi valley could have been executed by the aboriginal race who formerly dwelt in this valley.

2. ARTS AT THE ERA OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

BY THOMAS EWBANK, ESQ., LATE U. S. COM. OF PATENTS.

1. Ancient American Bronze Cutting Implements.

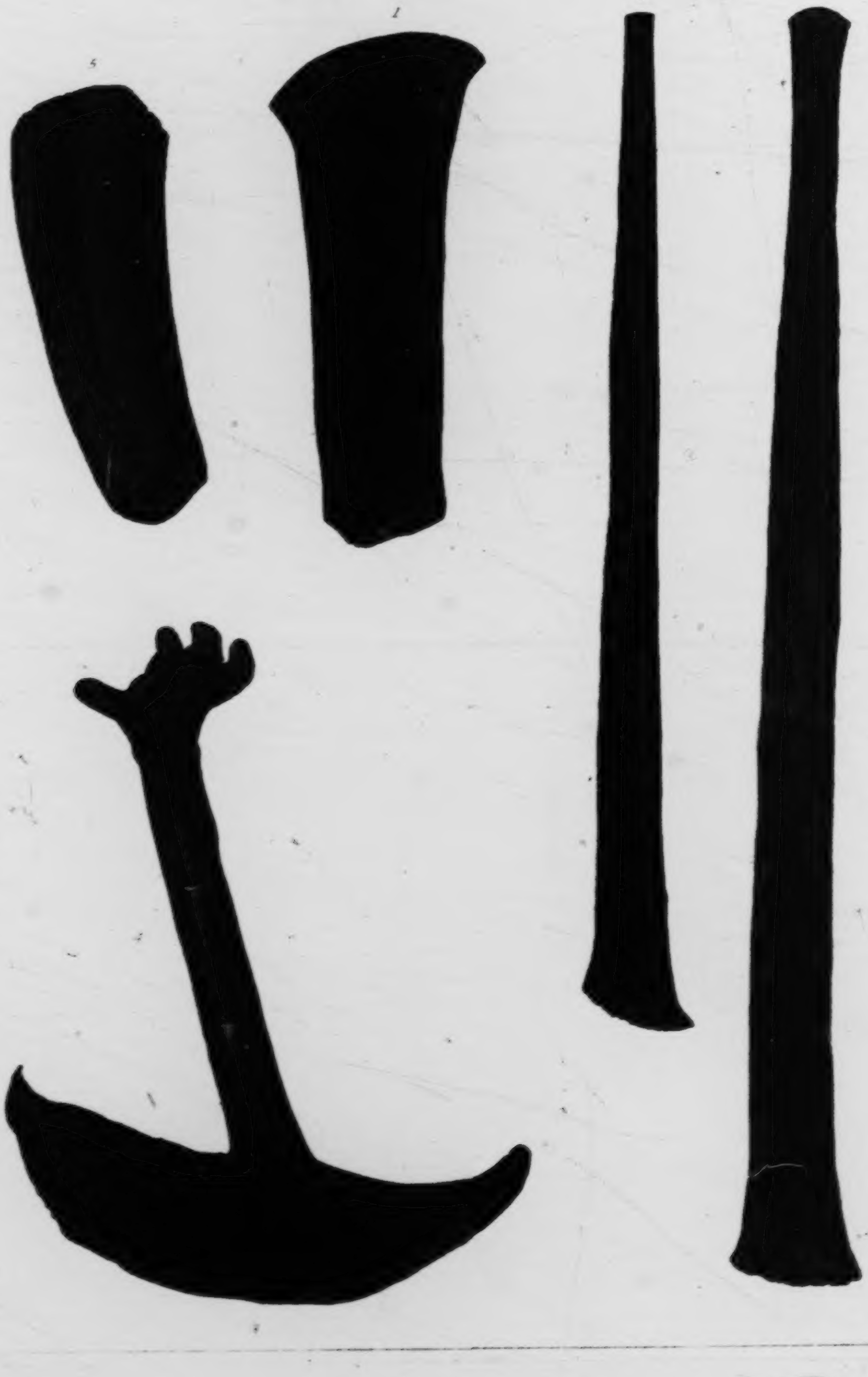
Hon. E. Whittlesey, Comptroller U. S. Treasury, having received from S. L. Phelps, Esq., of Santiago de Chili, some antiquities recently discovered of "Incas' Eras," and having politely accorded to me the privilege of examining them, I cheerfully transmit to you my notes and sketches.

There were seven articles in the whole; a small vase or bottle, and a dish of earthenware, four edge-tools of metal, and a whetstone for sharpening them. They were found together in a grave or cave near the village of San José, on the river "Maypu," Chili, by a party of laborers employed in digging a canal. Human remains, which crumbled to dust on exposure to the air, were found with them. There was also a jar of the capacity of four or five gallons, which was not sent to the United States. San José is situated on the gorge of the "Maypu," where it finds its way among the Andes, and is a mining town occupied principally by the workmen of San Lorenzo. At the conquest, the people of the district were without tools of any kind; and were deemed by the Spaniards the most degraded of the tribes they had met with.

There was nothing special to remark on in the vase and dish. They were in good preservation, similar to specimens extant of colored Peruvian ware, moulded by hand (there being no indication of the potter's wheel), and had been but slightly baked. Neither appeared to have been used over the fire, being probably new when buried. The vase is four and a half inches deep, and nearly five in diameter at its widest part. In form, dimensions, position of the handle, style of ornament (including the figure of the goose), it is very like specimens I found in Brazil, belonging to the collection of the last Spanish governor-general of Peru.

The same remark equally applies to the dish or saucer. It is 6¼ inches in diameter, and 1⅜ inches deep. The handle is moulded in imitation of the head and neck of a duck or goose; and on the opposite part of the rim are two slight protuberances an inch apart; designed, apparently, for the purpose of resting the vessel on its edge, like plates in a rack. I do not remember to have seen a Peruvian Patera without them.

The remaining articles are of unusual interest. They throw more light on ancient aboriginal arts than can be expected from any amount of pottery. Fig. 1, Plate 39, a chisel nearly 3½ inches long, ¼ inch thick at the thickest part, ⅝ inch wide at one end, and 1⅝ inches at the other. Of pure copper it has been cast, and the cutting end drawn out with the hammer. It has never been used as a chisel; there are no marks of blows on its upper end. It was undoubtedly used as a knife, and



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so were all or nearly all stone and metal implements of the kind. Their resemblance to our chisels has naturally led many to consider them such.

Fig. 2. This instrument is 7 inches in length, ⅛ in thickness, and ½ inch wide at one end and ⅛ at the other. Both ends are sharpened into cutting-blades. The metal, of a dull yellow color, is hard, light, and rings well: weighs an ounce and a quarter. The proportion of tin probably approaches ten per cent. The surface is corroded, and the sharp-cutting edges are jagged.

Fig. 3. A similar tool, but larger; being nearly 9 inches long, ½ inch wide at one extremity, and ¾ of an inch at the other. The cutting edges are rounded like those of Fig. 2, and the thickness varies little from ⅛ of an inch. Weight, two ounces. The metal is a perceptible shade darker than Fig. 2, and, as might be inferred from that circumstance, not quite so hard. It contains, perhaps, about eight per cent. of tin. The surfaces are corroded, but not so much as those of the preceding figure. A number of slight depressions mark both sides, as if it had been stretched lengthwise by the pin of a hammer, though the composition seemed hardly tough enough to bear that.

Grasped by the middle, these two instruments would even now be no bad substitutes for steel ones for cutting leather, cloth, skins, and other thin materials stretched upon a table, and even for entering soft woods, either in the direction of, or across the grain. As drills, they would be quite sufficient for boring into numerous substances. There are, in Boturini's collection of Mexican MSS, (Sec. III., No. 3 of his Catalogue,) figures of artisans carving with, and otherwise using, such tools. Simple as they seem, there are good points about them, and even in their forms and proportions. Tapered in width, every instrument presented two blades, and two different-sized ones; while, from the limited and uniform thickness given to the body of each, the least amount of labor was required to restore the cutting edge when blunted or broken. No forging was wanted; nothing but simple abrasion or grinding. Another capital feature which we, in the midst of iron and steel and facilities for working them, can hardly appreciate, was, the tool was never seen worn out until used up. While an inch remained, it could be used by sticking one end into a handle. It is very probable that the form and proportions of these instruments were given to all hard cutting tools, while such as were malleable were like our stone-cutters' chisels, and like Fig. 1, made thicker in the body, and thinned down towards the edge by the hammer.

Fig. 4. A Peruvian knife proper, with a circular blade; interesting from its resemblance to those used by modern glovers and saddlers, and by Egyptian harness-makers under the Pharoahs. They have been found variously modified. I met with one more elaborately worked in the handle, in the South American collection of antiquities already referred to. Kindred ones, as if hammered out of sheet metal, occasionally occur. Like the preceding figures, this instrument was cast, and cast whole. There is an appearance, where the handle joins the blade, of something like welding or soldering, but which is, I believe, due to the junction in the model. The application of nitric acid did not detect any solder. The blade is 4¾ inches along the back, which is rather over ⅛ inch thick, whence it tapers down to the sharpened edge. The handle is cylindrical, ⅜ of an inch thick, and moulded in imitation of an inverted bird's leg and foot. When used, the right hand grasped the shank, while the ball of the thumb rested between the open claws. In this way a firm hold and control of the blade was secured. The metal is slightly softer than that of Fig. 3. The instrument has obviously gone through much work. The widest part of the blade is 1½ inch, which was probably about the original width of the segment. The ornamental marks cast round the shank are nearly worn out.

With the proprietor of these tools was also buried his whetstone; an indispensable article to every workman in wood and metal with us, but much more necessary to artisans whose edge-tools were of bronze. It is represented at Fig. 5—a compact piece of slate 2⅝ inches long, ⅜ of an inch thick, and varying from ¾ to an inch in width. A small hole is drilled through one end, most likely for a cord to suspend it by. A deep angular depression has been worn on one side by sharpening tools on it, and a shallower one on the other. So similar is it to such things in modern workshops, and so little change has time made in it, that it might readily be taken for a piece of a carpenter's hone.

Peruvian bronze-cutting tools which I have met with, have been comparatively little hardened, the proportions of tin not exceeding from three to five per cent. Now why was this? Because old workmen preferred keeping them so far malleable, that they might be readily thinned by the hammer, and have only the finishing edge to put on by the hone, to making them brittle and hard, when nothing but tedious abrasion could restore or bring up a jagged or broken blade. From these small amounts of tin, some writers have surmised that the knowledge of giving different degrees of hardness to copper by varying the proportion of tin put in, was not known, and that the alloys were natural ones. There are too many facts to overthrow, and too few to sustain, this hypothesis. The instruments described in this paper are of different degrees of hardness, and are certainly artificial compounds. They have, by far, the hardest cutting edges of any I have ever seen, and show clear enough to my mind, that the knowledge that copper is hardened in proportion to the quantity of tin mixed with it was possessed in ancient Chili and Peru—in Mexico and Central America; that it could be made hard as bell-metal that resists the file, and that brittleness kept pace with the hardness. Bells, we know, were made before the conquest of Peru, Mexico, and Mechuacan, and of alloys of gold as well as of copper.

I think these tools go far to explain some matters relating to remote American civilization that have hitherto been sore puzzles, though they may be insufficient wholly to account for the dressed stone, the porphyritic, and other sculptures of Cusco, Uxmal, Palenque, &c.

2. Spinning.

Contrary to the primitive and uniform practice of the Eastern world, the spindle was twirled by the Aztecs and neighboring nations in a fixed cavity, like a perpendicular shaft revolving on its gudgeon. The cavity was formed in a small stone or piece of metal, and when used was placed on the cover of a neat box, in which the materials and apparatus for spinning were kept; irresistibly reminding one of the work-boxes of the wives of Menelaus and Ulysses, for the self-same purpose. It is observable, that not a spinster of Anahuac is represented without one of these unmistakeable indications of female neatness and taste. The process is sufficiently displayed in the various profiles and positions of the spindle, the weight or disc to increase its momentum, the wool attached to it, the hollow cones for its lower end to turn in, and the plaited boxes or baskets, of which one is figured partly open.

Fig. 1.

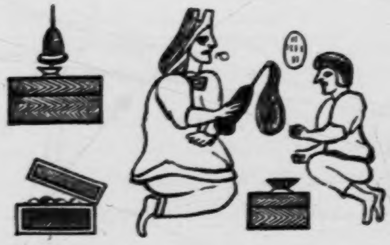


Fig. 2.

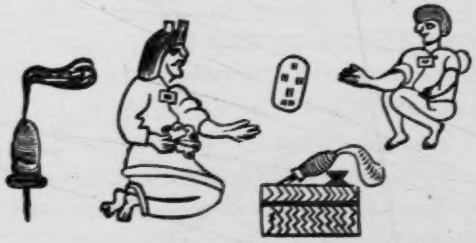


Fig. 3.

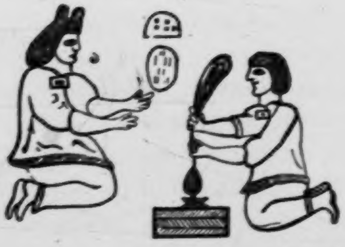
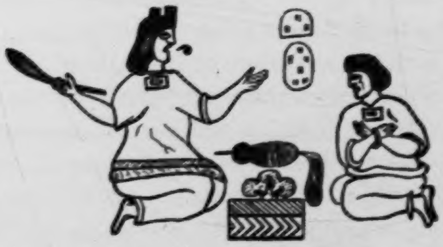


Fig. 4.



Scenes in the Domestic Life of the Aztecs.

In scene No. 1, as in the others, a mother is instructing a young daughter in the first and last, and ceaseless task of Mexican females. The curl of vapor issuing from the teacher's mouth is a very ingenious and expressive symbol of words, and here indicates verbal directions to the learner on handing the implement to her. The small elliptical outline between the girl's head and the spindle is a cake—a common, if not an invariable adjunct in these scenes—to stimulate and reward her industry. Amulets are common with females. Hence every figure has one.

No. 2. The spindle has been taken out of its box, and lies ready for use upon it. Part of the cotton wool attached to the spindle has been formed into thread, and is wound round it. Here the child, whose portrait and position have been unusually distorted by the native artist, keeps at a distance, shrinking, and very naturally, from kneeling down by the box. She seems to be pleading for the cake, thrusting out an open hand to grasp it, while the inflexible parent points to the work. A fan is in the mother's hand.

In the third scene, the young spinster is engaged in the act of commencing the thread, and necessarily holds the bunch of wool perpendicularly over the spindle, till a sufficient length be formed to allow it to be diverted to one side. A cake and half of another are here portrayed—an extra inducement to attention and labor.

In No. 4 she is in bonds and in grief—her hands are tied, and tears are rolling down her cheeks. Mexican discipline was severe—flagellation with rods common. Instead of earning the reward, she has been negligent and idle; perhaps amused herself with something more attractive than the spindle, as the object on the box is possibly designed to point out. We may charitably presume the painter has exaggerated the size of the stick; if not, from the sweep the enraged mother is giving it, one blow would suffice to prevent the delinquent from ever being idle or industrious again.

Few readers familiar with classical domestic scenes, can fail to be reminded of them by these pictorial sketches; the work-box or basket being an invariable attendant of the spindle. Even the latter lying on one, ready for use, is suggestive of one of the most pleasing incidents in the Odyssey. Telemachus arrives at the house of Menelaus, and Helen enters the room in which he is received; on which her maid placed her work-box by her side, charged to the brim with purple wool, and on it the spindle. But the Red Race had no Homer to immortalize the deeds of its warriors, and record the virtues and graces of its maids and matrons.

It is interesting to know, that in all Central America, substantially the same process of making thread is continued to this day. Thus, among other writers, Carpenter, speaking of Ojala, observes—"Here are villages close together, one inhabited entirely by Indians. The houses are built in the Indian style. Mexico has every facility to make it one of the best manufacturing countries, both of woollen and cotton goods. Of the latter there are several (factories) already in operation. The raw material is (chiefly) brought from the United States and South America, very little cotton being raised in Mexico; but any quantity might be raised, if they had enterprise enough to introduce and attend to it. Their usual mode of making thread is very old-fashioned. They have no spinning-wheels, but, as a substitute, they use a long slender spindle, which they dexterously whirl in a common saucer. While it is whirling, they spin out the required quantity, which is twisted into a fine, even, and hard thread. When the spindle has lost its impetus, they whirl it again with their thumb and finger, as a boy would whirl his top. This is a slow method, but it is *the only one in general use* among the Mexicans."

Thus Gregg also, in his Commerce of the Prairies, speaking of arts in New Mexico —"Their domestic textures are nearly all of wool, there being no flax or hemp, and but little cotton spun. The manufacture of even these articles (blankets, &c.) is greatly embarrassed, for want of good spinning and weaving machinery. Much of the spinning is done with the *huso*, or *malacate*, the whirligig spindle, which is kept whirling in a bowl with the fingers, while the thread is drawn. The dexterity with which the females spin, with this simple apparatus, is truly astonishing."

There is a marked difference in the habits of Aztec spinsters, and those of their living descendants, of pure and mixed blood. In whose favor it preponderates may be gathered by comparing the ancient apparatus with the slovenly whirling of the spindle in a gourd, calabash, iron or earthen pot, a saucer, and apparently in whatever is at hand.

Spinning was practised to a considerable extent among the Caribs, and the aborigines of all the West India islands, even where little or no clothing was used. On landing on Guaguhana, Columbus found the inhabitants perfectly naked; and yet the women, he observes, had abundance of cotton yarn, and would exchange balls of it weighing twenty-five pounds, for the merest trifles. Of this they made their beds, which were suspended between two posts, and named hamacs, a name adopted by and in universal use among seamen. In the same year (1492), he found the women of Cuba had a slight covering of netted cotton; and in their houses, large quantities of yarn, both wrought (woven or netted) and unwrought. In St. Domingo, a chief gave to each of the Spaniards a dress of cotton. In his third voyage, the inhabitants of the Gulf of Paria were observed with bands or fillets of cotton about their heads, and *colored cloths* of the same about their loins. On another part of the coast, these cloths were beautifully wrought with various colors, so as to look like silk. In Yucatan, similar embroidered garments were seen. These things were frequently offered for barter, but it does not appear that any of the discoverers thought it worth his while to record the processes of their fabrication. It was plates of gold worn by the men that stimulated inquiry, not the simple occupations of the women; and hence not a syllable seems to have been put on record by the conquerors respecting native spinning and weaving.

It is really surprising how the numerous quantities of thread consumed in ancient Mexico, were ever made by so slow and awkward a process. The men were well clothed, and the women appeared to have been as comfortably dressed as country people with us are. Then there were hammocks, bedding, and constant demands for warriors to be provided. A few items from the tax tables, given in the paintings, will show how heavy were the demands which spinsters had to meet in addition to those of their own families. Cotton in bales, in yarn, and in blankets or mantles, caps, and other parts of warriors' dresses, were regularly contributed. By single towns, 400 bales of cotton wool was a common tax. Two towns are named, which furnished 1200 bales.

A single town, 2400 bundles of mantles (ponchos or blankets).
Another " 1600 " " with red borders.
" " 400 " " striped red and black.
" " 400 " " orange and white.
" " 400 " " green, with red and yellow borders.
" " 2000 " " yellow, blue, and red borders.

Some were dark colors, with light borders; some checked and plaided.

These items are sufficient to show us that Aztec women and girls had a hard lot in life — a life of labor. The difficulty of making the supply of thread to meet the demand, may have given rise to the custom of putting girls to work at the tender age of four years. The whole female population seem to have been in ceaseless occupation in spinning and weaving. The paintings, of which copies are here given, have of course no reference to individual families, but are national in their character; and hence we learn from them that it was a universal practice for mothers thus early to begin the practical education of children.

3. Basket Hydraulic Press of the Yepiti.

Were all the mechanical devices of untutored tribes collected together, they would present a greater range of research, and contrivances more beautifully simple and effective than we are apt to imagine. Some are such as science is glad to adopt, many which she is slow to supersede, and others, as the boomerang, that she is puzzled to explain. Barbaric patriarchs of our race were the parents of the arts; spinning and weaving rose with them; elemental metallurgy and earthenware are theirs; the chisel and drill, the hatchet and adze, they gave us; and from them was received the most valuable of human discoveries—the means of producing, and the uses of fire. In their condition, they evinced as fine talents for invention as have their descendants, under more favorable circumstances. With them every device was original; and the arts of civilization are, in the main, but improvements on their suggestions — expansions of their ideas. We build on a foundation which they laid, and cultivate a garden which they began to plant.

Amid the *furor* attending modern inventions, primitive ones are neglected, much as letters are by those who have learned to read. We inherit the mechanical alphabet from barbarians, and, considering the times, places, and circumstances, in and under which the elements of the world's machinery were disclosed, an account of their origins and early applications would form a brilliant chapter in the romance of history, and of the first rude struggles of genius; they are to the arts what letters are in writing, or the organs of voice in speech. But if scholars can learn nothing more from children's "First Lessons," the wild-man's horn-book of inventions may be consulted with advantage by those who are in quest of new ideas, or even new principles. The *Yepiti* is an example; so far as we know, it is peculiar to Indians of this hemisphere — a very ancient contribution of some mechanical Cadmus of the Tropics.

On the discovery, the red race was found in possession of two great staple materials of vegetable food. One, the seeds of a grass — *Maize;* the other, roots of a shrub — *Mandioca.* The first was cultivated in the temperate, the second in the warmer zones; and throughout the same parallels they are still prepared and used by Indians, as by their ancestors immemorially. Every one knows how northern Indians pounded their corn in mortars; and how often, among relics ploughed up in our fields, stone implements for that purpose occur. The treatment of the southern product was different.

The mandioca root is a species of potato, resembling, in its long, irregular figure and dimensions, the sweet potato. It cuts like our mercers, white, firm, and watery, but is somewhat fibrous. It is grown as extensively as maize with us, throughout Spanish and Portuguese America. "Farinhá," prepared from it, resembles in appearance and qualities Indian meal. It is the bread of Brazil. There slaves live chiefly on it, and planters and merchants always have it on their tables. In the process of converting the root into flour, a higher and more varied order of mechanical resource was displayed by primitive millers of the south, than is revealed in the "corn-crackers," or "bread-pounders" of the north.

The principal parts of the apparatus are a mill or rasp, and a press. The first consists of a board, say a foot or fifteen inches wide, and two feet long. One face is smeared over with a thick coating of gum, a natural glue that hardens like stone, and in it is inserted, often in regular and fancy figures, a multitude of sharp particles of granite, selected from pieces broken up for the purpose. When proper stones are not at hand, thorns, as those of the prickly aloe, are used; and sometimes both these and the stone teeth are let into the board two-thirds of their depth. On this board each root, after being washed, and the skin scraped off, is reduced to pulp, by rubbing it to and fro over the teeth. When the desired quantity is rasped down, the next thing is to compress it, in order to get rid of the juice, a poisonous milky-looking liquid; and after it is expelled, the mass is laid on a heated stone griddle, and stirred till dry, when it might readily be taken for Indian-meal.

But the press possesses the most interest. Imagine a coarse basket-like tube made of cane; the slips thin, three-fourths of an inch wide, and rather loosely plaited or interwoven. A common size is five feet in length, five or six inches diameter at the mouth or open end, and three or four at the bottom or closed one. A large hoop, or a couple of strong withes, is left at each end. When to be used, the first thing is to wet it, if dry. The operator then grasps the edges of the mouth with both hands, and resting the bottom on the ground, throws the weight of his body on the basket, till he has crushed it down to about half its previous height; the lower portions, meanwhile, swell out in diameter larger than the mouth. A smooth stick, like one of our broom-handles, is now introduced, held upright in the middle, and the pulp put in and packed round it till the tube is nearly filled. It is next suspended from a hook at a proper elevation, often from the limb of a tree, and a heavy stone, or a basket of stones, fastened to the bottom, so that the weight may gradually stretch the tube till it becomes about six or seven feet in length; *the internal capacity diminishing with the extension*, and the contracting sides powerfully forcing the pulp against the unyielding central stick, and consequently driving out the liquid. Instead of stones, one end of a heavy log often is inserted through the lower loop, and loaded with a papoose or two, or anything else at hand. Indians, again, will put one foot or both in the loop, as in a stirrup, and are themselves the weights. (Vide page 456.)

Such is the aboriginal mandioca or cassava press. It was as common among the Caribs of the Islands, as it was and is with Indians on the Orinoco and Amazon, and throughout the immense regions between those rivers and the Plate. In Brazil are those who prefer it to the massive and clumsy screw-press imported from Lisbon and Malaga, at a cost of $200 to $300 each. I have heard a planter assert, that it was more powerful—extracted more water, and the operation more rapid—a charge being repeated twenty to thirty minutes. The cost of this unique press is but *a few cents.* I purchased one at a venda, for a potaca, sixteen cents, of the dimensions given above, and for it the Indian manufacturer received only three or four, certainly not over five or six. The Carboclos, or tamed Indians of Brazil, supply the vendas or country stores with it, in all the provinces.

This basket-press is the *Yepiti*—and if there is a current primitive invention evincing closer and happier reasoning out of a common track, and which exhibits neater and cheaper results, I do not know where to look for it. Instinct, with untutored men, as with animals, is often a prompt and surer guide than reason; but this device is not one of nature's ready suggestions—it is too complex and unobvious—it could only have been matured after much reflection and experience. It is no chance invention; there does not appear a chance thought about it. Had remote people of the east possessed it, the inventor would have been mentioned among those to whom the simple machines, or mechanical powers, were ascribed. Beautiful and efficient as it is without the central stick, *that* added another characteristic feature, and one that renders it still more effectual. Cannot some of the cunning men of Connecticut turn this basket-press to account?[1]

It appeared to me, that the universal substitute for the native rasp introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese, is not only less durable, but little, if at all, more expeditious. I thought a couple of squaws, with *two*, could turn out as much pulp in a day, as two negroes with one made after the imported fashion. This is a hand-mill. Imagine a small carriage wheel, three feet in diameter, mounted on a fixed axle, one end of which is bent into a crank-handle. Instead of iron tire, a strip of sheet brass, four inches wide, punched full of holes, is tacked on round the wooden rim or felloes, with the rough sides outwards—*i. e.* a revolving grater. One slave turns it, while another stands near the grate, and pushes a single root at a time against it. When the part left in the hand becomes too small to be held steadily, a fresh root is used to press it forward, till it be wholly ground up. The brass teeth wear smooth, and have frequently to be punched up afresh, while the granite teeth in the native mill last an age.

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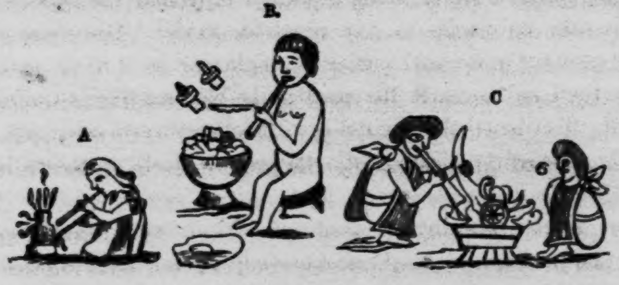
[1] A print of the Carib basket-press for the mandioca is given in Arch. Amer., Vol. I, p. 393; but the description given by Mr. Sheldon of it is very deficient.

There is no greater opening in South American agricultural implements, for improvement, than in this. A good mandioca mill is even more wanted than Yankee corn-shellers; and I have seen slaves stripping the ears of maize with their fingers, on plantations where no better mode had been heard of.

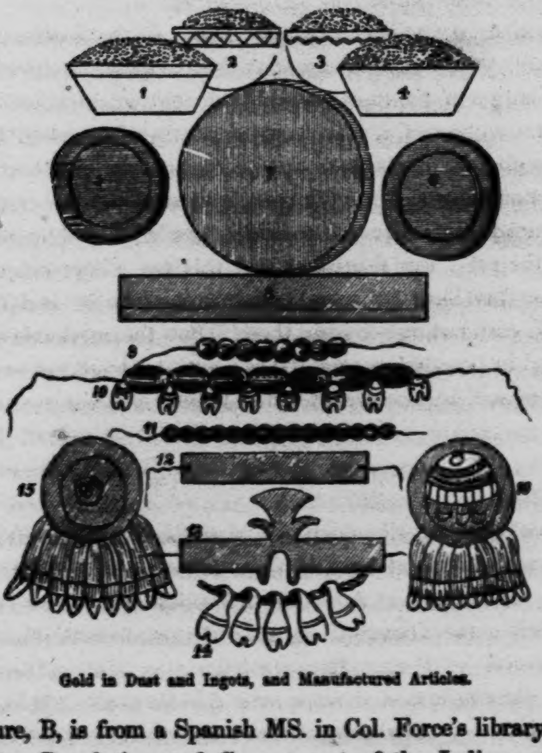
On a few plantations, an animal or a falling stream is *occasionally* used to work a single mandioca mill, of *the same dimensions* as the hand machine. Inquiring about this strange distribution of power at an establishment where a mule was driving one mill, and, under the same roof, a negro turning another, I was told the meal produced by the former was for the proprietor's family exclusively, and that all consumed by slaves must be ground by slaves. Thus it is throughout the country; an immense number, perhaps not much under half a million, are employed in preparing the great staple of food in the petty way described, and this too, where mountain streams ever and anon cross the traveller's path, and where mules can be had from ten to thirty dollars apiece, and cost nothing to keep them. But the mechanic is with the schoolmaster abroad, and in time the people of the vast interior of the southern part of our American continent will become alive to the value of labor-saving machinery.

4. Gold and Silversmiths.

As illustrations of gold and silversmithing, sketches of ancient artists engaged in the business are here presented, and beneath them ancient gold in dust, ingots, and manufactured articles. The figure at A, is from a Mexican painting on MS., (on prepared skin,) executed before the discovery—part of Boturini's collection, and now in the possession of M. Aubin, of Paris. Here we have a genuine outline of a furnace for fusing metals, and for efficiency and economy of fuel its form could not easily be altered for the better. It is not quite cylindrical, for its sides incline slightly inwards, and thus the top is more contracted than the bottom. Two openings near the upper part permitted the blast of one or two blow-pipes to be directed upon the metal in the crucible. Another opening near the bottom admitted air. The workman appears to be clearing it with a rod in his right hand, while his left holds the blow-pipe, the blast from which drives out flames or sparks from the opposite opening. The furnace is a portable one of clay or soapstone, and mounted on a stand or base, unless the part that appears to be hollow, and a continuation of the sides.



Gold and Silver-smiths.



Gold in Dust and Ingots, and Manufactured Articles.

The central figure, B, is from a Spanish MS. in Col. Force's library: — "A Relation of Ceremonies, Rites, Population, and Government of the Indians of the Province of Mechuacan, during the Administration of the most Illustrious Señor, Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy and Governor of New Spain. By S. M." The volume is copiously illustrated. Two pages are occupied with about two dozen groups of Indians, each group representing some art or profession, as gardeners, painters, carpenters, fishermen, hunters, &c. The author — a monk — is pictured in the act of presenting a copy of his book to Mendoza — reminding one of a similar scene, in which Froissart laid his chronicles at the feet of royalty. The figure is interesting, as showing the same use of the blow-pipe on the Pacific, as was practised on the Atlantic coast. Mechuacan signifies "Land of fish," and was, at one time, nearly as large as the empire of Montezuma. The ceremonies on the death of its kings equalled those of Mexico and Peru. After death, the body was washed, richly clothed, and adorned with wristlets and anklets of gold, necklaces, ear-rings, &c., and bells of gold were tied about the feet. The irregular object, with an opening in the middle, at the feet of the smith, resembles a stone, and may have served the purposes of a rough anvil or block. It is difficult to imagine what the two small objects above the brazier were intended to represent. They appear as like tools as anything. They are colored in the original, as if formed of gold.

The sketch C, is from the Mendoza collection. Most, if not all, the arts of the Aztecs were hereditary. Girls were invariably taught spinning and weaving by their mothers, and the boys learned the trades of their fathers. Here, a goldsmith is teaching his son. The lad, while his father's mouth is otherwise engaged, seems to be making some observation of his own, or putting some question, as the vaporous curl escaping from his lips implies. This symbol of speech does not often accompany the portraits of acolytes, while from elder persons a strong or swift succession of them is highly indicative of loquacity. The form of the blow-pipe is tapered outwardly, because designed to diffuse the blast for annealing, in opposition to a contracted orifice for soldering. The implement in the other hand is probably spring-tongs, as such things, made by bending strips of hammered copper, were in use. Small ones, too, were employed as tweezers.

Of the objects that follow, Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, are bowls or pots of gold dust, or grains ready for the melter. The annual contribution of towns in mining districts was twenty of these *Xicaras* filled with the finest metal.

Figs. 5 and 6 — plates of gold, from six to eight inches across, and a finger thick. Forty of these were paid in yearly, by certain towns. Fig. 7, another plate, much larger in diameter, and one inch thick; twenty of which were levied on eleven towns. They were what we should call bullion, and were required from the miners in that form for the purpose of being more readily worked up. Though no Mexican painting, that we know of, represents men at work casting large ingots, we know from Garcilaso how it was done in Peru. A number of men squatted round a furnace, (like A,) and each urged the fire with his sarbacan or blow-gun.

8. These are thinner plates, three-quarters of a yard long, and four fingers broad

Ten of these were sent to the capital by certain towns in the district of the mines. In this form they could be readily cut and worked up in the city.

9, 10, 11. Necklaces of gold made up of solid beads.

In 11, bells are attached at the junctions of the beads. That bells were made by native workmen before the hawk's bells brought over by Columbus, is very certain. 12 — a golden band, and 13, another to tie around the forehead by way of a diadem or ornament.

14. A row of "great bells of copper," of which forty were contributed by six towns yearly.

15, 16. Shields of gold, ornamented with feathers, and, like the above, received as tributes. Some shields are so full of circles that one might almost declare they had been formed in a lathe.

There is matter in the foregoing figures for much remark on the state of the arts, which they serve to illustrate; but, except to professional jewellers, it would not keep interest alive.

They are but solitary specimens, and though it is difficult to understand by what processes and tools the beads and bells were formed and finished, they bear little comparison to works produced by the same class of workmen. The conquerors were unanimous respecting their skill. Gomard, after speaking of surprising imitations in wool and feathers of birds, animals, flowers, and butterflies, observes, that equal imitations were wrought in gold. "They engrave handsomely," he adds, "with *tools of flint*, and are singularly expert in founding. They cast angular plates in gold, with alternate angles in silver, and, what is more to the purpose, caldrons with *loose handles*. Fish, with alternate scales of different metal — parrots, with movable heads, tongues, and wings." He mentions an ape holding a spindle in the act of spinning, with jointed hands and feet. "Our Spaniards were not a little annoyed at these things, for our goldsmiths are not comparable to them. They had a species of enamel, in which they set gems. One of the huge idols had a collar and necklace of golden hearts, and a girdle of serpents, wrought in the same metal." Then a necklace of golden prawns is mentioned, and, at the junction of every two prawns, was a shrimp, of a finger's length, of excellent workmanship.

Objects in silver, from personal ornaments and domestic utensils, to vases and caldrons surpassing in dimensions anything of the kind in our kitchens, to conduit pipes, cisterns, &c., were broken up and shipped to Spain by tons. It was the metal, not the workmen's tools and processes, that was hunted for; they were despised — not deemed worth a casual thought—and hence we have to deplore the loss of curious and practical knowledge, more valuable than the material it was impressed on. Metallic goblets and vases of tolerably large sizes, of ante-Columbian epoch, are, it is presumed, rarely to be met with. A collection of them would essentially aid us in arriving at proper conclusions respecting the modes of their fabrication, as well as of the art evinced in their forms, proportions, and ornaments. Small figures, from two to eight inches, of animals, idols, and other things, both solid and hollow, which I have had opportunities to examine, were certainly void of the marks of perfection mentioned by Gomard, and others. In truth, they were rude in figures, and rough in execution. The soldering is the best point about them, almost defying detection.

Oviedo, in a work on mines of gold, and manner of working them, addressed to Charles V. in 1525, observes, that he is better prepared to speak than others, because "for 12 years I served as surveyor of the melting shops pertayning to the gold mynes of the *Firme Lande*, called New Spaine, and was Governor of the mynes of the King Don Ferdinand, after whose departure from this life I served in the same office in the name of your Majestie."

The miners then, as now, paced off a plot of ground with which no others interfered, and worked it in the same manner, washing the earth in bowls when water was at hand, and when not, carrying it to the nearest brook. The bottoms of rivers were also worked when dry, and in them diggers were often very successful. Oviedo tells the Emperor that gold originates in mountains, and is washed down by rains, and becomes purer the farther it is found from its native place. Lumps, as at present, were often found; some on the surface, and others under it. The largest that has been found to this day, he says, "weighed three thousand two hundred *castellans* of gold, equal to 4138 ducats of gold" (something between 30 and 40 pounds weight). This lump was lost at sea. "And I saw in the year 1515, in the hands of Michael Passemonte, Treasurer to your majestie, two pieces, one of which weighed seven pounds, and the other five." Lesser lumps were of frequent occurrence. He mentions digging at one place some two or three poles, in what was deemed virgin ground, and below the level at which gold was found, the miners came to a quantity of charcoal; from which he concludes that the spot where it was, had once been on the surface of the earth, and that rains, during long periods of time, had washed down from the mountains the overlaying soil and gold.

Hints dropped by him respecting native jewellers, are worth noting. The greatest part of the gold worked by them, he says, was alloyed with copper, of which they made bracelets and chains, and mounted their jewels, which the women wore and esteemed, more than all other riches. He tells the Emperor that the Indians gild very excellently, vessels of copper and of base gold which they manufacture; giving them so fair and flourishing a color that the whole appears equal to gold of 22 carats, and even finer. The color they impart by means of herbs, and as perfectly as any given by goldsmiths of Spain and Italy, to whom the secret would be one of great worth.

Admitting these and contemporaneous accounts of native skill to be too highly colored, there remains, after a liberal deduction for exaggeration, much that is hard to be accounted for. It is, however, a well-known fact, that workmen in gold and silver were jealous of their tools and processes. They steadfastly refused to explain how certain works were produced. The famous Panama-chains are an example; and whether the art of making them is yet known to white artists, I question. A few years ago, a friend of mine engaged an Indian to make one, but he would permit no person to witness its fabrication. He received the requisite amount of metal, and returned it in a few days in an exquisitely wrought flexible chain, that had neither link nor joint in it.

That other articles are still made after ancient forms and processes, would appear from Carpenter, an extract from whose wanderings must close this paper.

"At Iztlan I saw some Indians that were very different from the regular Mexican Indians. They lived about twenty leagues distant. The account I heard of them is so singular, that I consider it worth relating. It is derived from a priest of this place, and therefore entitled to some credit. They are a large and powerful tribe; and from the best information that can be obtained, they occupy one of the largest and most beautiful valleys in Mexico, which is completely walled in by high and almost impassable mountains. Living in this retired spot, they had never been conquered by the Spaniards. They have maintained their primitive language and forms of worship, and in nothing have they become assimilated to the Spaniards. No stranger is allowed to reside among them. Some Catholic missionaries had attempted to do so, to convert them to the Catholic faith, but were expelled, though without violence.

"These Indians are said to be in possession of some very valuable mines of gold and silver. They make annual excursions into the neighboring country, to sell their wares. Few of them can speak any other language than their own. The party that I saw consisted of six tall, straight, athletic men, accompanied by an interpreter. Their articles for sale consisted of blankets, and silver-ware. Their blankets were the most beautiful of any that I ever saw, being made of the finest wool, and dyed of various and brilliant colors. Their silver-ware consisted of *pitchers*, *cups*, and *vases*, well-shaped, beautifully engraved with hieroglyphics, and profusely ornamented with gold and silver. From *the style of the workmanship*, I was sure it *could not have been executed by a Mexican artist*, but that they themselves must have been acquainted with many of the arts of civilized life. In their manners and dress, they appeared every way superior to the Mexicans, and their mechanical skill was certainly of a high order. I felt a great desire to visit this singular tribe, who had successively resisted all attempts to conquer or convert them; and for this purpose I pressed the interpreter to obtain this privilege for me of the man who appeared to be the leader. A shake of the head invariably showed the result of my applications."[1]

The testimony of this recent writer, who appears to have had little or no knowledge of the previous history of the country or of the natives, is valuable. A common soldier in the American army of invasion — captured and sent into the interior — he wandered through sections of the country seldom visited by foreign travellers. He had access to domestic circles; while his extreme poverty and apparent insignificance allayed suspicion. His path led him among all the humble classes of society, whose pursuits and dispositions he carefully observed; justly believing them worthy of observation.

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[1] Travels and Adventures in Mexico, in the course of journeys of upwards of 2500 miles, performed on foot. Giving an account of the manners and customs of the people, and the agricultural and mineral resources of that country By William W. Carpenter, late of the U. S. Army, New York, 1851.

5. Aboriginal Arts and Artisans.

We know nothing of the first inhabitants of this hemisphere. Their origin, epoch, and deeds, are alike shrouded in silence and gloom — in darkness so dense that not a ray of light has yet been found to penetrate it. Even of their successors or descendants so late as three centuries back, we have learned but little, and still less of their arts; much less than ought to be known, considering the opportunities for collecting information that have occurred. But a better feeling is becoming manifest. Numerous and systematic efforts are being made to recover, as far as possible, the history of a people we have superseded, and who are, apparently, on the eve of disappearing for ever.

The importance of the task is appreciated, and it will be deemed by future historians of this half of the planet one of the glories of the general government, that it was prosecuted under its auspices.

To gather together the scattered fragments of Indian art, would neither be useless nor profitless. Could we obtain a knowledge of the means by which the old race of artisans and engineers of Mexico, Central America, and Peru achieved their best works, there is little doubt that not a few of their devices would be found new, and, consequently, more or less valuable to us. Whatever may be said or thought of the barbaric splendor of Montezuma's and the Incas' establishments, there was genuine ingenuity in the native mechanics of those days. Indeed, semi-civilized manners and tastes have little to do with efficient devices and processes for working metals and other materials, whatever they may have to do with the forms into which these are wrought, or the purposes to which they are applied. But there is no information on aboriginal arts, however trifling, that is valueless: — did it only reflect light on the workings of the Indian mind it would be of service, throwing practical suggestions out of the question.

The Mexican paintings, so called, contain, so far as they go, the native history of native arts, and on this account are valuable. They present a concise view of the condition at the conquest, and long previous to it, of some interesting departments of industry; and bald and defective in perspective as they are, they are not more so than kindred efforts of the pencil of old Anglo-Saxon artists.

Those portions relating to mechanical professions have not been appreciated, partly, it may be, from being mixed up with matters foreign to them. They have been little noticed by historians, and when noticed, were not understood. The subjoined illustrations have been collected from that portion of the paintings which was bequeathed to Purchas by Hakluyt. The document was designed for Charles V., but the vessel conveying it was captured by a French frigate, and eventually, the chaplain to the British embassy at Paris purchased the rare work for a trifle. When about to introduce it into his great work — so precious was it in his estimation — Purchas breaks out thus: —

"Reader, I here present thee the choicest of my jewels. My travelling fancy hath invited many readers to many labors in strange births already. Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris? Japonian and China rarities, so remote from our world, are neere to our worke, and their characters communicated here to the reader; not their arts alone. Thou hast here also Indostan, Arabike, Persian, Turkish, and other Letters, and not onely the transcript from their languages. As for translations and collections, thou hast here also out of the Hebrew, ancient and modern Greeke, Abassine, Tartarian, Russian, Polonian, Egyptian, and innumerable other nations — Christians, Jewish, Mahumetan, Ethnike, Ciuill, Barbarian, Sauage, innumerable wayes diversified. Yet all these in *letters* or *characters*. In *hieroglyphicall mysticall pictures* the ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians have, by way of emblems obscurely and darkly delivered their obscure mysteries, uncertain, waxenly, pliant conceits to the world; some of which our pilgrimage hath mentioned.

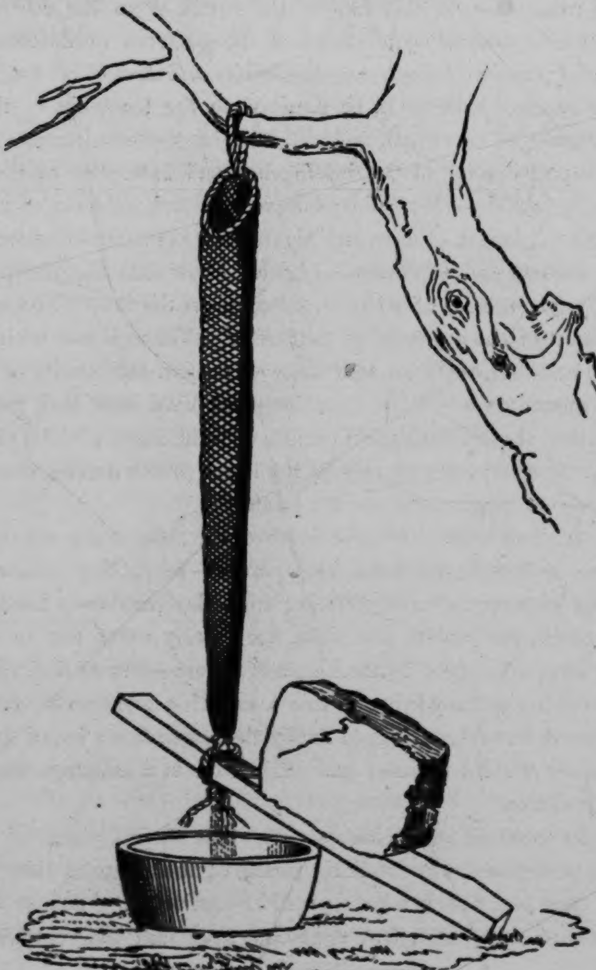
"But a *Historie*, yea, a *Politicke, Ethike, Ecclesiastike, Oeconomike* History, with just distinctions of *times, places, acts*, and *arts*, we have neither seene of theirs, *nor of any other nations*, but of this people, which our light and slight apprehensions terme not barbarous alone, but wilde and savage. *Such an one we here present:* a present thought, fit for him whom the senders esteemed the greatest of Princes, and yet now presented to thy hands before it could arrive in his presence. For the Spanish Governour, having with some difficultie, (as the Spanish Preface imports,) obtained the Booke of the Indian, with Mexican interpretations of the Pictures (but ten daies before the departure of the ships,) committed the same to one skilfull in the Mexican language, to be interpreted; who, in a very plaine stile, and verbatim, performed the same, using also some Morisco words, as Altaqui and Mezquitas (for priest and temples) import. This Historie, thus written, sent to Charles the Fifth, Emperour, was, together with the shippe that carried it, taken by a French man-of-war, from whom, Andrew Theuet, the French king's Geographer, obtained the same; after whose death, master Hakluyt, (then Chaplaine to the English Embassadour in France,) bought the same for twenty French crowns, and procured master Michael Locke, in Sir Walter Raleigh's name, to translate it. It seems that none were willing to be at the cost of cutting the Pictures, and so it remained amongst his papers till his death, whereby, (according to his last will in that kinde,) I became possessour thereof, and have obtained with much earnestnesse the cutting thereof for the Presse. The rather was I eagerly vehement herein, as being a thing desired by that most industrious Antiquary, judicious Scholler, Religious Gentleman, our Ecclesiastike, Secular, the churches champion, Sir Henry Spelman, Knight."

Although the Aztecs had not attained to alphabetical characters, they had made more progress towards them than any other isolated people that we read of. They had realized hieroglyphic writings, in common with remote orientals, when about equally advanced on the path of civilization; nor is there reason to presume, that, had they been permitted to pursue their destiny, undisturbed from without, they would not have discovered the art of representing sounds by signs, as well as things; of recording ideas by phonetic symbols. Why not they, as well as the early dwellers on the Nile and the Indus, whose organization was certainly no more favorable to mental development? Why should not man begin and run his destined career — unfold his higher, as well as his lower instincts — on this half of the earth, as on the other? Current endeavors to trace every marked acquirement of the red race to Eastern sources is unphilosophical, if not puerile—as well may the habits and devices of American birds, insects, quadrumanals, and quadrupeds, be ascribed to the teachings of those of the old world, although many of them had, and still have, no representatives there.

We should have a poor opinion of the intelligence and enterprise of the people of one of our neighboring worlds — Mars, for example, so much like our own in density, dimensions, sea and land, length of days and nights, heats of summer, snows of winter, and other physical features and conditions — did we know that the occupants of one half of it are utterly unconscious of what is going on in the other; and a poorer one still, if wholly ignorant of the existence of that other. Yet so it was with us and our earth between three and four centuries ago. Like an ancient community of ants, which never encircled the mound on which for ages they had lived and died, the people of the Eastern hemisphere, through unknown periods of time, knew nothing of a Western one — and consequently could have no idea of the forms of life moving over it. They suspected the existence of neither one nor the other.

When, therefore, this new world suddenly burst on the sight of the old one—a world inhabited by strange birds, animals, fishes, and plants — presenting a new fauna and flora — occupied, too, by a race of men differing from any previously known — a race neither white, nor black, nor yellow, nor olive, nor of any other tint in which man was then known to have been dyed by the hands of nature—a more desirable gift than such a means of acquiring a knowledge of this astounding addition to the planet and to the species, could not have been longed for by the learned, nor hoped for: a record more remarkable never startled *savans;* and written too in a language that, in many parts, needed no translation.

Aztec characters for numbers were characteristic; but their division of labor, their numerous trades or professions, were striking proofs of the progress they had made. As with all people, their best annals were their industrial arts, a glance at which really conveys a more definite idea of their true condition, than half the volumes that have been written about them. But the native paintings that throw light on their domestic habits and habitations, are the most interesting; for they show that an air of comfort, of home, pervaded their dwellings: matted floors, crockery and basket ware, habitual application of the broom, hearths, cooking utensils, spinning, weaving, children's cradles in various forms, carved seats, artificial flowers, &c., are very expressive. The ordinary dress of women and girls within doors, moreover, indicates a marked advance in civilization. Then how much is there to commend in their enforcement of household industry; though, to our ideas, it was inculcated on girls at too early an age. It is, in fact, only when we turn to the chief employment of the other sex — to war scenes, and the more revolting deeds of blood in the temples, that our sympathies are arrested, and admiration gives place to abhorrence.



Basket Hydraulic Press of the Yepiti.

XI. PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS. C.

[3D PAPER, TITLE XI.]

TITLE XI.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XI.

TITLE XI., LET. A., VOL. II. [1st Paper.]

1. Importance of the Pastoral State. H. R. S.
2. Means of Amelioration, by strengthening the Authority of the Chiefs. By J. Johnston, Esq.
3. Moral Questions relative to Practical Plans of Education and Civilization. Rev. D. Lowry.
4. Present Condition, &c., of the Six Nations of New York. By W. F. Angel, Esq., U. S. I. A.

TITLE XI., LET. B., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

Memoir on the Influence of Education, Christianity, and the Arts, on the Condition of the Indian Race. By Rev. D. Lowry.

TITLE XI., LET. C., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

1. Plan of Colonization; and Present Social, Political, and Educational Condition of the Tribes. H. R. S.
2. Discouragements to Education arising from the Hunter Habits. H. R. S.
3. Necessity of a Government of some Fixed Form, to their Prosperity. H. R. S.

PRESENT CONDITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

1. PLAN OF COLONIZATION, AND PRESENT SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND EDUCATIONAL CONDITION OF THE TRIBES.

THE system of colonizing the Aborigines west of the Mississippi, was adopted by the United States in 1830. It was forced on the public mind by the result of long popular trials, by societies and individuals, dating back as far as 1640; and of discussions by statists and humanitarians, of the best mode of promoting their civilization, and an anxious solicitude for their permanent welfare. Prior to that period, the government had found its best intentions frustrated by the adverse influences of society on the frontiers, on a people who easily yielded to temptations of various kinds, and who had neither the forecast to anticipate, nor the power to control, the events that were hastening them onward to their ruin. Mr. Monroe, who had contemplated their condition with an enlarged forecast, was the first President to bring the subject, as one of the duties constitutionally before him, to the notice of Congress. This he did in his Annual Message, at the meeting of Congress, in 1824, and again on the 27th January, 1825; when he submitted detailed estimates from the War Department, for carrying the plan into effect.[1] By these estimates, it is shown that one hundred and twenty-nine thousand, two hundred and sixty-six Indians, were then living within the chartered boundaries of the incorporated States; that these Indians were continually sinking in numbers, and deteriorating in moral habits; and that in the actual state of their civil disabilities under State laws, their aversion to labor and education, and their disposition to part with their annuities for objects of temporary gratification, they could not sustain themselves long from a fate that philanthropy and humanity must shudder to behold. These tribes and remnants of tribes particularly referred to, lived entirely east of the Mississippi, except eighteen thousand, nine hundred and seventeen, who were in Missouri and Arkansas. By the same estimates, they were stated to own seventy-seven millions, four hundred and two thousand, three hundred and eighteen acres of land.

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[1] Vide Appendix to this Paper.

Of these lands, nine millions, five hundred and thirty-seven thousand, nine hundred and twenty acres, were in Georgia,[1] which claimed an absolute and immediate jurisdiction over the tracts. Congress, by an Act of the 28th May, 1830, authorized the exchange of the Indian lands generally, for others that should be acceptable to them west of the Mississippi; it assumed to place them, at the public charge, in the new positions; and to protect them, by treaty power, from all disturbance from the indigenous tribes. They were secured their own laws and tribal sovereignty in the new locations, and placed in positions the most favorable for developing their own resources, character, and complete independence. (For these tables, see Vol. III., p. 583.)

Here was a basis for new action. This plan is one of high advantage to the prosperity of the Indians; and it has, so far as rigidly carried out, worked well. It has now been in operation one-fourth of a century.[2] Under it, the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, and other tribes, large and small, have been removed to the Indian Territory, under officers appointed by the government, with all their industrial and educational means. They have been supplied with provisions for a year after their arrival at their new homes west, and protected by a cordon of military posts, which has ensured their safety from predatory tribes. They have transferred their horses, cattle, and stock of every kind, and been settled on lands of a fertile character, watered by the great streams flowing from the Rocky Mountains, and having the known healthful climate of those intermediate altitudes. The Red River forms their southern, and the Missouri their northern boundary. On the east are the incorporated and settled districts of the States of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa; and toward the west, stretches the great buffalo plains lying parallel to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, which furnish a fine outlet for the hunter-habits of such of the younger population as desire periodically to engage in these sports. This tract, comprising the Indian colonies, extends from 35° to 42° north latitude, in longitudes between 94° and 100°, as denoted on the accompanying map, Plate 24.

This territory embraces one hundred and six thousand square miles, being equal, in area, to about two of the average Western States. To this tract, embracing all the emigrated tribes and bands, as far north as Minnesota, about one hundred and ten thousand souls have been sent. Of this number, not over seventy thousand souls are within the Neosho Colony, or near to its northern limits. And of these, the Choctaws and Chickasaws, Creeks and Cherokees, with the Shawnees and a few of the more industrial and grain-growing tribes, of limited number, form the hopeful nucleus. These advanced tribes, who do not probably exceed fifty thousand souls, have opened farms and plantations, on which they raise corn, grains, and some cotton, together with the common tubers and roots. They have erected good edifices, and grain and lumber mills. The natural meadows and ranges surrounding these plantations are favorable to the raising of large stocks of cows and neat cattle, horses, and hogs. A very great proportion of the entire country is equal, in fertility, to any part of the West. It abounds with running streams, and its valleys yield abundance of timber for building and fuel. Their industry has been stimulated as the adjacent regions are settled, by finding reliable markets for their grain and stock at the forts and towns on the Arkansas, Red river, and Washita on one side, and the Missouri and Mississippi rivers on the other. Retaining their annuities and other funds derived from the United States' Government, they have brought with them teachers and schools, and have actually in operation institutions for orphans, and other benevolent purposes. Under the changes of climate peculiar to their removal from the Southern States, these tribes experienced considerable loss from disease and death; but they have surmounted this calamity, and, for a series of years, their population has increased. This increase, judging from our most authentic accounts, denotes a ratio unknown to the mere hunter state. Viewed in general, while there are still causes of discouragement, they bid fair to realize the best hopes respecting their permanent future prosperity and welfare.

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[1] Vol. III., p. 586.

[2] The Shawnees having first gone to the Indian Territory from Wapekanetta, in Ohio, in 1827. Vide Official Records, St. Louis Superintendency.

In a line stretching directly north of the Cherokee boundary, but somewhat intercolated in position, extends the location of the Quappas, Senecas and Shawnees, Osages, Weas, Piankeshaws, Miamies, Peorias and Kaskaskias, Ottowas of the Miami of the lakes, Chippewas of Detroit, (called Swan Creek, Black rivers;) the Shawnees of Wapakanetta, Delawares, Kickapoos, Sacs and Foxes, of two distinct bands, Wyandots, Kanzas, Pottawattomies, Missourias, Otoes, Omahaws, Iowas, and a few others, who, with the exceptions above indicated, still adhere, in a great measure, to their hunter habits, manners, and customs. They have never truly awakened from the pleasing dream of the delights and glories of war and the chase; and notwithstanding the efforts made to reclaim them, they only tolerate what they cannot avoid, but really loath agriculture, decry the arts, and hate instruction. It is of these tribes, some of whom have been a quarter of a century in their new field of instruction, that Mr. Manypenny says,

"The condition of these tribes is not as prosperous as I was led to expect; and I am free to say that they have not advanced as rapidly as it was anticipated they would when they were removed to their present homes.

In some of the tribes there are a few medium farmers, with the necessary comforts, conveniences, and improvements of the white men. In most of the tribes, and in greater numbers, are to be found those who have made rude improvements and fields, but who have very few of the conveniences and comforts of civilized life; while the great body of the Indians are yet unwilling to submit themselves to labor, resist it as unbecoming and offensive, indulge in indolence, and seek every means and opportunity to obtain whiskey, which they drink to excess.

There are some noble specimens who have renounced the manners and customs of the Indians, and adopted those of the white man, and who, amid the heathenism that surrounds them, have professed the religion of the Prince of Peace, and firmly maintain their position, and use all their influence to reclaim and regenerate their race.

In the various schools I was enabled to visit, I found groups of interesting Indian children, and, from examinations made by me, as well as from the opinions of their teachers, I am satisfied that the Indian youth is capable of equal mental culture with the white, and will learn as rapidly. Everything appeared to be comfortable and in order about those missionary schools, and the children receive a fair English education in them; and the females, in addition, are taught needlework, as well as the ordinary domestic work of the mission-house; and the males are taught the labor of the mission farm. The children unite morning and evening with their spiritual instructors and teachers in singing praises to the Most High, and bow down with them in prayer and supplication. All this is done with cheerfulness; and yet, when you go abroad and inquire for the fruits of this devoted missionary labor, but little is to be found. Here and there will be seen an Indian man or woman who has become a convert to the Christian faith, and whose works prove the sincerity of his or her profession. But this number is limited, and many of these youths, when they return to their tribes, become more wild and worse than the Indians who have not enjoyed such advantages."[1]

Not less than four-and-twenty of the small tribes, who are best known in the history of the United States, have thus been concentrated in this primary refuge of the race. There are none of these who have not, in some form, evinced an appreciating sense of civilization. But it has not come up from their hearts and judgments. It has been a transient or passive feeling. Not to oppose, has been considered a measure of approbation. The major part of these tribes meet annually in the respective precincts of their agencies, to receive their annuities and eat and drink up their value in a few days, and then return to their hunting-grounds poorer than they left them.

The following extracts from the annual communication to Congress, of 26th November, 1853, of the officer above quoted, denote, in a striking manner, the present untoward situation, condition, and prospects of the tribes referred to, and of some others still east of the Mississippi.

"The dictates of humanity and good policy alike require the early and effective interposition of the government, in respect to the Indians of Michigan. These Indians, some seven thousand in number, are represented to be divided into more than sixty separate communities, and are to be found in nearly every county of the State. Many of them, being without any settled places of habitation, and gradually imbibing the worst vices of civilization, are becoming vitiated and degraded, a pest and a nuisance to the neighborhoods where they resort. In this unsettled, dispersed, and otherwise unfavorable condition, nothing can be done to reclaim and improve them. Those of their more fortunate brethren, who have enjoyed the advantages of fixed locations, present a much more favorable aspect. Most of them have comfortable homes, and, under the influence of the devoted efforts of several Christian denominations, are gradually improving, and acquiring the habits and tastes of civilized life. By a provision of the State constitution, they are entitled to citizenship on becoming qualified therefor by intelligence and good character, and abandoning their tribal connexion; and numbers have manifested a proper appreciation of this high privilege, and a laudable ambition to fit themselves for it.

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[1] Special Report, Nov. 9, 1853.

By treaty, these Indians have a right to a home west of the Mississippi, should they desire to emigrate; but there is no prospect of their ever being willing to do so, and the citizens of Michigan, it is understood, entertain no desire to have them expelled from the country and home of their forefathers. Suitable locations, it is understood, can be found for them in the State, where they can be concentrated under circumstances favorable to their comfort and improvement, without detriment to State or individual interests — and early measures for that purpose should be adopted.

A portion of the united tribes of Stockbridges and Munsees, of Wisconsin, are under treaty obligations to emigrate west of the Mississippi river; but their removal has necessarily been delayed, from want of adequate means to defray the expense thereof, and of their year's subsistence. A further appropriation will therefore be requisite. These Indians are few in number, and should not be disunited. As soon as it can be done, an effort should be made to place them, and those of their brethren now west of the Mississippi-river, all comfortably together.

In 1848, the Menomonies ceded their entire country in Wisconsin, and agreed to remove to another stipulated to be given them in Minnesota, west of the Mississippi. From this obligation they were exempted by the late President of the United States, on the ground of the unsuitability of the new country intended for them; and, with the approbation of the proper authorities of Wisconsin, they were assigned and removed to a remote portion of the extensive tract which they had ceded, embracing about 345,600 acres. The information in the possession of the Department leads to the conclusion, that this location is, in all respects, suitable for them; and that they can probably remain there for many years, without interference with the advancement or interests of the white population. If, however, this arrangement is to be of a permanent character, a new convention with them will be necessary for their relinquishment of the country given to them by the treaty of 1848, and that the various beneficial provisions of that treaty may be made operative and applicable to them where they are.

The Oneidas of Wisconsin have a permanent location near Green Bay, where they will probably remain and eventually become citizens, as the tribe of Brothertowns has done. The only other Indians in the State consist of a few bands of those known as the Chippewas of Lake Superior, still living on lands heretofore ceded to the United

States; but where it has been, thus far, deemed proper to permit them to remain, for reasons materially affecting their preservation and welfare.

The large and populous tribe of Chippewas, the great body of whom are in Minnesota, still own an extensive tract of country east of the Mississippi, of which, on account of its great mineral wealth, it will become necessary to obtain possession at an early day. Their lands west of the Mississippi are sufficiently ample for the whole tribe, and their concentration there would be an arrangement advantageous both to them and the government.

The country assigned to the Winnebagoes by the treaty of 1846, in the region of the head-waters of the Mississippi, proved to be not altogether suitable. So great has been the dissatisfaction, that it has been impossible to keep a majority of them upon it. Under these circumstances, and because of their pressing and constant solicitations, and of promises given last year, arrangements were made, the past summer, to assign them another and more satisfactory home. The new location fixed upon, which is further south than their present country, is objected to, it is understood, on the ground of its bringing them too near the white settlements; and its close proximity to the Mississippi river is believed to be prejudicial to the interests of the Indians. The Department has not yet determined whether these objections are sufficiently well founded to justify the rejection of this arrangement.

The present situation of that portion of the Sioux Indians, parties to the treaties of July 23, and August 5, 1851, is peculiar and unfortunate; and, to them, must ultimately prove extremely injurious. By these treaties, they reluctantly parted with a very large extent of valuable country, which it was of the greatest importance to the government to acquire. An insignificant portion of it, near its western boundary, not deemed necessary or desirable for a white population for many years, if at all, was agreed to be reserved and assigned to them for their future residence. The Senate amended the treaties, striking out this provision, allowing ten cents per acre in lieu of the reservations, and requiring the President, with the assent of the Indians, if they agreed to the amendments, to assign them such tracts of country, beyond the limits of that ceded, as might be satisfactory for their future home. To the amendments was appended a proviso, "that the President may, by the consent of the Indians, vary the conditions aforesaid, if deemed expedient." The Indians were induced to agree to the amendments, "confiding in the justice, liberality, and humanity of the President and the Congress of the United States, that such tracts of country will be set apart for their future occupancy and home, as will be to them acceptable and satisfactory." Thus, not only was the assent of the Indians made necessary to a country being assigned to them without the limits of that ceded, but, by the authority given to the President to vary the conditions of the amendments to the treaties, he was empowered, with the consent of the Indians, to place them upon the designated reservations, or upon any other portion of the ceded territory, "if deemed expedient."

To avoid collisions and difficulties between the Indians and the white population, which rapidly commenced pouring into the ceded country, it became necessary that the former should vacate at least a large portion of it without delay; whilst there was neither the time nor the means to make the requisite explorations, to find a suitable location for them, beyond the limits of the cession.

Under these pressing and embarrassing circumstances, the late President determined to permit them to remain five years on the designated reservations, if they were willing to accept this alternative. They assented, and many of them have already been removed. However unavoidable this arrangement, it is a most unfortunate one. The Indians are fully aware of its temporary character, and of the uncertainty as to their future position, and will consequently be disinclined and deterred from any efforts to make themselves comfortable and improve their condition. The inevitable result must be that, at the end of the time limited, they will be in a far worse condition than now; and the efforts and expenditures of years to infuse into them a spirit of improvement will all have been in vain.

The large investments in mills, farms, mechanic shops, and other improvements required by the treaties to be made for their benefit, will be entirely wasted if the Indians are to remain on these reservations only during the prescribed five years. At the very period when they would begin to reap the full advantage of these beneficial provisions, they would have to remove. Another unfortunate feature of this arrangement, if temporary, is, that the Indians will have expended the considerable sums set apart in the treaties for the expenses of their removal to a permanent home, and for subsistence until they could otherwise provide it; leaving nothing for these important and necessary purposes in the event of another emigration. In view of these acts and considerations, no time should be lost in determining upon some final and permanent arrangement in regard to them.

The tribes of the Upper Missouri agency, with the exception of the Blackfeet, are represented as generally quiet and peaceable. Such of them as are parties to the treaty of Fort Laramie, have maintained, with but one single exception, friendly relations among themselves, and manifested an increasing confidence in, and kindness towards, the whites. Some of the Indians in this agency raise corn, beans, pumpkins, &c., to a limited extent, but rely principally on the hunt for their support. The amendments of the Senate of the 24th of May, 1852, to the 7th article of the treaty of Fort Laramie, were promptly assented to by such of the tribes as the agent had conferred with, and there is no doubt but that the others will readily do so when he has an opportunity of seeing them, they being absent at the time of his arrival in their country on their usual hunts.

The general condition of the Indians within the limits of the Council Bluff agency is not encouraging. The Omahas are represented as having raised enough corn to last them through the winter; and, by a judicious application of the money paid them by the Government this season, it is thought they may, to a great extent, be saved from suffering.

The Ottoes and Missourias, a confederate tribe, are in a state of abject poverty. Reduced by a combination of causes, and, perhaps, some neglect on the part of the Government, they are indeed objects of pity.

The Pawnees are also in a destitute condition. Their number now does not exceed one-half of what it did four years ago. They formerly resided on the north side of the Platte river, and on the west side of the Loup fork of that stream. A few years ago they were represented to be in a flourishing condition; but the Sioux came down upon, and murdered many of them, burned their houses, stole their horses and other stock, and the survivors were compelled to retreat to the south side of the Platte, and have thenceforward been unwilling to return to their former homes. The Indians of this agency, like all others, indulge in the use of intoxicating liquor when they can obtain it; and, unfortunately, the two tribes first named are, from the location of their villages, never free from the temptation.

The Iowas have many advantages, but they have not profitably availed themselves of them. Indolence and vice predominate. This tribe numbered at their last payment, according to the pay-roll, four hundred and ninety-seven; by the census recently taken, they number only four hundred and thirty-seven. Their location has, no doubt, a very unfavorable influence on them, and, although they promise a reformation in their habits, a change of residence is perhaps indispensable.

The Sacs and Foxes of Missouri reside upon the same tract of land with the Iowas. Their condition, however, is rather better; but the remarks in relation to the Iowas are, to a considerable extent, applicable to the Sacs and Foxes.

The Kickapoos are more advanced than any other tribe in the Great Nemaha agency. They are represented as making some progress in agriculture. A few have comfortable houses, with domestic animals about them.

The Wyandots, Shawnees, and Delawares, are embraced in the Kanzas agency. A number in each of these tribes are educated, intelligent men, having good dwellings, and surrounded with the usual comforts and conveniences of civilized life. Various religious denominations have missions in this agency, and some of the Indians are professors of the Christian religion; but many of them are habitual drunkards. The Wyandots have in operation a system of common schools, and a code of laws for their own government.

The Pottawatomie Indians are not, as a general thing, improving. They have a large money annuity, the corrupting effects of which are clearly visible. The government has provided no habitation for an agent in their country; and left to themselves without the necessary oversight, with many avenues by which whiskey can be, and constantly is, introduced among them, they indulge in the free use of it. Dissipation prevails, and many of the principal men are, it is believed, destitute of integrity, and are used to subserve the purposes of the avaricious, designing, and heartless, who seek, and but too often obtain, the control of them for the promotion of their own sinister views. A few of the bands are to a considerable extent cultivating the soil; and there are some good men in the nation who appear to have availed themselves of the benefits of the missionary efforts among the Pottawatomies.

The Kanzas Indians, with the Pottawatomies, constitute one agency. There is no agency-house in the Kanzas country, and from the remote location of the Indians they cannot often be visited by their agent. These people are not inclined to till the soil. The males will not work. The females make some patches of corn with the hoe; but these Indians rely principally on their annuities, the chase, and theft, for support. They are adepts in the art of stealing; and their location is such, being on the Santa Fé road, that they annoy the trains which pass that way. Complaints are loud against these Indians, not only from the white people who pass through their country, but from all the neighboring tribes. A change of their location and residence is demanded by every consideration connected with their advancement, and is due to the vast number of our citizens who suffer from their depredations.

The tribes embraced in the Sac and Fox agency are the Sacs and Foxes of the Mississippi, the small band of Chippewas of Swan Creek and Black river, and the Ottawas of Roche de Bœuf and Blanchard's fork. The Sacs and Foxes are a wild, roving race, depending almost entirely on the chase for subsistence. They have heretofore strongly resisted the introduction of schools or missionaries among them, and have made a steady and powerful effort to maintain all the manners, customs, and traditions of their fathers. Recently a portion of them have expressed a desire to attempt to cultivate the soil, and entertained conversations in relation to the employment of teachers and missionaries; they have also promised their agent to refrain from the use of ardent spirits, in which they have, to their great injury, freely indulged.

The Chippewas and Ottowas depend for subsistence on the cultivation of the soil, and are comparatively in an advanced state of civilization. It is the opinion of their agent that they will this year have a surplus of agricultural productions. The Ottowas have adopted a simple code of laws for their government.

The Weas and Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias and Peorias, and the Miamies, constitute the tribes of the Osage river agency. No official report has been received from the agent in charge of these Indians. In the month of September, while on his way to the Sac and Fox agency, that officer met with an accident, which caused his absence from his agency at the period of the year when these annual reports are made up. The Weas and Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, and Peorias, are known to be doing reasonably well. They depend principally on agriculture for their support. The Miamies are not doing well. Their village is so convenient to the white settlements, that they have at all times the opportunity to gratify their appetite for ardent spirits; and they may be said to indulge habitually and very freely in their use.

The Chippewas, Ottawas, Weas and Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias and Peorias, and the Miamies, all complain of the depredations of the Sac and Fox Indians, and express the hope that they may be removed far away from them. There is no doubt but the complaints of these small tribes are, to a considerable extent, well founded, and that the location of the Sacs and Foxes in their vicinity has been injurious to their interests.

The condition of the Indians located west of Missouri and Iowa is not as prosperous, or their advance in civilization as rapid, as the official reports annually received from that part of the country would authorize us to expect. In several tribes are to be found some educated, intelligent men; and many are able, by the cultivation of the earth, to subsist themselves. Among these classes are some sincere professors of religion; but the mass of the Indians are indolent and intemperate, and many of them are degraded and debased.

The transplanting of these Indians, and the dedication of their present country to their use, and for their future home, was an emanation of the purest benevolence, and the dictate of humanity. Vast sums of money have been expended by the government for the sustenance, comfort, and civilization of these unfortunate people, and the missionary has occupied that field of labor long and faithfully; but notwithstanding all that has been done by the government and good men, the experiment has measurably failed. Located generally on large tracts of land, separated into small and distinct bands, roaming at will, and wandering in idleness, the mass of these tribes are in a degraded state, with no hope of a considerable degree of reformation (even with such improvements as are practicable in their present management), without a change of residence. Their opinions, habits, customs, and pursuits, which present an almost insurmountable obstacle to their change from a primitive state, find now but little resistance; while the advice of the agent, and the efforts of the teacher and divine, are counteracted, to a very great extent, by influences of an adverse character; and which, it is presumed, will predominate so long as these Indians are permitted to remain where they now reside.

The acquisition of Texas, New Mexico, and our Pacific possessions, and the vast annual emigration which passes through the Indian country, and over the Indian reservations, on its journey thither, and which was not anticipated at the time the Indians were located there, render it absolutely necessary that they be placed out of the paths of emigrants, as far as practicable. The interests of both require it. In the present condition of the Indian, no good results to him from his contact with the emigrant; while the latter is always embarrassed on his journey, and frequently injured, by the presence of the former.

Except the Wyandots and Ottawas, who have a few simple laws, all the Indian tribes north of the Cherokee line are without any prescribed form of government. The intercourse act, it is believed, extends no protection to the emigrants; and this adventurous and valuable class of our people is, therefore, unprotected while in the

Indian country. This state of things ought not to exist. The intercourse act, if amended, and its provisions extended to them, would still be inefficient, if not a dead letter, by reason of the great distance of the United States' officers in the States from the Indian country. In my judgment, the interests of the Indians require that a civil government be immediately organized in the territory. The executive of the territory discharging, by virtue of his office, the duties of superintendent of Indian Affairs, and having a direct oversight of the Indian service there, would exercise a happy influence, not only on the border tribes, but, in a brief space of time, on the Indians of the plains.

In the annual report of the 30th November, 1848, the then Commissioner of Indian Affairs suggested the policy of procuring and keeping open portions of the lands west of Missouri and Iowa, for the egress and expansion of our own population; and the same measure has been urged in several successive annual reports. The necessity of opening an ample western outlet for our rapidly-increasing population, seems to have been clearly foreseen by this Department. The negotiations with the Indians who will have to be disturbed, and the arrangements necessary for their peaceful and comfortable relocation, requiring time and deliberation, it is to be regretted that the authority and means for the accomplishment of the object were not given more in advance of the exigency which has occurred, and which appears to require proceedings of a more precipitate character than should have been permitted to become necessary.

Objections may be urged to the organization of a civil government in the Indian country; but those that cannot be overcome are not to be compared to the advantages which will flow to the Indians from such a measure, with treaties to conform to the new order of things, and suitable laws for their protection.

In addition to this, the preparation of a large district of that country for settlement, by the removal of the Indians, would open up, in a most desirable locality, homes for the enterprising and hardy pioneers who are ready to occupy it, and, by their energies, speedily found a State, the beneficial influences of which, from its position, would be of incalculable advantage to the Indian, as well as the government and people of the United States.

It is respectfully suggested, that the sum of money appropriated by Congress at the last session is not deemed adequate, in view of the extent and magnitude of the objects contemplated; and it is recommended that a further appropriation be made, early the next session, for the purpose of treating with the tribes indicated by the law of the last session, and an extension of that authority, so that treaties, if deemed necessary, either to supply the emigrated tribes with new homes, or otherwise, may be made with the other Indians in what is known as Nebraska. These treaties can, it is believed, all be made in the months of April and May next, and submitted to the Senate in ample time for Congress to establish a civil government at its next session.

As stated in the last annual report, the negotiations with the Camanches, Kioways, and other Indians on the Arkansas river, contemplated by an act passed on the preceding session of Congress, had necessarily to be postponed till the present season. At a suitable period last spring, they were confided to the agent in that quarter. He was also charged with the duty of procuring, from such of the Indians of his agency as were parties to the treaty of Fort Laramie, their assent to the amendment made to that treaty by the Senate — whereby the supplies of goods, provisions, and other articles of necessity, originally agreed to be furnished them annually for a period of fifty, were limited to the shorter term of ten years. The act of the 3d of March last, making the appropriation for the second of these instalments, provided that the same should not be paid to the Indians till they had assented to the Senate's amendment; and the agent was instructed accordingly. The report of this officer, herewith transmitted, evidences the satisfactory manner in which he has discharged the important duties confided to him in this connexion, and as containing highly valuable information touching our relations with the prairie and mountain tribes, and grave suggestions relative to our future policy in reference to them, commends itself to the attention and consideration of all who may take an interest in the future of this unfortunate class of our Indian population.

Several topics of interest connected with the semi-civilized tribes of the southern superintendency, are deserving of special notice. During the past summer, several of them, but more particularly the Cherokees and Creeks, sent delegates to attend a general council, concerted among themselves, to be held with the Camanches, and other wild tribes of the prairies; the object of which was, to compromise apprehended difficulties likely to arise out of depredations and other outrages committed by the latter, and to come to some agreement for the establishment of peaceful relations between them in future. It was the intention of the more enlightened tribes to seize this opportunity of endeavoring to make a salutary impression upon their wilder brethren, by fully representing to them their relations to the United States, our power to chastise and punish them for their aggressions, and the consequent necessity of their remaining peaceable and friendly, as well with our citizens as with other tribes. High waters, and other unfavorable circumstances, preventing a full attendance from the various tribes expected to be represented, the meeting proved too insignificant to justify the expectation of any very flattering results; yet the excellent motive by which our border tribes were actuated, that participated in this movement, entitles them to the commendation of the government. A general council of this kind, and for like objects, under the immediate auspices and patronage of the government, is highly desirable, and I respectfully recommend an application to Congress for a small appropriation for the purpose.

The Cherokees, desirous of multiplying their already numerous schools, and thus to diffuse more widely and more rapidly the blessings of education, and anxious to discharge themselves of an onerous public debt—in part contracted, it is believed, for the above object — manifested a desire, in order to obtain means for those commendable purposes, to retrocede to the Government the tract of eight hundred thousand acres of land added to their former possessions by the treaty of New Echota; but the delegation from the tribe, after several interviews with the department last spring, withdrew the proposition. It is supposed, however, that it will be renewed in the approaching winter. This tract, which projects north along the western boundary of Missouri, lies detached from their country, and has not been settled by them. It is not probable that they will ever have use for it, their other lands being ample for all their purposes.

Intelligence has recently been received of a most dastardly and inhuman outrage perpetrated in the Cherokee nation; Andrew and Washington Adair, peaceable and unoffending citizens of the nation, having been deliberately and brutally murdered in cold blood by an armed mob of Cherokees, about one hundred in number. It having been reported that these lawless persons, reinforced by others, meditated still further acts of violence and bloodshed, which it was feared the authorities of the nation, unaided, could not prevent, there appeared to be imminent danger of a state of "domestic strife," requiring the interposition of the strong arm of the Government, in conformity with the provisions of the 6th article of the treaty of 1835–'36 with the tribe. As a measure of precaution, it was therefore deemed proper to request the military force on that frontier to be placed subject to the requisition of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs there; to be employed, if requisite, in protecting the lives and property of Cherokees that might be in danger, and preventing the further effusion of blood. There being, however, no disposition of interference, unnecessarily, in the domestic affairs of the Cherokees, it is hoped there will be no occasion for such a proceeding; and that the authorities of the tribe will be able to prevent further outrage, and to bring those concerned in that committed to a just punishment.

I deem it incumbent on me to call particular attention to that portion of the interesting report of Superintendent Drew, referring to the question of the amenability of Indians to the penalties of the law prohibiting the introduction or sale of ardent spirits in the Indian country; a question which has recently caused great excitement among the Creeks, and may lead to serious difficulty. This, and the other semi-civilized tribes on that frontier within his superintendency, have adopted stringent laws upon the subject, which are regularly and rigidly enforced against their own people guilty of the offence; while, according to judicial interpretation in that quarter, they are also amenable under our law. Thus, an Indian, though he may have been severely punished by his tribe for introducing or disposing of liquor, is liable to arrest and punishment a second time for the same offence — a result certainly contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and as repugnant to the Indian as it would be to ourselves. It is one to which the Creeks appear determined not to submit. Individuals of their nation, seized by the United States Marshal last summer, were rescued by them; and a second effort of that officer to arrest these persons, has led to great excitement. A considerable number have banded together, and armed themselves to resist the attempt at all hazards; and, in case of failure, they threaten the lives of those of their chiefs who have been instrumental and active in the adoption and enforcement of their own law. The Superintendent, deeming it prudent to interpose for the stay of further proceedings until the views of the department could be obtained, the subject was recently submitted for your consideration.

The enforcement against Indians, by criminal prosecution, of the law to prohibit the introduction or sale of liquor in the Indian country, is believed to be contrary, not only to the intention of the framers of that law, but also to the principle uniformly acted on in respect to all the tribes — of as little direct interference as possible in their internal and domestic affairs. Hence, offences and other matters of even greater concern are left to be entirely settled by themselves.

The political connection between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, established through the agency of the government, by the convention of 1837, under which the Chickasaws form a component part of the Choctaw nation, and are subject to its laws, still continues, notwithstanding the earnest and persevering efforts of the Chickasaws to induce the Choctaws to consent to a dissolution thereof. The interests of the Chickasaws, particularly of a pecuniary character, are materially variant from those of the other tribe; and they are naturally anxious to enjoy the satisfaction and advantages of a separate government of their own. The consummation of this reasonable desire would, without doubt, have a decided tendency to promote their advancement and permanent prosperity. It is much to be regretted, however, that the Choctaws, to whom the union is of no advantage whatever, still continue indisposed to yield to the natural and reasonable wishes of their brethren, and those of the government, on this subject.

The earnest efforts of the department to effect the emigration of the Seminole Indians still remaining in Florida, under arrangements heretofore fully reported, having failed of complete success, they have again been placed in charge of the military branch of the service. The number detached from Florida and removed to their country west of the Mississippi, during the short period they were under the jurisdiction of this office, was thirty-six.

The three small tribes of Senecas, Senecas and Shawnees, and Quapaws, are extending their agricultural improvements. Members of all these tribes apply themselves to cultivating the soil, but the Senecas, and Senecas and Shawnees, are the most thrifty. They will realize from their crops of the past year of grain, vegetables, &c., a sufficiency for their own consumption during this winter, and some for sale. Most of them have large stocks of cattle, horses, and hogs, for which a ready market is found within their nation. The Quapaws are a harmless, inoffensive people, but, with few exceptions, indolent. Those who are industrious and labor on the farm, reap a rich harvest for their toil, and are thus enabled to aid their indolent brethren. The Senecas, and Senecas and Shawnees, are opposed to the establishment of schools in their country.

The Quapaws' school fund has been transferred to the Osage manual-labor school, where the children of the Quapaws are educated. The Osages — those who are adults — are reported by their agent as wild and untamable, and that it is impossible to induce them to change their habits of living. They go twice a year out on the grand prairies, some six or eight hundred miles, in the pursuit of buffalo, deer, and antelope, and trade with the wild Indians of the north and north-west.

The removal from Texas of the various bands of Indians belonging to tribes on the frontiers of our western States, who, contrary to their treaty obligations, have for some time been settled in different localities in that State, has been nearly, if not entirely, consummated, as provided by the Act of August, 1852, appropriating $25,000 for the purpose. It will for some time, however, require constant watchfulness on the part of the agents of their respective tribes, as well as of the military at the posts in their vicinity and in Texas, to prevent their return.

In regard to the Indians properly belonging to this State, and those generally within our newly-acquired and remote possessions, there is, in my judgment, but one plan by which they can be saved from dire calamities, if not entire extermination, and that is to colonize them in suitable locations, limited in extent, and distant as possible from the white settlements, and to teach and aid them to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and the raising of stock. This plan would be attended with considerable cost in the outset, as will any other that can be suggested for their safety and permanent welfare; but the expenses would diminish from year to year, and in the end it would, I am confident, be much the most economical that can be devised. Thus far we have adopted no particular or systematic course of policy in regard to any of these Indians, except those in California. They have been left to roam over immense districts of country, frequently coming into hostile collision with our citizens, and committing depredations and outrages upon them, as well as upon those of a neighboring republic. The pursuits of the chase no longer affording them an adequate subsistence, in consequence of the increasing scarcity of the game, necessity alone must often force them into these aggressions upon the whites, for the mere purpose of obtaining necessary food. Failing to restrain and control them, we are obligated and bound, by every principle of right and justice, to indemnify those who suffer from their depredations. The present condition of things continuing, there can be no doubt that the amounts which will be required to pay for such depredations, added to the cost of maintaining at great expense an otherwise unnecessarily large military force in the distant territories occupied by these Indians, would far more than suffice, even for the first few and most expensive years of the system, for the whole cost of concentrating and sustaining the Indians in the manner suggested. As the only apparent practicable and humane arrangement, calculated to remedy existing evils and to prevent future calamity to these people, I feel constrained to give it my earnest recommendation.

But few outrages of an aggravated character have been reported as having occurred among the Indians in New Mexico since the last annual report. In the early part of the present season, the late governor and superintendent of Indian affairs there formed the project of removing all the Indians that were within that part of the territory extending from its southern and eastern boundary to the Arkansas on the north, and Rio Grande on the west, and colonizing them, in suitable locations, on the west side of the last-named river. Such of them as were consulted upon the subject readily assented to the proposition, and a small portion were removed accordingly, and arrangements made for furnishing them with a limited supply of subsistence, until the crops which were planted for their benefit could mature. They remained quiet and peaceable, and manifested a proper disposition to aid and assist in the agricultural labor. But no such enterprise having been sanctioned by Congress or the Executive, and the very limited means provided for the Indian service in the territory being entirely inadequate, this office felt constrained to order a suspension of further proceedings until the whole subject could be fully considered, the best course of permanent policy determined, and the means necessary to carry it out provided. The present governor and superintendent suggests and recommends a different arrangement — that cessions be obtained from all the Indians in the territory, of their lands in the vicinity of the white settlements, and annuities in money allowed them therefor, out of which payment shall regularly be made for all the depredations which the Indians may commit. He thinks that this plan would be the most economical, and that the constant liability to this tax upon their annuities would restrain the Indians from the perpetration of their usual outrages upon our citizens. To such an arrangement, however, there are grave objections.

Paying for depredations committed by Indians out of their annuities, instead of operating as a check upon them, serves, with the viciously inclined, rather as an incentive to the practice. The criminal alone is not made to pay the penalty, as, in all cases of any consequence his proportion of the annuity is wholly inadequate for that purpose. The loss falls upon the whole tribe in common—the innocent and well-disposed being made to suffer equally with the guilty; the latter reaps all the advantage of his crime, and pays only an inconsiderable pro rata part of the compensation made. Nor do the Indians feel the effect of the penalty at the time of the perpetration of the offence, when, if at all, it would be best calculated to make a salutary impression. The payment is made by the government for the depredation out of their annuities, but they do not realize the fact until their funds are distributed — months probably after the offence, which being then forgotten or but little thought of, the deduction from their funds is regarded as an act of hardship and injustice.

At the last session of Congress an appropriation of $250,000 was made to defray the expenses of removing the Indians in California to "five military reservations," of not more than twenty-five thousand acres each, and subsisting them there, should the President of the United States approve this plan of operations. It having received his sanction, suitable instructions for carrying it into effect were promptly issued to the superintendent of Indian affairs for that State, then in this city; but in consequence of the length of time unfortunately consumed in his overland journey, the requisite initiatory measures for that purpose have been somewhat delayed. Reports upon the subject have only been recently received from him, copies of which are appended. I regret to say that these reports make known a state of things much less favorable, with respect to the practicability, expense, and probable success of this plan of operations, than was anticipated from the information possessed when it was authorized by Congress and sanctioned by the President. It appears that suitable locations cannot be found, or cannot properly be made in North California for the Indians in that quarter. Their removal and colonization will, therefore, it is apprehended, be attended with greater difficulty and expense than was expected.

As in Texas and New Mexico, our relations with the Indians in Utah and Oregon remain in a very unsettled and precarious condition, arising out of the constant and unavoidable encroachments upon their territories by the whites, and no provision being made for indemnifying and placing them beyond the reach of the injuries thus inflicted. Already have difficulties of a serious character, resulting in bloodshed and loss of the lives of valuable citizens, taken place. Indeed, hostilities with the Indians in all these sections of country may be said to be constantly impending, the occurrence of which in either would, in all probability, involve an amount of expense far exceeding the cost of arrangements that would secure peace and tranquillity with the various tribes, and at the same time tend to promote their domestication and permanent welfare."

2. DISCOURAGEMENT TO EDUCATION, ARISING FROM THE MANNERS AND OPINIONS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

To render primary education effectual to the Indian tribes, as tribes, it must be carried to the local districts, and Indian villages and neighborhoods. To write a letter, to read a book, and to keep an account, are the three cardinal points wanted in an Indian youth. But before it becomes practicable to do this and schools can be diffused, it is found necessary to have some central points of instruction, to make an impression on the tribe, and show them the importance of letters. The earliest practicable moment must be seized, to teach them in the English tongue. It is English spelling and reading lessons, English arithmetics, grammars, geographies, histories, bibles, natural history, astronomy, and general literature and science, that the pupils are to learn. And while hornbooks and primers in the Indian tongues may serve as the means of a pleasing introduction to letters, they will naturally be laid aside as collateral studies as soon as the power to think and study are developed in Indian children, and the real field of letters, in which they are to labor, is presented. For it is vain to hope that these elementary branches of an Indian education can ever be furnished in the shape of translations. The Bible, and perhaps some other translations into the Indian tongues, should occupy the same relative position to Indian pupils, and especially theological learners, as the Hebrew and Greek do to English theologians. They should subserve the same purposes of rendering meaning precise, and of general reference for idioms. But it is the English standard version of the Bible and Testament that peculiarly is required in the Indian schools. Many words in the Indian tongues, if indeed well formed and defined by the translators, and precisely conceived, such as righteousness, holiness, salvation by faith, the atonement, &c., will require time and critical examination before they can assume that precision as doctrinal teachings which they possess in the English; which, it may be said, is the most terse, and improved, and noble language in the world for the conveyance of moral truth and just sentiment. And its idiom may well form a theatre for critical study by the advanced Indian student.

Indeed, the Indian tongues are so connected with the reminiscences and practices of barbarous rites and ceremonies, the bloody laws of revenge, and the manners of the forests, that they are calculated to keep the mind under false impressions, and hinder it from a just appreciation of holiness in God or man. Except for the purpose of the light they afford in history, ethnography, and general philology, they should be considered as dead languages, to be used and studied only by the learned, Red and White. As tending to uphold their popular use, as media of school literature, I have regretted to behold that system of multifarious alphabetical notation, from the late learned Mr. Pickering downwards, by which precision is attempted to be given to the utterance of these barbarisms. For however well these schemes of expressing sounds be executed, they become inoperative and of no further use the moment the children begin to read English books. At this point, they must learn the principles of English orthoepy and pronunciation, and unlearn the systems of utterance which they have been taught in schools. The philologist indeed gains in his researches by these systems. He is pleased to behold every schoolmaster a philologist, and every missionary a philosopher. But how is practical teaching advanced thereby? The native pupil is ready to adopt any given system of artificial symbols. He could be as readily taught to pronounce the symbol for an arrow, A, that for a tomahawk, B, and that for a war-club, C. But cui boni? He must at length come to the old English signs. His Bible, his history, his geography, are written in these Anglo-Saxon derivative symbols, and he is compelled, if he would read at all, to learn them. They are no more difficult to him than to us. And it only requires study to know, at a glance, as every English scholar, ay, and English school-boy knows, the four sounds of the English letter A, and the two principal sounds of E, I, O, and U, respectively, and to detect instantly the duplicate or onomatopoetic consonants. A world of labor would, at least, be saved by teaching the English pupil these elements of the English orthography and pronunciation at once.

Indian scholars, at all school examinations which I have attended in the West, are as apt and ready at their primary lessons of spelling and reading, as English scholars; and in some cases more so. They are gifted with a very quick and accurate sight of the forms of letters and words. Their imitative powers may be said to be generally superior, particularly when they are introduced to the art of writing, a branch in which they often excel, if their attention is kept on it. The defect of Indian learners is a want of application. They become restless under the long and close attention necessary to imbibe learning, and the irksomeness of school confinement is evinced by frequent absences and irregularities. These are, as all teachers know, the bane of learning. Unfortunately, the parents do not sufficiently appreciate education to send back the truants promptly. As to punishment for their absence from school, it was never heard of. And they often withdraw them temporarily from the school influence entirely, to go with them on excursions into the forest to make sugar, in the latitudes of the acer saccharinum, or to take fish at the rapids of rivers, during the vernal equinox, or during some other periodical movement of aboriginal society.

"We cannot," says a teacher, "get the people here into any regular system in regard to sending their children to school."[1] "One great difficulty," says another, "in keeping a district school in successful operation, is the irregularity of scholars in attendance."[2] "The same arguments," says another, "which influence the Indian against learning to read, are of avail in keeping him from learning anything else that pertains to civilization."[3]

The parents are averse to placing their children in families and under the influence of white people. They love independence, and disdain the idea of confinement to one pursuit." — p. 53, Report 1851.

"The Sacs and Foxes speak the same language, and are more opposed to schools, missionaries, and to building houses, than any other tribe on the north-west frontier." — p. 66, Report 1851.

"The three schools established by the natives (Wyandots) have been sparsely attended this year by the children, and not approaching the number in attendance for the two past years by half."—p. 78, Rep. 1851.

"We have been troubled more by the children running away, encouraged to do so by their friends, during the past summer, than for some time previous." — p. 101, Rep. 1851.

"Indians let their children have their own way entirely, as every person acquainted with them must know; but every good teacher requires his rules in school to be obeyed, and, in order to enforce this, will sometimes be obliged to use the rod, as all school-masters must know by experience. But should a teacher of one of the neighborhood schools strike one of the boys or girls with a rod, then I am safe in saying he will not see their faces often for weeks or months."—p. 27, Rep. 1851.

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[1] Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1842-3, p. 126.

[2] Ibid, 1844-5, p. 80.

[3] Ibid, 1850, p. 84

"The experience of the past proves the position true, that the Creeks, as a nation, are not prepared to sustain day schools. The missionaries of the different denominations have repeatedly tried them. The Government has tried them many years under different teachers. Eight years ago, when I came to this nation, as soon as a suitable schoolhouse could be built, a day-school was put in operation, with good prospects, as we thought, of doing well. But what has been the result in all these cases? In every instance there has been almost a total failure. As soon as the novelty of going to school was over, and the children became tired of their studies, as all children will, they deserted the school-room, and returned to their sports. Now, who is to bring them back? The teachers cannot, and the parents will not; and hence, they absent themselves at pleasure, returning only now and then as curiosity may prompt them, and thus the school-room is soon deserted, and the teacher left to preside over empty seats."—p. 132, Rep. 1851.

"I regret to say there has been but little improvement among the Quappas. The school has not been in operation since I have been here. Mr. P. notified the Indians when his next session would commence, and requested them to send their children; but none appeared, and every persuasive argument employed to induce them to send their children, and to influence others to do so, failed."—p. 141, Rep. 1851.

"We have met," says Mr. P., "with the usual hindrances in the prosecution of our work, the past summer, that it has been our lot to contend with, to a greater or less extent, every year since the school began. In the summer, when melons are ripe, the little fellows take the liberty to spend time at home; and such is the want of family government, and so little is education appreciated by their parents, that they are seldom required to return to the school till their scanty fare is exhausted, and want drives them back."—p. 143, Rep. 1851.

"We are still pained to witness so little disposition among the Chippewas to improve the opportunities offered by government, and by societies, for improving their position. Very few of them realize the advantages which would result to them and to their children, and to the nation at large, from educating them, and training them to habits of industry, in some useful occupation. Ignorance and idleness, with their kindred vices, are the great hindrances to their civilization and improvement. Few of them will encourage their children to attend school, when a school is brought to the door." —p. 169, Rep. 1851.

These passages of the reports to the government, from the various classes of persons employed to instruct them, denote the trials to which they are often subjected, and the severe character of the labors and "patience in well doing," to which they are subjected. To teach heady, thoughtless, idle, play-loving, and home-loitering children in civilized life, is regarded as a trial by the teacher; but it is a trial in which his efforts to produce order and regularity of attendance on the part of the learner, are powerfully seconded by the parents. Nothing of this kind occurs in savage life. Not only are the children nurtured in every principle of selfishness, idleness, and misrule, but they often appear in the most filthy and repulsive garb, play truant *ad libitum*, and are brought up to such notions of wild independence of all restraint and discipline, that the influence of the rod can rarely, if ever, be exercised. The remedy for local and neighborhood-schools, generally recommended, is boarding and manual-labor schools, where regularity of life, habits, and attendance, can be secured; and where the minds of the pupils are perpetually kept under wholesome moral and intellectual restraints. Portions of the time, in the manual labor schools, are devoted to healthy and invigorating labors, and the personal manners and conversation, their dress and deportment, and the habits of cleanliness of the pupils and neophytes, are subjected to notice and attention. These schools are also favorable positions for making progress in the use of the English language—a primary point in the education of Indian children; and the more advanced ACADEMIES are thus supplied with scholarly material for the higher branches of education.

The great difficulty, it is apprehended, is to make Indian tribes feel the want of education. It is not necessary to the hunter state. As soon as he adopts some branch of labor — agriculture, trade, or even grazing — the most natural step, it would seem, from hunting to husbandry, letters and figures become essential wants. To overcome this apathy in the adult Indian is, therefore, it appears to me, a primary point. The mind of the red man must first desire, before it will make any efforts to gratify that desire. The Indian, therefore, is a philosopher, when he declares—"I do not want your education; it is not suited to my state and habits of life." To destroy this condition of the hunter mind, is the first step to create the intellectual and moral want.

3. NECESSITY OF A SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, IN SOME FIXED FORM, ESSENTIAL TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

WITHOUT government, there can be no prosperity in the condition of the Indian tribes. A glance at the history of the human race shows, that no fixed order or growth can attend the condition of any community, however depressed in the scale of humanity or civilization, without a practical and recognized form of government. The form of this government is less essential, in the early stages of society, than its actuality or fixedness. A horde of naked savages may follow a leader in his triumphs in war, or the chase, from the mere love of adventure, or admiration of his superior strength and skill in these pursuits. A strong man, of decided will, who shakes a mace or sword at an enemy, inspires respect; if he wields it well, admiration. But the effect of such submission of mind, on their parts, to his superior physical prowess, will be felt after the return of such expeditions to their homes. The respect these create is the very origin of personal power, hereditary and democratic. A chieftainship is thus recognized. But this chief enjoys his popular position only as a war-chief. He is still without civil power, and must also show a capacity to judge between man and man, or in the village police, if that term may be used, before the popular voice invests him also with the power of a magistrate, judge, or village governor. Two distinct offices are thus created, namely, a *war captain* and a civil magistrate. These may, and often do, exist in the same person; but not uniformly.

What is done in relation to personal superiority, in drawing the bow, or wielding the club, in one quarter of the land, takes place, under precisely similar principles, in another. Each horde or community has its acknowledged head man, or men, or chiefs. The meeting of several of these head men together, to consult respecting their interests, is the inception of government. That each chief is attended, at these periodical aboriginal councils, by some of his warriors, strengthens the result of their forest consultations, whether they be held only to determine the property in the carcass of an animal, or a bundle of skins, or for the more important purpose of dwelling on the right of a neighboring tribe to hunt in a certain valley, and their own tribal capacity to drive them out of it. This is precisely the kind of government our Indian tribes exercised and acknowledged on the discovery of America. That these simple chieftainships became hereditary in Mexico, and several tribes north of the Gulf of Mexico, does not, in the least, militate against the position assumed. For I have not found that there was any word to designate an office higher than cacique, or chief, and its equivalents, in the various dialects spreading over the entire northern and western part of the continent. The word emperor, applied by the Spanish to the dynasty of Montezuma, has nothing, which we can glean from the vocabularies in the Toltec or Aztec, signifying more than a ruling (hereditary) cacique. And this hereditary right to the first place did not extend to the Tlascalans, who had constantly resisted it, or to the remotest bands of the west and north.

In the present area of the United States, in New France and British America, between ocean and ocean, the universal term for the office of ruler was chief—called ogimau in the Algonquin, and by an equivalent phrase among the Iroquois, Apalachian, and other tribes. De Soto found no higher term than cacique for Hirahagua, Acuero, and his indomitable opponent Tuscaloosa. Whenever it appeared proper, in these tribes, to use a term implying higher respect, they employed the terms our father, and our great father—in Algonquin, kosinan, and gitchy kosinan. And these are the terms employed in their history to designate the King of England, the King of France, and the President of the United States. Equivalent terms exist in the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muscogee, and all the other tribes, so far as known. The word Tecarahaga, employed by the late Colonel Stone in his biography of Brant, as an Iroquois term for captain-general, is but the ordinary name of those nations for a war-chief, who was ever popular and elective, and not, in any period of their history, hereditary.

Powhattan, King Philip so called, Uncas, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and other Indian rulers who once exercised the authority of potentates, were respectively but tribal chiefs, or ogimaus, sustained by the popular voice, nor had either of them a successor who was, strictly speaking, hereditary. On the contrary, there existed in several of the tribes, an institution which rendered it impossible for a son to succeed directly to the office of his father in cases where the descent was hereditary, for this descent was in the female line. The son of the chief's eldest sister was the chief presumptive.

Such was the Iroquois rule when King Hendric fell at the battle of Lake George, in 1759; he had a son of mature age, who made use of that memorable expression, preserved in the Spectator, on hearing of his father's death, striking his breast and exclaiming, "No, he is not dead, but lives here." Yet he did not succeed his father in the Mohawk chieftainship. It fell to his sister's son, Little Abraham, a mild and politic chief, who died at the era of the opening of the American Revolution. On this, there was a vacancy which was supplied by the selection of Joseph Brant, or Tyendanegea. He was an entirely new man in the line of chiefs, and by no means a regular successor to the chieftaincy—a point vainly argued by his biographer.[1] It was the wise policy of Sir William Johnson and his son, who succeeded to his baronetcy, to lay the greatest stress on his tribal authority, and to strengthen it by every means, as the best and most direct way of exercising an influence over the tribes. He was indeeed the Tecarahaga, or war-chief of the Mohawk tribe, but was regarded and acknowledged by the British government as the civil and military governor of the Iroquois.

But in every phasis of our Indian history, it has been found the wisest policy to sustain the authority and government of the chiefs and councils. It is the best and only government known to them, and any attempt to change it and introduce a higher and more perfect system, is fraught with danger. The Indian is familiar with this system of government. He has adhered to it for eight generations of men, dating from the landing in Virginia, and it is to be feared that in the later attempts to introduce changes, he may be induced to aim at securing a degree of order and fixity which are known only to the higher grades of civilization. Very imitative himself, he may be induced to copy, too closely, systems of representation and checks, which are decidedly in advance of the state of exaltation of the man. These changes in laws and legislation, it is certainly desirable to see introduced as far and as fast as he can bear them. Schools and agriculture are the safe props and guards of stringent legislation. And upon these the friends of the race, in and out of Congress, should lay the greatest stress.

To enable the reader to perceive the full force of these remarks, it may be affirmed, that in none of the tribes who have adopted the highest grades of government west of the Mississippi, has it been found practicable to tax the Indian population for the support of the government, a judiciary, or schools. Nor will any of these tribes submit to the incarceration of prisoners under legal prosecution, civil or criminal. The Indian mind perfectly revolts in those new governments, at the idea of a jail or gallows.

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[1] Stone's Brant.

It may be doubted whether, under these circumstances, the late movements of some of the tribes (the Iroquois, for example) in abolishing their ancient forms of constituting chiefs and councils, are promotive of the best effects in the tribe. Nothing is more easy than for a tribe, in their very incipient state of industry and education, to mistake the true object of "revolution." The exact division of the Indian annuities is an object to be secured by the laws of Congress. While the tribe raises no taxes, and receives no revenues, it is of little consequence that the chiefs should be clothed with powers which they have no opportunity to exercise, and which they would be prone to misapprehend, or not use. Under every view, the authority of the chiefs should be maintained by the government.

The principal obstacle to overcome by the American tribes in their present state, is the discord and disagreements between chiefs, factions, and tribes, who all operate continually and most powerfully to prevent unity of action. Small areas of country contend for separate sovereignty. A little difference in language is insisted upon as a radical difference of tribe. Tribes will not run into groups—groups into great families, or ethnographical circles. Difference of local traditions, customs, and manners, which are really but slight, are magnified into insuperable obstacles to union. There is not exaltation of mind sufficient to rise above this principle of discord. The spirit of confederacy is entirely wanting. This has been the observed evil from the beginning, and it has kept the tribes in a state of anarchy. They have not only lived at variance with the European races, but at variance with each other. The example of the Iroquois, in their confederacy, has not been enough to convince them of the error. Even in their present state of removal to territories entirely under their own laws and control, they will not combine, although the United States government has invited them to do so, and Congress has evinced a disposition to recognize them as independent states.

An influential journal takes the following just views of the present condition of the Cherokees.

"The Cherokee Advocate gives a gloomy account of the financial condition of the Cherokee nation, and has some gloomier anticipations of their future fate, unless a reform takes place in the administration of their affairs.

The nation has been indulging in the luxury of civilization — a large public debt. The government is supported by the annuities which they receive from the United States under the provisions of treaties. These are insufficient to meet the current expenses of the government, and accordingly the debt continues to increase. It takes the form of warrants upon the treasury, issued to citizens of the nation; but, in the course of trade, these have passed into the hands of white traders and merchants within the States, in payment for goods. They are secured by the pledged faith of the

Cherokee treasury; but the only revenue from which they can be paid is the annuities from the United States.

As this fund does not increase, while the debt does, the "Advocate" foresees bankruptcy whenever the creditors press their claims. The course which is intimated that they will pursue, is to apply to Congress to stop the annuities until these debts are thereby provided for. If this be done, the nation will be utterly without resources or revenues, and its government will stop. Next follows, in the apprehension of the Cherokees, a claim on the part of the United States to extend jurisdiction over their country as a measure of protection, and then a proposal to buy their lands, and remove them further west. If they will not sell, they will be made subject to the authority of the United States, and finally lose their character as an independent tribe they have clung to so long, and under so much difficulty. The prospect thus described is indeed a pitiful one for this interesting people, which, of all the North American tribes, has shown most progress in the arts and habits of civilization. We do not believe that the United States would deal with them so harshly as this writer apprehends, even in the event of a failure to pay their creditors, or that their annuities will be withheld, with the result of stopping their government. The government is more likely, we think, in a magnanimous and liberal spirit, to give their consent and aid to enable them to relieve their affairs, and satisfy their creditors. It will not take advantage of their necessities to drive a hard bargain with them.

The warning is uttered by the Cherokee editor with a view of impressing upon his countrymen the critical situation of their affairs, so that they may take steps themselves to avert these dangers; and he promises on a future occasion to furnish a plan by which the Cherokees can extricate themselves from their difficulties by their own exertions, consisting, we suppose, in the nature of a funding of the debt, and a system of taxation, and other improvements of civilized life, which are the natural appendages of debt."

No government on earth has ever been more liberal in its political treatment to an aboriginal population. All the ancient conquerors of Europe and Asia put iron yokes upon the subdued nations. The most grievous political exactions were everywhere made. Rome tried to exterminate the Britons, and the Normans made the Anglo-Saxon actually go to bed at curfew, to prevent faction from generating. William Von Humboldt observes, in his investigations among the Basque tribes of Spain, that even the very terms and monuments of their traditions and history had been obliterated by their Spanish conquerors, and that their curious and complex language was in fact all that was left to denote their old nationality. The Spanish did the same thing in America so far as related to the antiquities of maps, picture-writings, and a certain class of sculptures in Mexico. Where they could not burn or destroy them, they buried them, as we behold in the great calendar stone of Mexico, which is *par excellence, the* monument of the astronomical knowledge of the Toltecs and Aztecs.

APPENDIX TO TITLE XI.

PLAN OF INDIAN COLONIZATION WEST.

Washington, 14th Feb., 1853.

SIR: — The passage by the House of Representatives of the act organizing the Nebraska Territory, denotes the onward progress of a system which, in its influence, spirit, and scope, foretells the ultimate absorption, by the European races, of the entire area of Indian territory capable of profitable production, west of the Mississippi river, reaching to the Rocky Mountains. The publication of our seventh census tells the same story. And the present time forms an epoch at which we may properly enquire, Where are to be those territorial refuges on the public domain for the whole Indian tribes, and the remnants of Indian tribes, to which the faith of Congress and of this government is solemnly pledged? We talk of providing homesteads for each of our poor citizens, but where are to be the homesteads of the poorer Indians?

On the opening of the session of Congress, in 1824, Mr. Monroe brought forward the idea of transferring the whole Indian population of the United States to the west of the Mississippi; and revealed an enlarged and benevolent plan of policy, which was followed up, on the 27th January, 1825, by a special message, communicating an able report of the Secretary of War, with the necessary statistical data for deciding on this plan.[1] "Experience has clearly demonstrated," says Mr. Monroe, "that in their present state, it is impossible to incorporate them in such masses (*i. e.* masses with independent governments within the States), in any form whatever, into our system. It has also demonstrated, with equal certainty, that without a timely anticipation of, and provision against, the dangers to which they are exposed, under causes which it will be difficult, if not impossible, to control, their degradation and extinction will be inevitable."

Here is the whole Indian question, after an experiment of 220 years (dating the practical colonization of Virginia in 1606), divested of the exciting circumstances by which it was *then*,[2] and has been at several subsequent periods, surrounded.

After five years' public discussion, *in* and *out* of Congress, an act was passed (28th May, 1830) allowing such removals of tribes from the east to the west of the Mississippi; by the third section of which, the lands acquired by this general exodus are "forever secured and guarantied" to them. Under this new and wise system of policy, which has been much misapprehended and underrated *at home and abroad*, the large tribes of the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, have been successfully removed from the area of the Southern States, and placed in circumstances permitting their independent progress and development. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and eastern Michigan, have also been cleared of their aboriginal population. And many of the fragmentary tribes—originally from the Atlantic States—have also been rescued from that inevitable fate to which allusion has been made. As a whole, the plan has been eminently successful, and commends itself to the steady favor of government. It is not proposed to enquire what has been its effects upon the Quappas, Osages, and other wild indigenous tribes, into whose territories these removals have been intrusive; but intrusive with their own assent, and for their own benefit. It can be proved, by the narrative of De Soto, that the Quappas and Kanzas have lived more than three hundred years in that quarter, but without rising at all in the scale, moral or physical, by which men are judged; while they have been permitted to occupy a theatre upon which to welcome the congregated southern tribes. But this theatre is confessedly inadequate in extent, and inappropriate in other respects, to the northern and higher Mississippi valley tribes.

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[1] Governmental Work on the Indians, Vol. 3, p. 565.

[2] Georgia was then mad against the Creeks

Other colonies of refuge are not only required, but they are required to be set apart while the public domain remains under the jurisdiction of Congress, and before it is appropriated to different objects. This constitutes the crisis at which, it is apprehended, we have now arrived, and it furnishes the motive for this communication. Already the line of the Mississippi, which was looked to in Mr. Monroe's day, is past.

The Missouri is now the line, and by the act to which reference has been made, this boundary is now crossed. The immense and fertile Nilotic tongue of land lying between the Mississippi and Missouri is eminently destined for the plough. Northern Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota are equally productive. No tribe can exist legally as an organized body, within a State or Territory; and, accordingly, arrangements have been long since consummated, transferring the Iowas, and the Sacs and Foxes, west of the Missouri.

By a late important treaty with the Dacotahs, or Sioux, that large tribe has sold a territory which forms the nucleus of Minnesota. This area will, in a few years, be filled and overflowing with a prosperous civilization. In the mean time, the millions paid to the Indians for it will have been eaten up and drank up, leaving them as poor as before. Cession will follow cession — and where are the Sioux to go at last? Not west, to join their kindred, for that would bring them into Nebraska. Not north, where their hereditary enemies, the Chippewas, reside. But where are the Chippewas themselves to go? — and what assurance have they, if they migrate to Kyosk, or Gull river, west of the Mississippi, that they will be permitted permanently to remain there? None at all.

The Pottawattomies, on their first removal from Illinois, were improperly placed in the intra-Nilotic region referred to; but were, in a few years, induced to cross the Missouri. The Winnebagoes who went from Wisconsin to Iowa, in 1841, found themselves, at the end of ten years, in a closed district; and, by a short-sighted policy, instead of being sent to join their co-tribes west, were removed to northern Minnesota, another closed district, where they cannot permanently or prosperously abide. By a recent act of the grand jury of Benton county, in that Territory, they are indicted as a public nuisance. The error is our own. They should have been sent in a direction promising, if not to advance their character for industry, education, and temperance, at least to maintain it. To this quarter it is also proposed to send the Menomonies of Wisconsin; but this plan of casting a partially-reclaimed people into barbarism is, I believe, temporarily arrested.

Of all plans which are designed to affect the position or condition of the Indian tribes, temporary ones are the worst. In every instance where they have been tried, they have signally failed. The effect has generally been, to transfer tribes from certain conditions of improvement and civilization, to positions where they are either exposed to new trials, or plunged outright into states of barbarism and degradation.

These examples will serve to illustrate the necessity of generic and definite action on the subject. In the contemplated Territory of Nebraska, which, otherwise than the hardness of its bearings on the Indians, it is not proposed to question, we do not own an acre of land, except some military islands in the broad channels of the Platte. It embraces the territories of the indigenous tribes of the Omahaws, Otoes, Missourias, Arickarees, Mandans, and Minnetarees. The Pawnees and Kanzas occupy portions of its southern boundaries, and the Upsarokas, or Crow nation, its northern and western skirts. To what district shall these tribes be removed?

We must meet these questions on the broad grounds introduced in 1825. We cannot stand still, and acquit ourselves of our duties. We cannot permit the tribes who have not been provided for to perish before our eyes. The Omahaws, the central tribe, who visited the government a year ago to complain of intrusions, appear to have anticipated this measure.

In any comprehensive view of the subject, we should meet and solve the problem of Indian colonization in a manner befitting the national character, and not let action creep on us as a mere contingency. The whole body of the tribes between the Atlantic and Pacific look up to the United States for consideration and protection. Action should predetermine events, while we have the power in our hands. From a comprehensive survey of the maps, together with the statistical data at command, the time is propitious for designating the sites on the entire public domain where the weak, flying, and perishing tribes may be conveniently gathered together, agreeably to their groups of affiliation—and, as far as practicable, latitudes—and where they may be reached by instructors in the great duties of civilization and humanity.

I am, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT.

XII. DÆMONOLOGY, WITCHCRAFT, AND MAGIC. B.

[2D PAPER, TITLE XII.]

TITLE XII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, DÆMONOLOGY, WITCHCRAFT, AND MAGIC.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XII.

TITLE VI., LET. A., VOL. I. [1ST PAPER.]

EXHIBITION OF MAGIC IN INDIAN LIFE.

1. Its application to Medicine, and the Medicine Dance. P. 360.
2. " " to the rites of the Wabeno. P. 366.
3. " " to Hunting. P. 382.
4. " " to Religion, p. 388; Sacred Chants, 398; Hymns to the Sun, 400.
5. " " to War, 401.
6. " " to Love, 403.

TITLE XII., LET. A., VOL. III. [2D PAPER.]

1. Introductory Remarks on Magic. H. R. S.
2. Gods of the Dacotahs. Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. A.
3. The Giants' Feast and Dance. Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. A.
4. Magical Dances of the Ontonagon Bands. H. R. S.
5. Indian Notions of Invulnerability and Invisibility. H. R. S.
6. Genii Worship. H. R. S.
7. Magical Pictographs from Utah. Capt. John W. Gunnison, U. S. A.

TITLE XII., LET. B., VOL. IV. [3D PAPER.]

A. Evidences of Unity of Belief in the Necromancy and Dæmon Worship of the Ancient Population of Asia, and the present Indian Tribes in America. H. R. S.

1. Magical Uses of the Human Cranium by the Amazonian Tribes. Bones and Effigies employed for the same purpose by the Tribes of the United States. Ancient Bowls, inscribed with Charms, found in the Valley of the Euphrates.
2. Dæmoniacal Observances of the Tribes of the Dacotahs, Upper Mississippi. Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. A.

DÆMONOLOGY, WITCHCRAFT, AND MAGIC.

A. EVIDENCES OF UNITY OF BELIEF IN THE NECROMANCY AND DÆMON WORSHIP OF THE ANCIENT POPULATION OF ASIA, AND THE PRESENT INDIAN TRIBES IN AMERICA.

1. Our attention has recently been called to the magical uses of the human cranium by the Amazonian tribes; of bones and effigies being employed for the same purpose by the tribes of the United States; and of the ancient bowls inscribed with charms, found in the valley of the Euphrates by Mr. Layard. Some brief remarks may be appropriately made on these subjects. In the immense forests of the upper waters of the Amazon, there exist tribes of Indians who have never been brought to receive the first principles of civilization, and who yet roam in a state of the wildest barbarity.

One of the most barbarous tribes who inhabit the parts of Guyana to the south-west, and north of this river, are the Aricoris. We are informed that in that warm climate, they go entirely naked, men and women. They are not a high-spirited people, but very superstitious, sly, and revengeful. They believe in the future existence of the soul, and make great feasts for the dead; sometimes slaves, captured in war, are killed, to accompany their master in another world. They worship the sun and moon, which they regard as their parents. The moon is called mother. The stars are regarded as children of the sun and moon. The principal object of their offerings and worship is *Vatipa*, who is a god of evil. Their priests believe that Vatipa is the immediate minister of the Great Spirit. He is said to appear to them, in various forms, in the wild forests of luxurious vegetation, which they traverse in troops with their wives and children, living on spontaneous fruits and by the chase. Polygamy is universal. It is believed to be pleasing to Vatipa to have many children, and this idea becomes an object of the highest attainment. Magic and sorcery here assume some of their most repulsive features.

Among the tribes on the river Parus, the human skull is employed in necromantic arts. Two specimens of this extraordinary use of the human cranium, prepared and decorated with all their arts, were recently presented to the Academy of Natural Science, at Philadelphia, by Mr. Amory Edwards, of New York.

The hair which exists on the back part of the head, is black and fine. The skin appears to have been subjected to a process analogous to tanning. The eyes are replaced in their zygometic arches by balls of white or black bone. There are symbolic devices, made of fillets of cotton, inserted in the orifices of the ear and mouth, to denote hearing, and the ejection of the sound of the voice, in these oracular and necromantic skulls. These fillets are colored by an ochery oxide of iron. The skulls are reported to be the crania of slain enemies.

No custom of this kind is known to exist among the Indian tribes of North America. A sacred respect appears to be entertained by them for human bones. They are figured on their pictographic scrolls, as will be observed in the examples of Part I. But in the tribes from Florida to the Arctic Ocean, human bones have been generally interred, and not, in any reported instance, subjected to superstitious, or magic uses. The magic bones exhibited by their jossakeeds have, wherever examined, been found referable to a species of deer, bear, or other animal or bird believed to be invested with necromantic power. This power is often found to be ascribed to sea-shells; and no small part of the paraphernalia of the conjuror's art is confided to conchology. Effigies of birds, or quadrupeds, are often exhibited. Metallic copper, which is found in a virgin state, is sometimes employed by their Meda and medicine-men; but generally, it is considered as a remedial agent.

The name of Wheeling, Virginia, perpetuates the locality of a human skull. It denoted a triumph over the western pioneers. An Indian had killed a white man at the mouth of Wheeling Creek, on the Ohio, as an intruder on his grounds, and hoisted the head on a pole at that place, in terrorem to the white race. Weel, in the Delaware tongue, signifies a human head, and hence the name. By adding the local termination, ing, the idea of place is conveyed — meaning, place of a skull.[1] Another instance of this kind, where the act was done in defiance, by one tribe against another, occurred at the ancient seat of Oneida Castle, in the State of New York, a place which was called, in the Oneida dialect, Kunaloa, meaning, a place of a skull on a pole. Such localities are believed to be the abodes of evil spirits.

The opinions and practices of the Algonquin tribes on this subject correspond to these principles. It is seen from Wiser's journal, in prior pages, that similar views are entertained by the Iroquois. Having reached a terrible and awe-inspiring gulf, he observes, that "The Indians believe that an *Otkon* (an evil spirit) has power in this valley; that some of them could call him by name, and brought him sacrifices, by which he could be appeased. I asked if any of the Indians of our party could do this, or knew his name. They answered, 'No,' that but few could do this, and they were magicians."

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[1] Oneota.

There is nothing, however, to connect these cases at all with dæmon-worship. The art of calling on spirits or dæmons is, apparently, the official care of the Indian priesthood. Being well acquainted with one of these men, called Chusco in the West, both before and after he had renounced the practice, I asked him to disclose to me the object or objects of his miraculous reliance, while engaged in these arts. He replied that they were the spirits of the turtle, swan, crow, and woodpecker. When pressed more closely, he declared that these spirits received their influence from the Great Spirit of Evil, and that it was this spirit who visited him inside his lodge, in a dense current of wind, or a circular tornado — this spirit gave him power to effect the most wonderful things, as the miraculous shaking of the conical Jossakeed's lodge without hands. He affirmed that when he entered this lodge, (which is the great popular Indian miracle, in the belief of the common Canadian voyageurs,) after its poles had been tightly swathed with skins, he knelt low on the ground, in a crouched position, and taking his small magic drum, began his supplications. It was the evil influence he supplicated. It was, in effect, the Vatipa of the Amazons and the Jumbo of the Africans; showing the unity of devil-worship among the heathens the world over.

On a certain occasion, in 1823, I landed on an island in Lake Huron, called, in the Indian, Nekuhmines, which means Brant, or Wild Goose Island. Being detained by winds, I sauntered about with a gentleman who was travelling with me, in search of pieces of crystallized sulphate of lime, of which it was a locality. In this excursion we found the lodge of Chusco, and in a spirit of sport asked him if he could not, by his necromantic arts, still the winds, so as to permit us to proceed. He replied, with his habitual cunning and sharp look, in the affirmative, and the fee being stipulated for his occult services, we all three entered. The lodge was small and dark, and when the cloth door or opening was closed, not only dark, but oppressively warm. He seated himself, and began his incantations; beating accurate time on a little drum. When one staff of his chant had been finished, he stopped, waited a little, and then began another. The keys of these chants were varied — now high, now low, now mutteringly. The heat, the darkness, and evident diablerie of the scene impressed us forcibly; and we could not long endure the position.

Disease, with the American Indians, is often represented by some carved image of wood.[1] This, as we are informed in preceding pages, is placed, by the Dacotahs, in a bowl of water, subjected to the proximity of female position, and then demolished by a shot from a gun. The deer, the elk, or other quadruped, are often invested with the power of creating disease. The earwig, woodworm, millepede, cleopterous insects, assume the same power. In fine, the belief in necromantic influence, being persistent, it only requires some circumstance in the position of parties to fasten the charge of evil influence from magic or witchcraft on contiguous objects. The cause of this influence and the remedy for it, is the same; namely, a wide-spread belief in demons. To discern and propitiate these, is the province of the jossakeed, seer, prophet, or powow, who thus becomes the interpreter of a mysterious unknown, and the messenger of fate to man. No wonder can be expressed at the power this class of men have exercised over the ignorant Indian mind in America.

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[1] For a parallel custom, see 1st Samuel, VI., 4, 5.

Mr. Pond, in a subsequent paper [vide Title XVII.,] represents the medical knowledge of the Dacotah tribes, among whom he has long resided in the quality of a teacher and missionary, as very little beyond a round of superstitious ceremonies, and absurd beliefs in the wildest necromancy. He depicts it as a never-ending reliance on demons of the air, woods, and waters, whose vocation it is for the medicine-men to consult. Captain Eastman, who was long stationed at a garrison among the same people, has preserved pictographs drawn by the Dacotahs, of their notions of these dæmoniacal and mythological beliefs, which open a thrilling view of the darkness of the savage mind. Dr. Z. Pitcher, in a preceding paper on the topic of the medical knowledge of the Indians, lets the observer see in what the aboriginal acquaintance with medical phenomena really consists; and, as an apology or abatement of their gross superstitious and magical beliefs on the Indian materia medica and pathology, he brings forward a most curious and astonishing view, from published sources, of the ignorance of medical practitioners in Europe, during the medævial ages.

In every enlarged view of the subject, it is believed that the darkness and superstition of the Indian mind in America on this subject, in its connection with magic, sorcery, and enchantments, is not deeper than that of the Asiatic nations at early epochs. In the recent researches of Mr. Layard in the valley of the Euphrates,[1] he brings to light some curious data on this subject, which proves most clearly that the minds of men were debased and besotted with the basest notions of enchantments and superstitions, and were held in a state of perpetual fear of evil influence and diseases, from malignant demons of the night and day. Remedial charms against diseases and enchantments were exhibited by a class of men, in the form of bowls of terra cotta, of which he exhumed specimens, which bear inscriptions in an ancient, mixed, and partly inexplicable character. Several of these ancient divining-bowls were disinterred by him among the ruins of Babylon, and deposited, on his return, in the British museum, where the inscriptions have been, essentially, interpreted.

The following cut of one of these antique vessels will present the subject more fully to the eye. (Layard, p. 513.) To show the state of man's intellectual idiosyncracies at the period of its Chaldæan phasis, the interpretation of the inscription of bowl No. 1, is added, as given by the learned and ingenious Mr. Thomas Ellis, of the manuscript department of the British Museum. The letters, so far as they have been deciphered, appear to be an admixture of the Syriac and Palmyrine.

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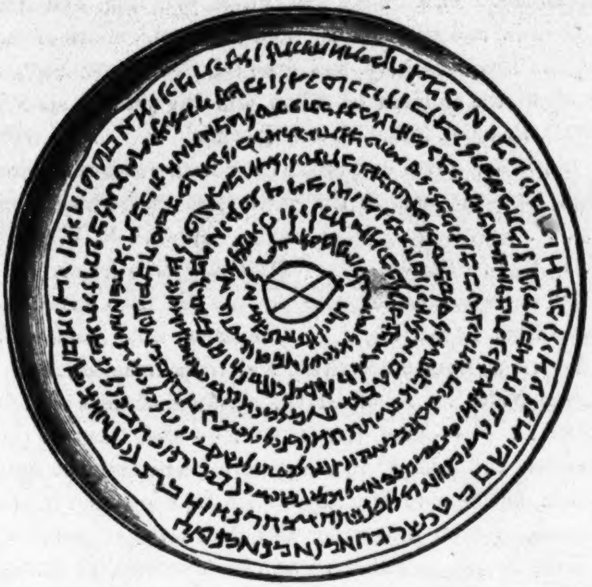
[1] Discoveries among the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, N. Y., Putnam, 1853; 1 vol., 8vo., p. 686, with plates.



Antique Sorcerer's Bowl, from the Ruins of Babylon. Diameter, 6 inches; depth, 3 inches.

The deciphered inscription reads thus:—

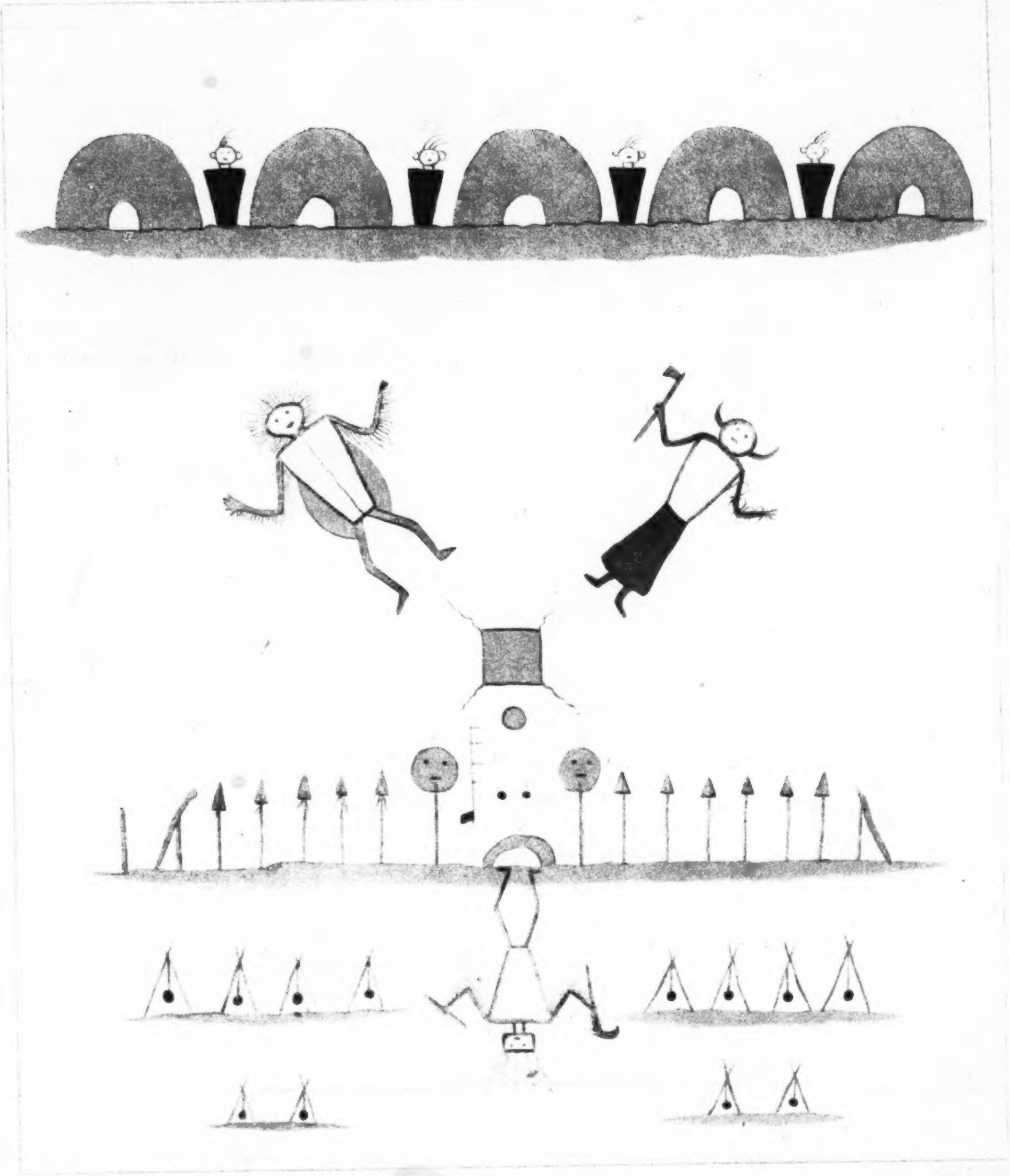
"This is a bill of divorce to the devil, and to . . . , and to Satan, and to Nerig, and to Zachiah, and to Abitur of the mountain, and to . . . , and to the night-monsters, commanding them to cease from Beheran in Batnaiun, and from the country of the north, and from all who are tormented by them therein. Behold, I make the counsels of these devils of no effect, and annul the power of the ruler of the night-monsters (Liluth). I conjure you all, monsters . . . both male and female, to go forth. I conjure you and . . . by the sceptre of the powerful one, who has power over the devils, and power over the night-monsters, to quit these habitations. Behold, I now make you cease from troubling them, and make the influence of your presence cease in Beheran of Batnaiun, and in their fields. In the same manner as the devils write bills of divorce and give them to their wives, and return not unto them again, receive ye your bill of divorce, and take this written authority, and go forth, leave quickly, flee, and depart from Beheran in Batnaiun, in the name of the living . . . . , by the seal of the powerful one, and by this signet of authority. Then will there flow rivers of water in that land, and there the parched ground will be watered. Amen, amen, amen. Selah."

Another of these bowl-charm inscriptions (No. 4) reads thus:—

"V. V. V. V. Beware of the diseases which are upon thee and upon . . . from all evil diseases. V. V. V. V. . . . sorrow and bodily infirmities from now even for ever. A remedy from heaven against the whisperings of enchanters who are not far hence, and also against demons. This amulet will deliver you from evil sorcerers and from Abdi, and from Levatta, and tribulations; from the machinations of the Assyrians, and from extremities, and from treachery, and from rebellion; from Shóq, and from Nidra, and the sorrows of all the children of Adam, and thy petition shall be in the name of Barakiel, Ramiel, Raamiel, Nahabiel, and Sharmiel . . . . will take vengeance . . . these nine angels will guard and protect you from evil enchanters, and from Abdi the powerful, and from the nets of the enchanters that whisper, and from . . . in heaven . . . . and Nura. Amen, amen. Selah. V. V. V. V. Beware V. V. V. V. . . . . V. V. V. V. Beware . . . . from now even for (ever). A remedy . . . against the enchanters who whisper, who are not far from hence, and also against demons . . . . and from Levat (ta), . . . tribulation, from Asdarta, from the machinations of the Assyrians, from extremities, and from treachery, and from rebellion; from Shoq, and from Nidra . . . . of all the children of men . . . in the name of Barhiel . . . — miel . . . — miel, Ramiel . . . — kiel, Sharmie (l, a) shriel . . . . . against evil enchanters and from Abdi, the powerful, and from the nets of . . ."

Ethnology is thus indebted to Mr. Layard for his researches in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, by even profounder ties than those of antiquity. It is a more remote glimpse of the human race that we acquire by researches through the means of the cuneiform character, than that disclosed by the once-thrilling trilingual inscriptions of the Nile. And we are rather encouraged, in hope that of so ancient a mode of representing sounds as that of Nineveh and Babylon, there may be found in the present active state of ethnological researches, some traces even in the ancient ruins of America. It is not traces of the comparatively recent and polished periods of Roman and Grecian history, that we should look for here, but rather of those more ancient stocks of the human race from the Euphrates and Tigris, who have probably reached our shores, through India, Tartary, China, or Japan. Australia and the islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans, had no symbols for sounds. They have thus far formed barren fields of research on this topic.

While thus contemplating, through the most recent researches in the valley of the Euphrates, the state of the superstitions and magic reliances of one of the most ancient stocks of the human race, we present, as suitable addenda to these remarks, the following descriptions of the state of demon worship, in relation to one of the leading stocks of our American tribes.



OPERATIONS OF THE WAR CHIEF WHEN ON A WAR EXCURSION

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B. DEMONIACAL AND SUPERSTITIOUS OBSERVANCES OF THE TRIBES IN MINNESOTA, ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI. BY CAPT. S. EASTMAN, U.S.A.

The superstition of the North American Indians leads them to be governed in all their acts by the juggling operations of a class of men amongst them, called prophets, medicine-men, or jugglers. These men are the greatest rascals in the tribe, and possess immense influence over the minds of the young, who are brought up in the belief of their supernatural powers. In the hour of danger, on the war-path or on the hunt, this influence is especially brought to bear. The war-chief, who leads the party to war, is always one of these medicine-men, and is believed to have the power to guide the party to success, or save it from defeat, through the all-powerful influence of his medicine. He interprets signs observed when on the war-path, such as the flight of birds, the running of animals, distant sounds, atmospheric effects, &c.; all of which he construes to influence the movements of his party as his own whims may dictate. These spiritual operations are usually carried on at night, after the party has encamped; and through his mysterious doings, and the assistance he derives from the gods, he foretells what will occur the next day, the position of the enemy, their strength, and the number of scalps that will be taken. In his juggling, he calls upon such gods for assistance as have especial influence in war.

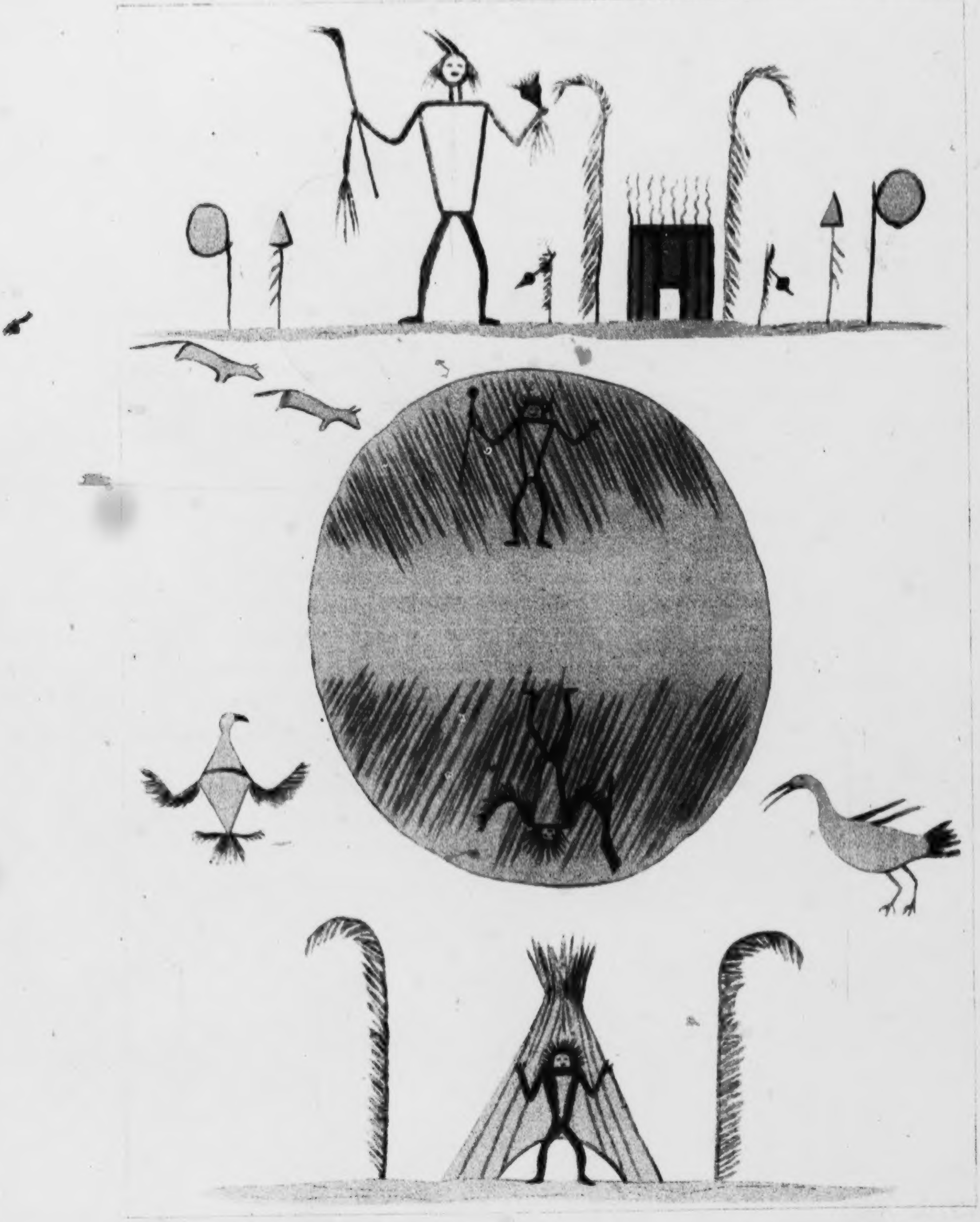
The operations of the war-chief when on a war excursion are thus described by an Indian of the Dacotah tribe, residing on the Minnesota river, in the Territory of Minnesota. The drawing from which Plate 40 was taken is from a sketch made by the same Indian. They have no idea of perspective: it is their symbolical mode of pictorial representation. Fig. 1 is the war-chief holding in his right hand a war-club shaped at the end like a hawk's head. Fig. 2 is his wigwam in which he performs his spiritual operations. Figs. 3 and 4 are gods that are invoked for assistance in war. These are usually cut out of birch-bark and stuck up on poles near his wigwam. Fig. 7 is the god Eyah, or Big Mouth (see Part III., p. 487). This god is often represented with horns on his head and a rattle in his hand. He has the power of telling the position of the enemy. Fig. 8 is the god Wa-hun-de-dan (interpreted old woman, Aurora Borealis, or goddess of war); she not only informs the war-chief where the enemy is to be found, but also his strength, and the success or misfortune that will attend the party. She even tells the number of scalps that will be taken and the number of warriors that will be killed or wounded. She is represented with hoops on her arms; as many of these as she throws on the ground indicate the number of scalps that will be taken, and if she throw broken arrows in place of the hoops, they will indicate the number of warriors that will be killed and wounded. But the most powerful influence which the Indians bring to bear on their war excursions, is a mystery which they call Schun-

schun-ah (Mirage, or glimmering of the sun). This is represented by the small dots 5 and 6. This is so powerful that it never fails to inform the war-chief of the position and strength of the enemy. Fig. 12 is the war-pipe, the smoke of which is offered to E-yah, and to the spirits of the enemy, which they dread, and to appease which offerings of different kinds are made. Fig. 9 is a hole in the ground directly in front of the wigwam of the chief, into which the old woman, Fig. 8, rolls her hoops, as representatives of the enemy's spirits. These the war-chief kills, by striking them with his war-club. Fig. 11 is a bowl of sweetened water, set before the hole for the purpose of enticing the spirits into it. Figs. 13 and 14 are the lances of the warriors, set around the wigwam of the chief; and 19 and 20 are sacks in which the war implements are kept. Figs. 15 and 16 are the camp-fires of those warriors who have before been on the war-path, and 17 and 18 are those who have never before been to war. The latter are not allowed to approach the war-chief during his spiritual operations.

Fig. 21 is the enemy's camp, and Figs. 22, 23, 24, and 25, are the spirits of the enemy, indicating the number of scalps that will be taken.

Plate 41 is another example of Indian superstition, representing the contest between the gods of the north and south, for warm and cold weather. Fig. 1 represents the world. Fig. 2 is the God of the North, represented in a snow-storm. He is called Wa-ze-at-tah We-chas-tah. Fig. 14 is the God of the South, and called Eto-kah We-chas-tah. He is represented in a rain-storm. Figs. 3 and 4, representing wolves, are the soldiers of the northern god, who fight his battles. When he wants cold weather, he sends forth these soldiers to battle with the southern god. The latter is assisted by the crow and plover, Figs. 15 and 16. When the battle commences, the wolves are aided with a snow-storm. A terrible conflict ensues; the southern god is discomfited, cold weather prevails, snow and frost appear, and the world is frozen up.

As spring approaches, the southern god desires warm weather; therefore he sends out his soldiers, the crow and plover, armed with war-clubs, and assisted by a thunder-storm, to attack the wolves. The thunder-storm melts the snow and ice, the crow and plover fall upon the wolves with their war-clubs, and after a severe contest, succeed in beating them to pieces, and drowning the God of the North in a flood of spray arising from the melting of the snow and ice. Thus these two gods will battle for warm and cold weather as long as the world shall stand, according to Indian mythology. When either god goes out to battle, he leaves a young god at home; so that, if he be defeated, there may be another one left to renew the conflict at the next season. Fig. 8 is the northern god in reserve, with a flute in one hand, and a rattle in the other. Fig. 5 is his house, and 6 and 7 are poles ornamented with eagles' feathers. Figs. 9 and 10 are lances, ready for defence. Figs. 20 and 21 are small hand-rattles, used with the drums, 11 and 12, to sound the alarm. Fig. 17 is the southern god in his wigwam, and 18 and 19 are ornaments similar to 6 and 7."



THE WORLD AND TWO GODS OF THE WEATHER

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A still deeper and more general view of the influence of the prevalent belief of the American Indians in necromancy and dæmonology, usurping the place of religion, is given in the subjoined observations of the Rev. Mr. Pond, a gentleman who has been long resident as a missionary among the Dacotahs (vide Title XVII.). In this interesting view of medical magic, the principles of their belief are associated with the Indian medical art, and assume the form of a system, which is entirely in the hands of the numerous class of priests and jugglers. We must reconstruct our theories on this subject. It is believed that medicine is seldom, if ever, administered by the aborigines, without reliance on the magic power under which it is administered; and with a belief that its curative properties may be rendered wholly inoperative, and even injurious, by some person more strongly endowed with the power of magic or sorcery. The mode of this evil influence is believed to be very subtle by the patient. The rays of the sun, shining through an aperture in a dark lodge, on a sick person whom I knew in the Chippewa territories, were declared to be the cause, not only of prevention of cure, but of a most malignant attempt to destroy the life of the individual; although the magician was not near.

2

XIII. MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN. B.

[2D PAPER, TITLE XIII.]

TITLE XIII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XIII.

TITLE V., LET. A., VOL. I., p. 249 to 255. [1st Paper.]

Remarks on the Medical and Surgical Knowledge of the Dacotahs. 66. Medicine. 67. Anatomy. 68. Pathology. 69, 74. Theory of Diseases, and their Remedies. 70. Blood-Letting. 71. Aneurism. 72. Healing Art. 73. Amputation. 74. Treatment of Imposthumes; Parturition. 75. Paralysis. By Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, Ohio.

TITLE XIII., LET. A., VOL. III. [2d Paper.]

Practice of Medicine among the Winnebagoes. By F. Andros, M. D., Iowa.

TITLE XIII., LET. B., VOL. IV. [3d Paper.]

1. **Preliminary Remarks on the Indian Notions of Anatomy and Medicine.**
2. **Medicine; or some Account of the Remedies used by the American Indians in the Cure of Diseases, and the Treatment of Injuries to which they are liable, and their Methods of administering and applying them. By Zina Pitcher, M. D., late U. S. A., Detroit, Michigan.**

MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN.

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE INDIAN NOTIONS OF ANATOMY AND MEDICINE.

No view of the Indian tribes of the United States can be complete, which does not furnish some sketch of their reputed knowledge of medicine. From an early day, it has been supposed that the aborigines were skilled in the knowledge of botanical remedies, and in the cure of wounds. It appeared desirable that the question should be referred to persons whose science, and observation of the native habits and customs, qualified them for the formation of correct opinions on the subject. And it is believed, that the papers which are submitted under this head, will constitute an acceptable body of information.

The practice of the aboriginal hunters, in cutting up the carcases of quadrupeds killed in the chase, renders the viscera of animals familiar to them. It will be perceived, by referring to the vocabularies herewith furnished, that they have applied appropriate and distinct names to the heart, lungs, liver, gall, spleen, windpipe, and other functional parts. That they possess any adequate, or even reliable knowledge of the true functions performed by these organs, is improbable, whatever shadowy notions they may entertain on this topic. Experience got by viewing the vital organs would, apparently, inform them, that the heart is the distributing reservoir of the blood, and the central point of vitality. Such their language and experience appear to regard it, if we examine the etymology of the word denoting heart. Taking the numerous Algonquin dialects as the subject for comparison, this is the primary meaning of the word denoting this organ, although we have no authority for saying that they have any just conception of the doctrine of the circulation of the blood. The liver is called *okoon*, and the lungs *opun* — terms which, as they contain the sign of the third person, *o*, lose their elementary character, meaning, in this form, *his* liver and *his* lungs; a common feature of Indian lexicography. By *okoon*, the softer texture of the liver appears to be denoted, compared to the more firm and muscular structure of the lungs. This species of minute observation on the organs is quite common to the Indians, and has been adverted to by Dr. Pitcher in the following paper, in which he gives their opinions on some curious functions of the vital system, as that curious observation of the natives in recording age by the action of the uterus.

In words relating to the viscera, peculiar importance and emphasis are laid on the primary particle *de*, which stands as the syllabical representative of the termination of the anal duct; which appears also to have a general allusion to the viscera.

The skill for which the Indian tribes have been noted in curing wounds, has been observed to consist chiefly in a close attention to the injured part, and the frequent application of washes and cataplasms which keep the wounded parts clean. Dr. Pitcher shows that their ignorance of the pathology of disease, and their superstitious observances, are not, in many points, more extravagant than those entertained by practitioners in the mediæval ages. One of the most striking results of his investigations consists in the scientific determination of the plants relied on in the Indian *materia medica*. Strong coincidences are found in the species and properties of many of the botanical remedies employed by the aboriginal, and by educated physicians.

2. MEDICINE; OR, SOME ACCOUNT OF THE REMEDIES USED BY THE AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE CURE OF DISEASES, AND THE TREATMENT OF INJURIES, TO WHICH THEY ARE LIABLE, AND THEIR METHODS OF ADMINISTERING AND APPLYING THEM.

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Nothing aspiring to the dignity of a science can be supposed to exist among a people who have no written language, no literature nor books, although much practical knowledge may be preserved in their traditions, and the spirit of poetry be embalmed in the legendary lyrics of their tribes. Such will be found true of medicine, which exists only as an art among the savage nations, who inhabit the country subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. In the desultory remarks which follow, no attempt will be made to exalt the intelligence of the Indian, or to give the knowledge he is known to possess on this subject, the form of a treatise. The aim will be, to show that he has used faculties as discriminating, and arrived at results equally as important and correct, as those achieved by his more fortunate neighbors, in a far different state of civil advancement. To do this, it will be necessary to allude to the state of medical science two hundred years ago, among the people of whom we are ourselves descendants, as well as to its present condition among the Chinese, who claim to have a civilization which had its origin, as it were, in the twilight of time.

To assume that the indigenous inhabitants of our country are not the natural equals of their European subduers, because medicine has not attained the rank of a science among them, is practically to state, in another form, the proposition, that civilization is unequal to the task of providing remedies for the maladies developed by the pursuits and unnatural wants of a refined and cultivated social state, and is another way of asserting that the physicians of an intelligent people are not cognizant of the hygienic influences of their own habits — socially, mentally, and physically considered. In the primitive condition of a people who abide in the open air, whose fibre is hardened by exposure, and the pursuits which develop their frame—whose minds do not become the instruments of destruction to their bodies, either from excessive or premature cultivation, the excitements of commerce, or the heat and attrition of political strife; we find causes for their comparative immunity or exemption from disease, and reasons for their manifestation of an inherently stronger recuperative power, rendering them capable of resisting the encroachments of disease when their organism is assailed. A right estimate of these circumstances would sufficiently explain the disparity in knowledge of people so oppositely situated as a savage and a civilized nation, on the subject of diseases and their remedies; for, where there is no disease, there is no motive, no prompting, to seek a remedy.

A brief enumeration of the morbid affections directly traceable to the pursuits of a civilized people, will render the truth of the foregoing remarks still more apparent. Aside from the effects resulting merely from the accumulation of large numbers of people upon limited spaces of ground, it will be seen, on a survey of a civilized community, where occupations are diversified as wants increase, that each avocation becomes the parent of new maladies, from which the men who range the forest are exempt, and of the remedy for which they are necessarily and excusably ignorant. A few examples will serve to illustrate the idea we have in view.

The tailor, from his position, from his restricted locomotion, and often from the crowded state of the apartment in which his work is performed, falls a victim to the evils of tardy digestion and embarrassed respiration. As a class, they measure less around the chest than other men, and become the subjects of diseases of the lungs, the heart, and digestive apparatus.

Shoe-makers are not so liable to diseases of the lungs, but suffer even more from affections of the organs of digestion, such as result from imperfect defecation, and the impurities of the circulation, arising from imperfect elimination of the materials which should pass out of the system by the organs of secretion. Milliners and dress-makers suffer in the same way, from position and confinement.

Persons performing those kinds of labor requiring great muscular exertion, are liable to hernia, aneurisms, and diseases of the heart.

Needle-grinders, stone-cutters, and millers, have peculiar forms of consumption — Public speakers and musicians, affections of the organs of phonation.

Workers in mercury have rheumatic diseases — affections of the periosteum, diseases of the joints and nervous tissue, the latter of which takes the name of mercurial palsy. Those who work in lead also become the subjects of a peculiar paralysis, and a painful affection known by the name of colica pictonum, or painters' colic. And recently the introduction of the lucifer-match has given origin to a painful affection of the bones of those who work long at the business of making this article.

If it be a fundamental law that the sum of one's vital powers is never augmented, then it must follow that where they are increased in one part, they must be diminished in all other portions of the animal organization. The over-working of any one organ then must be followed by determinations towards it which will produce diseases in its structure, or disorders of function, varying of course with the office which it is designed to fulfil.

As the brain cannot be made an exception to the general rule, its structure must necessarily give way under the excitement of too early mental application or the pressure of severe intellectual labor in later periods of life. In this way, the precocity of youth tends to develop, and is followed by, hypertrophy of the brain, and the laborious student brings upon himself apoplexy and paralysis, of which T. A. Emmet, Sir Walter Scott, Canning, and Sir Humphrey Davy, furnish striking examples. From this train of physical evils, which often become the sources of mental alienation, the savage, of course, is exempt.

To these causes of disease in civilized communities which are mostly physical in their nature, are to be added such as are physical in their effect, by the agency of which, those passions and modes of feeling are either developed, or made active, which spring from social excitement and political organization.

The necessity of a civilized state which is unknown to the savage — the inequalities of condition incident to it, both in its mental, moral, and social aspects — the unequal distribution of wealth resulting therefrom—create a state of wants that must be supplied by the sweat of one class who labor to pamper the tastes of another, and become the parents of disease on the one hand from insufficient food and imperfect ventilation, and, on the other, from the evils of indolence and the diseases of the mental powers and physical functions. In the one class, you find the operators of large manufacturing districts, whose powers are overtaxed during the period of growth, by which the development of one organ may be made excessive, and another atrophied from innutrition or malposition; and, in the other, that class whose possessions remove them from the necessities of physical exertion, and in whom the incentives to mental labor are not sufficient to prevent their becoming the victims of ennui and the subjects of mental alienation.

From the foregoing remarks, it will be seen that most of the organic affections, and, in fact, a large proportion of the three hundred genera which make up the nosological table of diseases — a knowledge of which constitutes pathology a distinct, but recent and important science — are peculiar to the civilized state. The simpler functional disorders are those to which the Indian is liable. To the treatment of these, he has a materia medica and system of therapeutics, as will be seen in the sequel, very well adapted.

The relative immunity of the savage from attacks of insanity, would be variously explained by Heinroth, Jacobi, and Zeller — each of whom may be regarded as a representative of a different school in physical medicine, of which, one teaches the doctrine that insanity begins in vice — a deterioration of the moral sentiments; another that it depends entirely on corporeal lesions; and the third, that these two conditions are combined in its production.

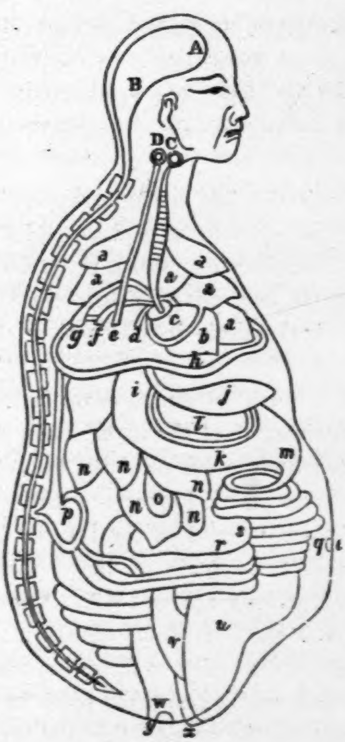
Hence have arisen the sects in Germany—where we find our masters in metaphysics as well as in psychology — known as the Somatics, the Psycho-Somatics, and the Psychics. No matter in which way we attempt the explanation, the fact we believe remains uncontroverted, that insanity is much more prevalent among a civilized than it is among a savage people.

Having said enough to establish the fact that civilization has vastly increased the morbid affections of the human family, and to show the necessity of a class specially trained to prevent their encroachment, and remove them when confirmed, we proceed to speak of the knowledge which the savage has of his own physical structure, the uses of his organism, its diseases, their remedies, and the mode in which they are administered and applied.

Anatomy. Their knowledge of anatomy is, in a great measure, comparative, having been derived from an acquaintance with the structure of the higher order of animals, the analogies of which to the human system they seem carefully to have noted, and clearly to comprehend. They have names for all the important organs of the body; know their position, have definite ideas of their use and of the manner in which they perform their office. A striking instance of the truth of this remark occurred whilst the writer was stationed at Fort Brady, as long ago as 1839. A cow, whose history I knew, was to be slaughtered by order of the Commissary of the post, and, with a view to verify the doctrine then taught by physiologists so far as her case could furnish the proof, that the number of impregnations which had taken place in a viviporous animal could be determined by the eschars upon the ovaria—they not then having learned to distinguish between the corpora lutea and the graafian vesicles — I was present to make the necessary examination. An old Chippewa voyager who was present also, on seeing me thus engaged, remarked, "That is the way the Indians tell how many young beavers to look for in a lodge, if they first chance to capture the mother of the family." It is true that they do not understand the changes which the atmosphere undergoes in the lungs — are not aware that the combustion that takes place in the lungs is the principal source of animal heat — do not know that the nitrogen of the changing tissues is passed out through the kidneys; yet do understand that the blood is circulated by the agency of heat — that the lungs are the organs of respiration, and that the suspension of the action of the kidneys is fatal to animal life.

If they are far behind their civilized neighbors in their knowledge of anatomy and physiology, they are so much in advance of their oriental ones, that no impeachment of their mental capabilities can lie against them on that account.

The following extracts from a recent work on China are introduced in their defence. The diagram presented below represents the popular opinions on the subject of anatomy in that country.



Chinese notions of the Interior Structure of the Human Body.

References to the Chinese Anatomical Plate.

A. B. The brain.
C. The larynx.
D. The pharynx
a. a. a. a. The lungs.
b. The heart.
c. The pericardium.
d. The band of connection with the spleen.
e. The œsophagus.
f. The band of connection with the liver.
g. The band of connection with the kidneys.
h. The diaphragm.
i. The cardiac extremity.
j. The spleen.
k. The stomach.
l. The omentum.
m. The pylorus.
n. n. n. n. n. The liver.
o. The gall-bladder.
p. The kidneys.
q. The small intestines.
s. The caput coli.
t. The navel.
u. The bladder.
v. The "gate of life," sometimes placed in the right kidney.
w. The rectum.
x. y. The anus and meatus urinarius.

The Chinese seem to have no idea of the distinction between the venous and arterial blood, nor between the tendons and nerves, applying the word *kin* to both, (vide sketch.) According to these physiologists, the brain, A, is the residue of the *yin* principle in its perfection, and at its base, B, where there is a reservoir of the marrow, communicates through the spine with the whole body. The larynx, C, goes through the lungs directly to the heart; while the pharynx, D, passes over them to the stomach. The lungs, (*a. a. a. a.*,) are white, and placed in the thorax. They consist of six lobes suspended from the spine; four on one side and two on the other. Sound proceeds from the holes in them, and they rule the various parts of the body. The pit of the stomach is the seat of breath: joy and delight emanate from it, and it cannot be injured without danger. The heart, *b*, lies underneath the lungs, and is the prince of the body: thoughts proceed from it. The pericardium, *c*, comes from, and envelops the heart, and extends to the kidneys. There are three tubes communicating from the heart to the spleen, liver, and kidneys, but no clear ideas are held as to their office.

The liver (*n. n. n. n. n.*) is on the right side, and has seven lobes. The soul resides in it, and schemes emanate from it. The gall-bladder (*o*) is below, and projects upwards into it, and when the person is angry it ascends. Courage dwells in it; hence the Chinese eat the bile of tigers and bandits, under the idea that it will impart courage. The spleen (*j*) lies between the stomach and diaphragm, and assists in digestion, and the food passes from it into the stomach (*k*), and thence through the pylorus into the large intestines. The small intestines (*q*) are connected with the heart, and the urine passes through them into the bladder, separating from the food or fæces at the caput coli (*s*), where they divide from the larger intestines. The large intestines (*r*) are connected with the lungs, and lie in the loins, having sixteen convolutions. The kidneys (*p*) are attached to the spinal marrow, and resemble an egg in shape, and the subtle generative fluid is eliminated by them, above to the brain and below to the spermatic cord and sacral extremity; the testes, called *uvaishin*, or outside kidneys, communicate with them. The right kidney, or the passage from it (*v*), is called the "gate of life," and sends forth the subtle fluid to the spermatic vessels. The bladder (*u*) lies below the kidneys, and receives the urine from the small intestines at the iliac valve. The osteology of the frame is briefly despatched, the pelvis, skull, fore-arm, and leg, being considered single bones. The practice of the Chinese is far in advance of their theory, and some of their treatises on dietetics contain good advice, the result of experience.

PATHOLOGY. On this subject the aborigines have no distinct or definite ideas, being in that respect not equal to the great body of civilized mankind. As the physicians of cultivated nations have acquired much of their pathological information through the agency of the microscope, organic chemistry, the stethoscope and autopsic examinations, it is not reasonable to expect that a science requiring these instrumentalities for its development, should exist in any degree of maturity among a people who have not yet investigated the laws of light, the principles of chemical affinity, the doctrine of sound, or adopted the practice of post-mortem examination.

Individuals among them have notions of a kind of mythic existences, as causes of disease, and believe that they are to be driven out by incantations, or propitiated by sacrificial rites and ceremonies. Others impute the suffering of the sick to the presence of bile in the pained part, which the inculcator of this theory draws out of the system, through a bone used as a suction-pump, which the operator works with the mouth.

The delusion to the patient is rendered complete, by his spitting out the juice of a yellow root, which he carries in his mouth for that purpose.

Another sect ascribe all pains, the causes of which are not obvious to the senses, to the biting of worms, which they attempt to dislodge by nostrums of their own devising. The speculative notions of these untutored tribes, are not more obviously absurd than the opinions which prevailed among the physicians who wrote during the period called the dark ages, and the century following the art of printing, when the pall of superstition seemed to have hung with peculiar weight upon the medical mind of the nations of Europe. And as regards the *treatment* of disease, I know of nothing in Indian practice, which indicates such grossness of taste on the part of the people who used and prepared them, as some of the formulæ for the preparation of remedies, which may be found in a book written during the prevalence of the great plague in London, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The sympathetic treatment of wounds[1] which was in vogue at the same time, and is still in our own country practised in certain cases, although not participating in the vulgarity of Salmon's Septasium, savored none the less of superstition.

From this book, in which the subjects are arranged under the head of Herbs, Beasts, Birds, Man, Fishes, Serpents, Insects, Metals, &c., I have extracted a portion of the chapter in which the article Homo is treated of, under distinct heads, beginning with

1. "*Crinis*, Pilus, the Hair. The Pouder thereof drank, cures the jaundice and suffocation of the Womb. The ashes of it mixt with Hogs Lard, and anointed, helps luxated joints; the simple ashes stop bleeding; an oil distilled from it, with honey, anointed on bald places, causes the hair to grow.

2. *Ungues*, the Nails. In Pouder or infusion they cause vomiting, great sickness at stomach, and giddiness in the Head. The Pouder laid to the navel, in Dropsies, is said to cure them. R *of the Pouder of the parings*, ʒi, *Wine, a pint, digest till it turn to slime,*

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[1] The superstitious practice of dressing the instrument which had inflicted the wound with the sympathetic powder or ointment, was introduced into England by Sir Kenelm Digby, a Knight of Montpelier, who had learned it in Persia from a Carmelite friar. It is repeatedly alluded to by the poets. Dryden refers to it in his Enchanted Island, Act V., Scene 2.

"*Ariel.* Anoint the sword which pierced him
With this weapon salve, and wrap it close from air
Till I have time to visit it again."

So does Sir Walter Scott, in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*:—

"But she has ta'en the broken lance,
And washed it from the clotted gore,
And salved the splinter o'er and o'er.
William of Deloraine, in trance,
Whene'er she turned it, round and round,
Twisted, as if she gall'd his wound;
Then to her maidens she did say,
That he should soon be whole and sound."
Canto III., Stanza XXII.

filter, and add Spirits of Wine ʒii, *of which give from* ʒi *to* ʒi, *to the uses aforesaid.* Where note, that some to cure consumptions, take the hair and nails of the patient, cut them small, and put them in a hole, in the root of a cherry tree, and then stop it with clay. Others, to cure Quartans and the Gout, take the said hair and nails, cut small, and either give them to birds in a roasted egg, or put them into a hole bored into the body of an oak tree or plum tree, stopping up the hole with a peg of the same tree, or else mix them with wax, and stitch it to a live crab, casting it into the river again.

3. *Saliva, Sputum*—spittle. Fasting spittle rubbed on oftentimes, cures pimples and breakings out on the skin, making the skin clear, as also the stinging of serpents and biting of mad-dogs.

4. *Lac*—milk. It is emollient and cools and cures red eyes, simply, of itself; but a grain or two of white vitriol being dissolved in it, it is more effectual.

5. *Menstrua, Sanguis Menstrualis*—menstrual blood. Taken from virgins and dried; given inwardly, it is prevalent against the falling sickness and stone: outwardly, a clout dipped in the liquid blood, with vinegar and rose-water, and applied, cures the gout, cleanses the skin from deformities, is good against carbuncles and aposthumes, and worn as an amulet is good against the plague.

6. *Secundina*—the secundina and the navel-string. A drop or two of the blood of the navel-string being first given to a new-born child in a little breast-milk, prevents the falling sickness, convulsions, and all other fits, and very wonderfully revives it, if almost dead. Hartman says it is very strong against cholick. The secundine, calcined, and given in Southern-wood water, every day half an ounce while the moon decreases in light (and, if possible, in motion too), wonderfully cures strumäs, or the King's evil, and the falling sickness. It causes also the dead child to come away, as also *mola*, or false conception.

7. *Sperma, Semen*—the seed. Of this Paracelsus makes his *Homoneulus*, or little man. Experience has found it good against witchcraft, and the imbecility of the instruments of generation; and some use it to make a magnetic mummy of to serve as a philtron to cause love.

8. *Calculus*—stone taken from the kidneys or bladder. It dissolves and expels the stone and gravel from all parts. *Sennestus* first calcines in a circular fire, then reverberates with buck-tree coals.

9. *Stercus*—Dung. It is emollient, anodyne, and maturative; it ripens plague sores, being applied and dried, powdered and mixed with honey it cures inflamed wounds and the quinsie. The ashes, given ʒii at a time in agues, cures them. *Paracelsus* calls it *Carbon Humanum;* and it is reported that it takes pains away caused by witchcraft.

Agua it Oleum Sterci Humani.—Take man's dung; let it putrefy till it be full of small animals, and be almost dry; distil it in a retort with a gentle fire; so have you both water and oil, the fœtid scent of which you may take away by often rectifications, cohobations, and digestions.

The water, dropt into sore eyes, cures them; curing baldness, corroding ulcers, and fistulas. Inwardly given, it is found very profitable against the stone and gravel, in the reins, and bladder; bitings of mad dogs, and other venomous beasts. It helps dropsies, and is very effectual in the cure of the falling sickness. The oil outwardly cures scald-heads, gouts, cancers, mortifications, and ulcerated erysipelas. Inwardly, Libavires says, it cures the jaundice.

Zebethum Occidentale.—Occidental civet is made hereof, being nothing but the true essence of man's dung. It may be made so like the true civet, that it shall be difficult to discern the difference. *See* Agricola. Particular directions are also given for the preparation of the urine and blood, the manner they are to be applied, and comments are made upon their medicinal effect. The author then proceeds to the consideration of *Mumia*, or mummy, or the properties of the dead body; of which he says, "It dissolves congealed and coagulated blood, provokes uterus, expels wind out of both bowels and veins, helps coughs, and is a great vulnerary. It is also said to purge, being given to the quantity of ʒi, in any convenient *vehiculum*." I add the names of some of the preparations, omitting the tedious details of the processes to be gone through with, as well as the disgusting directions for their use.

22. "*Mummia Artificialis*—artificial, or modern mummy." The carcase of a young man (red-haired) not dying of disease, is to be used for this purpose.

23. "*Tinctusa Mummiae*—tincture of mummy."

24. "*Elixir Mummiae*—elixir of mummy."

25. "*Balsamum Mummiae*—balsam of mummy."

26. "*Agira Divina*—divine water."

30. "*Magisterium Cranii Humani*—magistery of man's skull."

31. "*Galreda Paracelsi*, Paracelsusis—extract of man's skull."

34. "*Sal Cranii Humani*—salt of man's skull.

36. "*Spiritus Cerebri Humani*—spirit of man's brains." "It is a noble antepeleptick, and may be given from ℈i to ℈iv."

30. "*Cor Humanis*—the heart. The powder of it drank, cures the epilepsy."

From what precedes, the difficulty of distinguishing at all times the boundary, or of defining the limits, between credulity and superstition, is rendered obvious, as well as the fact that neither is the characteristic of any particular age, people, or condition. England has been called "The Paradise of Quacks," but with as little truth as candor. Those rapacious depredators are not of one place, nor of one season—they are the "Perennials of History;" and there is not a nation which has not been infested and disgraced by them, nor an age in which the patronage of the aristocracy has not been at their disposal. Rank and opulence have ever been ready to provide a sanctuary in which ignorant pretenders might enshrine themselves. If we refer to the works of

Detius, written more than one thousand three hundred years ago, we shall discover the existence of a similar infirmity with regard to physic. This author has collected a multitude of receipts, particularly those that had been celebrated or used as nostrums, many of which he mentions with no other view than to expose their folly, and inform us at what extravagant prices they were purchased. We accordingly learn, from him, that the collyzium of Danaus was sold at Constantinople for one hundred and twenty numismata (equal to about nine pounds), and the colical antidote of Nicostratus for two talents; in short, we shall find an unbounded credulity with respect to the power of inert remedies, from the elixir and *Atkahest* of Paracelsus and Van Helmont, to the tar water of Bishop Berkely, the metallic tractors of Perkins, the animal magnetism of Miss Prescott and her disciples, and the homœopathic granules of Hahnemann, &c.

Having said enough, I apprehend, to vindicate the character of the red man, of Gmelin, for natural ability, against any adverse opinions which either his known credulity or superstition on the subject of medicine may have given origin to, I proceed to give a brief sketch of his knowledge on the subject of practical medicine, such as I have collected in my intercourse with him, without having made it a special subject of study, in which there will be no labored attempt at arrangement, beginning with the subject of

Fever.—It should be remarked, in advance of what we propose to say on the treatment of fevers, that savage nations are subject only to such modifications of fever as depend upon atmospheric vicissitudes and malarious exhalations, excepting the eruptive diseases, which generally appear as epidemics, and are spread by a specific contagion. Typhus is unknown to savage life, so far as my observation has extended; their mode of living being unfavorable to its development, as in civilized life, it has its origin in illy-ventilated residences, poor-houses, jails, and ship-holds.

In the treatment of the simple forms of fever, with which they are familiar, they frequently commence with the administration of an emetic, on the erroneous supposition, in which they have the countenance of many physicians in civilized life, that the nausea so usually present in the commencement of fever is attributable, not to the pathological condition of the stomach, but to the presence of some offending substance therein, which should be removed by the act of vomiting. The article selected for this purpose will, of course, vary with the climate and geographical position of the tribe or nation by which it is used. The Cherokee could not avail himself of the same remedy as the Chippewa, because the soil, climate, and vegetable productions would be different in their respective countries. Some use for this purpose the euphorbium calicata; and others the eupatorium perfoliatum, or the apocynum cannabinum. They attach due importance to the use of cathartics in this class of diseases, and administer such articles as the eupatorium with that view, as well as the cambium of the horse-chestnut, butternut, &c. Their principal reliance for the cure of fever, however, is upon the vapor and cold bath, used in such a connection as to produce a powerful diaphonetic effect. To secure this effect, they pass suddenly from a steam to a cold bath, whereby they produce a vivid reaction and a profuse perspiration.

The exanthematous affections, such as smallpox and measles, being treated by them in the same way as the fevers arising from malaria, as a matter of course must always terminate fatally.

Pleurisy.—Venesection is very systematically adopted in the treatment of this disease, which they perform in a primitive way, by the aid of a piece of flint, which is driven into the vein with a stick, as farriers apply the phlemes, used in bleeding horses. Their principal medicine in pleurisy is the asclepias decumbens. Externally, they apply the anthemis cotula and the polygonum persecoria, as rubefacients.

Phthisis pulmonalis.—The pathology of consumption is so little understood by the Indians, that their treatment of this disease is very ineffectual. They seem to try to cure affections of the lungs upon the same principle as they do ulcers of the external cellular tissue, simply by promoting a free discharge of pus. For this purpose they administer the mucilage of the ulmus americana, ab. avincenna, and malva rotundifolia.

Asthma.—Their remedies for this disease are mostly palliative also. To mitigate their sufferings when attacked, they smoke tobacco, and drink a decoction of the saurus benzoin, saurus sassafras, and ictodes fœtida.

Dyspepsia.—I have seen this disease among Indians, but never in tribes who had not made considerable advances towards a civilized state. Constipation, which may or may not be an attendant upon dyspepsia, is removed by pills made from the cambium of the desculus glabra, Inglans cemeria, &c.

Obstructions of the liver.—Functional disorders of this organ are not clearly distinguished by the Indians. As the kidneys act vicariously in such cases, they direct their remedies to those symptoms which indicate renal obstruction; and, like many of their civilized contemporaries, they prescribe for an effect instead of a cause. They consequently use the same remedies in these cases that they do in those of gravel. In both instances they rely upon such articles as the arbutus-uva-ursi, the spice-wood (laures benzoin), and the root of the gooseberry (ribes trifolium) given in decoction. They have no idea of the utility of alkalies in such cases.

Dysentery and diarrhœa.—They know nothing of the pathological difference between these two forms of intestinal disease, and treat them both in the same way, and by the same remedies. The principal of these are the decoctions of the low blackberry (rubus trivialis) the geranium maculatum, spirea tomentosa, quercus alba, gautheria prounibens, and gillenia trifoliata.

Dropsy.—The internal remedies for dropsy are decoctions of the bark of the prickly ash (houthoxylum fraxineum), and the wild gooseberry (ribes triflorium); and externally, they resort to a measure called the "ground sweat" by the bordering white people. It is done in this way:—a small log-heap is burned upon the spot selected for the operation. Whilst the earth is yet hot, an excavation is made to receive the body of the patient, into which he is laid, with the requisite clothing to absorb the steam, which is condensed upon his body, and covered over with the heated earth, having the head above the surface. This process of steaming frequently, in mere functional disorder of the tissues, gives the capillary structure such an impulse, that the deposits are thereby speedily removed.

Amenorrhœa.— In this disease, no difference is made in the treatment, whether the obstruction is related to a plethoric or an anemic condition of the system. They rely, in each case, upon the sassafras spice-wood and worm-wood decoctions.

Hæmorrhage.— For affections of this kind, whether traumatic or spontaneous, they depend altogether upon topical applications, their favorite one being the powder of the lycoperdon bovista (puff-ball). They apply other remedies having some astringency; but their more obvious effect is purely mechanical, as they are made into a powder, pressed into the wound, and retained with a bandage. To check bleeding from the nose, finely pulverized and heated charcoal is sometimes crowded into the nostrils.

Wounds.— Incised wounds, of any considerable extent, are brought together with sutures made of the inner bark of the bass-wood (tilia glabra) or the fibre of the long tendon in the leg of a deer, which they do not remove till after the sixth day. After this, they carefully wash the wound with a decoction of a lichen found on the borders of brooks, or the bass-wood or slippery elm.

Gun-shot wounds.—Here it may be proper to remark, that in time of war the Indians prepare litters for the transportation of their wounded, made of two poles lashed together by cross-pieces, and filled in with bark. The wounded are placed upon these frames, and carried off the field on the shoulders of four men.

Wounds received in that way are cleansed by the vegetable decoctions already mentioned, which are introduced by means of a bladder and quill, made to perform the functions of a syringe. Great care is thus taken to keep up the suppurating process; and to guard against the premature closing of the external orifice, they introduce a tent made of a piece of the bark of the slippery elm, which has firmness enough to admit of its introduction to any required depth, whilst the great amount of mucilage it contains prevents the irritation of the surface with which it lies in contact. They exhibit great patience and assiduity in the treatment of this description of wounds, to which their success may be attributed, possibly more than to the remedies applied.

Wounds of the cavities are managed by them with particular care and caution. A striking instance of the exhibition of these qualities occurred in the case of Ogee-mah kee-ge-to, of Saginaw. During a visit of this chief, with some of the heads of his tribe, to the Superintendent of Detroit, in 1839, he was attacked with inflammation of the lungs, on which account I was requested by that officer to see him. On making the examination of his chest necessary to a diagnosis of his disease, I discovered that at every effort to cough, an elastic and crepitating protrusion, which proved to be a hernia of the lung, took place between the fourth and fifth ribs, midway between the sternum and axilla of the left side, of which I obtained the following history, through Mr. Provensal, the interpreter. Two years previous, he had been stabbed in a quarrel. The wound inflicted was large, and opened freely the cavity of the thorax. A good deal of blood was lost. At length, in a violent fit of coughing, a lobe of the lung stuck fast in the wound. This arrested the hemorrhage, but embarrassed the faculty of the village. A consultation was held over the case of O-gee-mah, in which it was decided that the lung must not be returned, for fear of further loss of blood, and that the extruded portion must be cut off, cooked, and eaten by the chief. This was accordingly done. Granulations soon formed over the cut surface of the lung; the process of suppuration in the external wound soon after released the strangulated lung, which returned to its place in the chest. The integuments closed over the intercostal space, but, as the muscular substance was never replaced, the hernia was permitted to take place, which had arrested my attention.

Another instance of wounded lung successfully treated by aboriginal practitioners, was brought to my notice by the Indian Agent, Hon. Henry R. Schoolcraft, at Sault de Ste. Marie, in 1827. Anee-me-kees, who lived north-west from Fort William, had a conflict with a grizzly bear, from whom he must have received two blows, as could be judged of by the distance of the wounds inflicted from each other. One passed across the face, dividing the ear, destroying the eye, and tearing out the molar cheek-bone of the left side. The other one made two openings into the left half of the thorax, from both of which came forth blood and air. When discovered, he was supposed to be dead. He was removed to his lodge, and placed in such a position that the blood and matter escaped from the chest. His wounds were washed assiduously with mucilaginous decoctions, and in a few months he was able to make the journey to the Agency at Sault Ste. Marie.

Ulcers.—Those of an indolent character are stimulated by the powder of the acorus calamus, and even by the actual cautery.

Salt Rheum, and other cutaneous affections of an obstinate character, are cured by the rumex crispa or yellow dock.

Hernia.—When strangulated, there is no remedy in the range of Indian surgery: but for simple hernia, they contrive a bandage and compression, which affords effectual relief.

Fractures.—They make an excellent splint out of the bark of a tree, which they adapt to the limb, and fasten with bandages so as to prevent motion in the fragments of bone, and, in a great degree, the contraction of the muscles and consequent shortening of the limb. They have no apparatus to effect extension and counter-extension. Of course, deformities must follow injuries of the bones in certain cases.

Phlegmon.—Their favorite remedy for this form of inflammation is a poultice made of a species of onion.

Gonorrhœa.—This evil is cured by drinking a decoction of the various species of the genus pinus, from which they obtain, in a coarse way, the effects of the balsams used in civilized practice.

Syphilis.—I have never, in my intercourse with the Indians of various nations, been able to find any constitutional remedy for this terrible malady, although the name of syphilitica has been given to one of our own species of lobelia, under an impression that it had been successfully used by them. They make various local applications, which at best are palliative, with a view to cure the ulcers. The consequence is, that in many of our northern tribes, where poisonous matters are not cast off by the pores of the skin in the process of perspiration, many of the secondary forms of this disease are transmitted from one generation to another, such as have been described by Benjamin Bell, an eminent surgeon of the last century, and which he supposed to be peculiar to the north of Scotland.

Poisons. — For poisons introduced into the stomach, they have no certain antidotes. They prevent, as far as practicable, their toxicological effects, by the administration of emetics. The bites of venomous reptiles, and stings of poisonous insects, are treated differently by every different nation. Some of the Six Nations used a plant (the Polygala Senega,) to which one member of that confederacy furnished a name; another nation, the Liatris Spicata; a third, the Asclepias Tuberosa; the fourth, the Prenanthus Alba; a fifth, the Fraximus Juglandifolia; and several agree in applying locally the Alisma Plantago. This diversity in the use of remedies for the same affection, goes to show that neither one is a specific, and to furnish good reason for believing that they relieve the system by their general effect as secernent stimulants; and that the bites and stings of venomous reptiles and insects are not necessarily fatal, unless the poison is introduced directly into the blood, by the puncture of a vein.

Paralysis. — Not being aware how generally this disease is occasioned by pressure upon the origin of the nerves of the brain, or spinal marrow, they do not successfully apply any remedies for its removal.

OBSTETRICS. — The practice of this art among the Indians of the United States, I believe, is wholly confined to females. I know of but one article having any just claim to the qualities imputed to it, used by them to facilitate parturition, and that is the Sanguinaria canadensis (blood-root).

In the treatment of the diseases of women and children, the same general remedies are used which we have already referred to. They are both treated with kindness, though the manifestations of sympathy for either are Indian-like, or stoic.

REMEDIES. *Venesection.* — The method of performing this operation, which we have already alluded to under the article Pleurisy, is by means of a sharp piece of flint, which is driven into the vein by a stick.

I have never been able to settle the question in my own mind, as to whether this practice is original with the Indians, or has been borrowed from the whites.

Cupping or local bleeding.—They perform this operation, after the scarifications have been made by a piece of flint, with a horn which has been excavated for that purpose, and perforated at the tip, where the mouth is applied, and through the action of which a vacuum is formed. With this simple contrivance, they cup very successfully. It is resorted to as a remedy for acute pain, in almost any part to which the horn can be mechanically adapted.

Baths. — A steam-bath is constructed in this way: A hole is dug in the earth, into which stones are put. These are heated by burning a small pile of wood on them; then some sticks are bent over the stones, and fastened into the ground at each end, so as to form the frame-work of a miniature tent; a blanket is thrown over the poles. The patient gets under the tent, and steams himself by pouring water very gradually upon the heated stone-heap. After he has been here a suitable time, he plunges into cold water, by which his paroxysm of fever is generally broken up.

Instead of arranging the articles of their materia medica under their appropriate classes as medicinal agents or remedies, I propose to subjoin a simple catalogue of the plants used by the various nations ranging from Lake Superior to the mouth of the Mississippi. This accords best with the Indian idea, as in his mind there is no classification — no subdivision of remedies into the subordinate groups of emetics, cathartics, narcotics, sudorifics, &c. They are used in savage, as in domestic practice in civilized life, for their general effects, rather than with reference to the qualities by which they are distinguished from each other by scientific minds. Their more characteristic properties will be indicated as follows:

NAMES OF PLANTS.	PROPERTIES OF PLANTS.
Sambucus canadensis	Diuretic and aromatic bark, used as a cataplasm.
Sambucus pubescens	
Rhus glabra	Poison, astringent and tonic.
Arabis dentata	Antiscorbutic and nutritious.
Tradescantia virginica	Tonic.
Allium canadense	Stimulant and expectorant.
Yucca filamentosa	Demulcent and emollient.
Acorus calamus	Acrid, aromatic.
Rumex aquaticus.	
Rumex crispus.	
Alisma plantago	Used in hydrophobia.
Æsculus glabra	Febrifuge. The cambium made in a pill acts as a cathartic.
Polygonum punctatum	Rubefacient and acrid, stimulant.
Laurus benzoin	Aromatic, antispasmodic.
Laurus sassafras	An expectorant.

NAMES OF PLANTS.	PROPERTIES OF PLANTS.
Chimaphila maculata	Diuretic.
Chimaphila umbellata	"
Ledum palustre	Tonic and astringent.
Ledum latifolium	" "
Clethra alnifolium	Diuretic.
Melia azedorach	Diuretic and anthelmintic.
Gaultheria procumbens	Aromatic and astringent.
Spirea tomentosa	Tonic and astringent.
Gillenia trifoliata	Diaphoretic.
Leptendra virginica	Antidote to snake-bite.
Lycopus europea	Aromatic, tonic.
Monarda, (different species,)	Carminative, &c.
Fedia radiata	Vermifuge, sedative.
Valeriana sylvatica	Sedative.
Mullugo verticillata	Demulcent.
Cephalanthus occidentalis	Tonic.
Isnardia palustris	Emollient.
Euphorbia corollata	Emetic.
Ictodes fœtida	A remedy in asthma.
Pulmonaria virginica	Tonic.
Spigelia marylandica	Anthelmintic and narcotic.
Triosteum perfoliatum	Emetic.
Ribes trifolium	Diuretic.
Gentiana saponaria	Tonic.
Ulmus Americana	Emollient.
Ulmus Alata	Tonic.
Ligustricum scoticum	Aromatic and expectorant.
Juglans cineria	Cathartic.
Salex, (willow)	Tonic and febrifuge.
Hieracium gronovii	Antidote to snake-bite.
Liatris spicata	Diuretic. Antidote to snake-bite.
Eupatorium perfoliatum	Emetic — cathartic and tonic.
Artemisia canadense	Tonic.
Achillea multifolium	Tonic and secernent, stimulant.
Asclepias tuberosa	Emetic.
a Apocynum cannabinum	Emetic and sudorific.
Geum rivole	Febrifuge.
Tilia glabra	Demulcent and diuretic.
Leonurus cardiaca	Tonic and carminative.

Mentha viridis	Aromatic.
Abutilon avicenna	Mucilaginous.
Malva rotundifolia	Mucilaginous.
Prenanthes alba	Antidote to snake-bite.
Polygala senega	Diaphoretic expectorant, and antidote to snake-bite.

I am aware that such of your readers as have only looked casually into this subject, may feel that the list of medicinal plants, purporting to be used by the savages of the United States, has been unjustifiably enlarged; and even those who are better informed on the subject, may think it strange that they should have appropriated to their use so large a proportion of the most valuable articles of the materia medica of the country. It is not my design to convey the idea that any one tribe is familiar with any considerable part of the catalogue. If, however, it is considered for a moment that the country occupied extends from the Lake of the Woods to the Gulf of Mexico, it need no longer appear strange that the catalogue of remedies, which includes the ledum-palustre, (Labrador tea,) on the one side, and, on the other, a native of Florida — the yucca filamentosa, (silk grass,) — should embrace a good many species. There is no denying the fact, that either by their discernment, or the force of an unerring instinct, they have been guided to a knowledge of a good proportion of the medicinal plants indigenous to their respective sections of country.

DETROIT, *Jan.* 12*th*, 1853.

APPENDIX TO TITLE XIII.

DETROIT, *July* 7*th*, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR: — I received the third part of your Indian labor early in May, just at the time I was finishing my Report for the National Medical Association on Medical Education. That furnished at the time a pretext or excuse for omitting an acknowledgment of it. Since my return, it has been postponed, more from forgetfulness than any other cause.

On looking the volume over, my attention was naturally directed to the remarks of Dr. Andros on medicine, who, I find, has made the almost universal mistake of confounding the conjuror and the humble practitioner who relies upon the use of natural means, whilst the former invokes the supernatural, and appeals to the credulity of his followers.

In my own communication on this subject, I omitted to say anything on the means of preserving medicines made use of by the Indians; an omission which I presume you can yourself supply. I will add, however, that some tribes dry carefully their articles of materia medica by hanging them in their lodges, pounding them in a mortar, and tying them up in bags of animal tissue, such as the coats of a bladder, which are impervious to air, and, in a good degree, to water; that of the raccoon and the skunk being supposed capable of imparting certain qualities to the articles therein preserved.

Hoping that you may be preserved to finish your gigantic undertaking,

I am, dear Sir, Yours, &c.,

Z. Pitcher.

H. R. Schoolcraft, Esq.

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XIV. LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES. B.

[2d Paper, Title XIV.]

TITLE XIV.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XIV.

TITLE XIV., LET. A., VOL. III. [1st Paper.]

1. Plan of a System of Geographical Names, derived from the Aboriginal Languages. H. R. S.
2. American Nomenclature; being a Critical Dictionary of Indian Names in the History, Geography, and Mythology of the United States. Alphabetically arranged. Letter A. H. R. S.

TITLE XIV., LET. B., VOL. IV. [2d Paper.]

1. A Bibliographical Catalogue of Books,—Translations of the Scriptures, and other Publications into the Indian Tongues of the United States. With brief Critical Notices. H. R. S.
2. American Nomenclature. Being a Critical Dictionary of the Indian Names in the History, Geography, and Mythology of the United States. Alphabetically arranged. Letter B. H. R. S.

LITERATURE OF THE INDIAN LANGUAGES.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE OF BOOKS, TRANSLATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES, AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS IN THE INDIAN TONGUES OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH BRIEF CRITICAL NOTICES.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

INITIAL investigations, on this topic, were made and issued in an octavo pamphlet of twenty-eight pages, in 1849, with the view of obtaining information to render the inquiry more complete. The interval has enabled the author to make valuable additions to the catalogue of publications enumerated. It was then observed that, "The true history of the Indian tribes and their international relations, must rest, as a basis, upon the light obtained from their languages. To group and classify them into families on philosophical principles, will be to restore these ancient relations. Their traditions and historical affinities, so far as they reach, will generally attest the truth of the facts denoted by language. In our future policy, they should be removed or colonized in reference to this relationship, and foreign groups not be commingled with the cognate tribes.

The true object of investigating the languages is thus perceived; and it is hoped that its practical, as well as historical importance, will be appreciated in ready responses from persons receiving these sheets."

During the time that has elapsed, four volumes (4to) of the INFORMATION ordered by Congress, have been published. It has been found practicable to introduce fourteen elementary papers on the grammars of the various languages, together with the vocabularies of forty-five languages and dialects of tribes situated between the Alleghanies and the Pacific, twenty-nine of which have never before been published; and of the number previously known to philologists, the vocabularies have been, in many instances, fragmentary and scanty, and in others often doubtful in definition or orthography. To obviate this objection, a standard vocabulary of three hundred and fifty words was prepared in 1847, and transmitted to persons in the Indian country most familiar with the subject.

Among the valuable respondents to these queries, have been several persons long resident with the tribes, who are distinguished for their experience, learning, or character. Contributions to the body of information on this vital head have also been received from several officers of the army, having literary tastes, who are stationed on the frontiers — a class of observers who are often brought into intercourse with the remotest tribes. More than fifteen thousand Indian words have been received, in answer to the uniform stated vocabularies referred to, which admit of ready comparison in the hands of philologists. The boundaries of ethnology have thus been greatly enlarged, through the enlightened liberality of the government, in a manner, and to an extent, which places this species of research generally beyond the power of individual means; and which, it may be permitted to add, has never before been accomplished. Germany has been the chief seat of this species of labor. Catherine II. of Russia is, however, the only monarch who has devoted public funds to the object, or attempted to advance history by tracing the affinities of nations through their languages.

The object in these inquiries is, of course, far more limited and incidental. It is to trace the affinities of the numerous tribes of the United States. Nor is the result, even at this initial point, one of doubtful utility. It is clearly denoted that the tribes who stretch from the borders of the Lake of the Woods to the Rio Grande, taking the Rocky Mountains as the western barrier, may be chiefly thrown into five generic ethnological groups, and that these groups have striking agreements in their grammars, and plan of thought and expression, even where the vocabularies seem most diverse; while coincidences in the sounds of the consonantal elements of words are found in cases where the vowels are wholly changed and obliterated.

SYNOPSIS.

CHAPTER I. IROQUOIS.

Sect. 1. Mohawk, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
" 2. Oneida, No. 11.
" 3. Senecas, Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

CHAPTER II. ALGONQUIN.

Sect. 1. Chippewa, Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49.
" 2. Ottowa, Nos. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.
" 3. Pottawattomie, Nos. 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67.

Sect. 4. Mohegan, No. 68.
" 5. Montagnais, No. 69.
" 6. Delaware, Nos. 70, 71, 72, 73, 74.
" 7. Shawnee, Nos. 75, 76, 77.
" 8. Abenaki, Nos. 78, 79, 80.

CHAPTER III. APALACHIAN.

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" 2. Choctaw, Nos. 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121.
" 3. Creek, or Muscogee, Nos. 122, 123, 124, 125.

CHAPTER IV. DACOTAH.

Sect. 1. Dacotah, Nos. 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135. 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141.
" 2. Winnebago, No. 142.
" 3. Iowa, Nos. 143, 144, 145, 146, 147.
" 4. Otoe, No. 148
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CHAPTER V. SHOSHONEE.

Sect. 1. Nez Percé, or Sa-aptin, No. 150.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE.

CHAPTER I.

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE SEVERAL DIALECTS OF THE IROQUOIS.

The Iroquois tribes had acquired the highest reputation in war, oratory, and diplomacy, of all the Indian tribes of North America. At the time of the discovery, they were in the ascendant, and were rapidly consolidating their power under a system of confederacy, which had some striking traits resembling our own. Their language, viewed in its several dialects, was not so soft and flowing as that of their former rivals, the Algonquins or Adirondacks; but impressed the listener by its masculine and sonorous tone. It imparted a beauty to their geographical terminology, and helped to spread the fame of their deeds over Europe.

Translations into this group of languages, were commenced at an early period. A part of the Service of the English Church was executed under the late Bishop Stewart of Canada, during the reign of Queen Anne. Seventeen separate works, nearly all of modern date, however, have been received, of which eleven are in the Mohawk dialect, one in the Oneida, and six in the Seneca. Nothing has been received or is known to exist in the Onondaga, Cayuga, or Tuscarora. Ziesberger's Dictionary of the Onondaga in MS., is known to be deposited in the library of the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia.

SECT. I. MOHAWK.

1. Nene Karighyoston, Tsinihorighhoten ne Saint John. The Gospel according to St. John: New York, D. Fanshaw for the American Bible Society; 1 vol, 18mo, 116 pages, A. D. 1818. In this early version, the Greek word "Logos," and the Hebrew "Yehovah," are engrafted on the Mohawk dialect. The version is attributed to Norton, a Mohawk chief. The translation is accompanied with the parallel English passages.

2. Ne Kaorihwadogenhti. The Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, according to Luke: New York, M'Elrath, Bangs and Herbert, for the Young Men's Bible Society, Methodist Church; 1 vol., 109 pages, 12mo, A. D. 1833. This translation is by A. Hill, corrected by J. A. Wilkes, Jr., Grand River, Canada West. Like the preceding, it contains the English and Mohawk in parallel passages, and, like that, is thus rendered a valuable element in the study of language.

3. Ne Ne Jinihodiyeren. The Acts of the Apostles, in the Mohawk Language: New York, Howe and Bates, for the Young Men's (Methodist) auxiliary Bible Society; 1 vol. 12mo, 120 pages, A. D. 1835. Translated by H. A. Hill, with corrections by William Hess, and John A. Wilkes, Jr. It is accompanied by a translation of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, in 56 pages, by the same translator and revisers.

4. The Gospel according to St. Mark: New York, M'Elrath and Bangs, for the New York District Bible Society; 1 vol., 239 pages, 12mo, A. D. 1829. This translation, of which there exist earlier copies, is from the pen of the noted chief Captain Joseph Brant, called Thyendanegea by his people. He employs the word Niyoh for the Supreme Being. He gives the English and Mohawk on opposite pages. The volume terminates with a collection of sentences from the Scriptures, which are designed for practical instruction. These are curious and valuable exemplifications of the powers of the two languages. In point of brevity and conciseness, the English exceeds the Mohawk, as 25 to 38 (vide p. 192, et seq.). The mind of that chief would appear to have been well indoctrinated in leading scriptural truths, and exhibits no little power of appropriate selection, in these passages. If he became a savage in battle, and exhibited the peculiar subtlety, cruelty and power of Indian deception while on the war-path, he had the power to sink into a philosophic calm in his study. This translation is indeed a better apology for the alleged cruelties of his life, than the rather labored volumes of his ardent biographer, the late Colonel W. L. Stone

5. The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians, in the Mohawk language. New York: Howe and Bates, for the Young Men's Bible Society, 1 vol., 18 double pages, 12 mo; with the Epistle to the Ephesians, 18 double pages, 12mo, A.D. 1835. Translated by H. A. Hill, with corrections by William Hess and J. A. Wilkes, Jr.

6. The Epistles of Paul in Mohawk: namely, to the Philippians, p. 17. To the Colossians, p. 16. To the Thessalonians, p. 22. To Timothy, p. 31. To Titus, p. 11. To Philemon, p. 7. These six Epistles of the Apostle, which are comprehended in 104 12mo pages, are the translation of William Hess, an educated Mohawk, with corrections by J. A. Wilkes, Jr. New York: Howe and Bates, for the Young Men's Auxiliary Bible Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, A.D. 1836.

7. Ne Yeriuanontontha ne ne. Wesleyan Methodists. Lynn, Mass.: Newhall and Hathorne, 12 pages, 18mo, A.D. 1834.

This is a translation of the catechism of the Wesleyan Methodists, published at New York in 1836, by Waugh and Mason, at the Conference Office, 200 Mulberry street.

8. Catechism of the Wesleyan Methodists, for children of tender years. New York: Waugh and Mason, 16 pages, 18mo, A. D., 1836. Compiled and published by order of the British Conference.

9. A collection of hymns for the use of native Christians, in the Mohawk Language. New York: D. Fanshaw, A. D. 1835, p. 147, 18mo.

10. Ne Karoron ne teyerihwahkwatha kanyengehaga kaweonondahkon yayak ni ononhweyageh raonawenk. 1 vol., 18mo, 77 pages. Hamilton, Upper Canada: Ruthven, King Street, A.D. 1839.

A collection of psalms and hymns in the Mohawk language. For the use of the Six Nations. This volume is printed at the expense and under the authority of the New England Corporation in London, for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. The Indian and English are given on alternate pages, which facilitates the comparison of the two languages. Ni yoh is the term used for God, and roya ner for Lord; the latter being the highest term for sublunary authority known to them. No necessity, therefore, existed for the use of the term "Yehovah," which is done in the gospel of John, above noticed, which was printed at New York, in 1818. Foreign words are adopted by civilized nations who have a literature; but savage tribes are the last people in the world to see the necessity of incorporating them into their dialects; and the attempts, where made, are such decided failures as to discourage their repetition.

SECT. 2. ONEIDA.

11. A Prayer Book, comprising the Morning and Evening Service, and other forms used in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. New York: Swords, Stanford, and Co. D. Fanshaw, printer, A. D. 1837, 1 vol., 12mo, 168 pages.

This is a compilation from several sources, made by Rev. Solomon Davis, missionary to the Oneidas, at Duck creek, Wisconsin. It is not without some inaccuracy that it is set forth as being in the language of the Six Nations, since each of those nations speak dialects; nor can it be strictly asserted to be in the Oneida dialect, although understood by that nation. The vocabularies that have been taken denote very considerable differences in the languages of the several Iroquois cantons;[1] greater indeed, by far, than might have been expected, when it is known that these tribes understand each other. The question is one rather of philology than practical teaching, which, we are informed, is sufficiently well advanced by the present work. It is here arranged under the head of the Oneida dialect, from the known fact that Mr. Davis labors, and has long labored with that people, and the observed prevalence of the Oneida dialect in portions of the work.

SECT. 3. SENECA.

12. Diahsawahgwah gayadoshah. Reading Lessons. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 1 vol., 42 pp. 8vo, A.D. 1836. The clear and neat type and white paper of this little volume, and the exact system of notation in which the Seneca tongue appears, denote the careful labors, in this branch, of the Rev. A. Wright, who has been for many years a missionary of the American Board at the Buffalo Reservation, in Western New York. There is a vocabulary of sixteen pages of concrete terms and conversational forms at its close, which adds to its practical and philological value.

13. Ne Jaguhnigoagesgwathah. The Mental Elevator. Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14; 8 pages each. Cattaraugus Reservation. Mission Press, A.D. 1846, 32 pages.

14. The Mental Elevator. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14—8 pages, 8vo each. This miscellany, being the first and only thing of the kind which has, so far as is known, ever been attempted in a native tongue in America, was commenced by the Rev. A. Wright, missionary A. B. C. F. Missions among the Senecas of Western New York, at Buffalo Reservation, Nov. 30th, 1841, and continued after the removal of this band to Cattaraugus, in the same State, to the 31st December, 1846, which is the last number received. It embraces, in 112 closely-printed pages, an amount of useful and instructive matter, which must be invaluable to those of the Senecas who can read. Besides Biblical reading, and pieces of moral instruction, it embraces some matters relating to their government and business, obituary notices, statistics, &c. It appears from it, that the total population of all the Senecas in New York, in 1845, was 2630—in 1846, 2720, denoting an increase of births over deaths, in one year, of 90 souls.

15. The Gospel according to St. Luke, translated into the Seneca tongue, by T. S. Harris. New York, printed for the American Bible Society. D. Fanshaw, A.D. 1829, 1 vol. 18mo, 149 pages.

16. Gaa nah shoh ne Deowaah saonyohgwah na wen ni yuh. Hymns in the Seneca. Dosyowah (Buffalo creek) Mission press, 1 vol., 136 pages, 18mo, A.D. 1843. This

translation is prefaced with Mr. Wright's system of writing the Seneca, and terminates with a descriptive index.

17. Sheet Ordinances, Seneca chiefs, 4th December, 1847. These ordinances are to be regarded as an acknowledgment of the utility of letters by the Senecas, numbers of whom are capable of reading.

CHAPTER II.

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE VARIOUS DIALECTS OF THE ALGONQUIN.

Of all the groups of the Indian languages in America, the various dialects of this stock have furnished the most inviting and best cultivated field for the translator and philologist. The French, during their early and long occupancy of the Canadas, gave great prominence to the various tribes speaking dialects of this group. In proportion as the principles of the languages have been investigated, the circle of the affinities of the Algonquins has been found to be extended wider and wider. It is to be traced from the ancient Powhatanic tribes of Virginia, northward and eastward along the Atlantic coast, to and beyond the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thence west, reaching to the utmost limits of this stream at the sources of the Mississippi, and descending its eastern or left bank to the junction of the Ohio, and thence, across the Alleghanies, to the Atlantic. From this great circle of occupation, embracing the present area of sixteen of the States, the several branches of the Iroquois, with the Wyandot and the Winnebago dialect of the Dacota, are the only exceptions of modern date.

In the investigation of the dialects of this important group, fifty-five printed works have been received, of which, twenty-eight are in the Ojibwa or Chippewa dialect, ten in the Ottawa, seven in the Pottawattomie, one in the Mohegan, one in the Montagnais, three in the Delaware, three in the Shawnee, and one in the Abenaki. More than three-fourths of the whole number of the numerous tribes of this stock, are thus far unrepresented by translations of the Scriptures; translation being a species of evidence of the affinity of tribes which, as it is founded upon a fixed and accurately divided standard, affords one of the best general means of comparison. It is desirable, therefore, to collect all that has been, or may be done in this branch of literature, not only respecting the Algonquin groups, but also in relation to each of the other groups of our Aboriginal languages.

Sect. I. NATIC OR MASSACHUSETTS LANGUAGE.

18. Mamusse Winneetupanatumeoe up-biblum God; naneasue nukkone Testament, kah wonk wusku Testament. Ne quash kiunumuk nashpe wattinneu moh Christ noh

assoowessit John Eliot, nahohtoen ontchetoe Printwoomuk: Cambridge, Printewoop nashpe Samuel Green, MDCLXXXV.

The Bible of God, containing the Old and New Testament, translated by the Rev. John Eliot: Cambridge, printed by Samuel Green, 1685. This is, at once, the earliest and the greatest work, in translation from the Indian tongues, ever achieved in America. Eliot was a man of holy purpose, who migrated from England ten years after the first landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. He settled at Roxbury, where he preached to the first congregation assembled at that place. He soon manifested a deep zeal in the conversion of the Indians, and not only visited the Indian villages himself, but was the means of enlisting other laborers in the field, and the efficient agent, under Providence, of creating a wide-spread interest in the subject, and of conducting to successful issues a series of the most extensive and important revivals, extending through a long period, which has ever been known among the aborigines of America.

It appears from Gookin, Arch. Amer., Vol. II., p. 444, that his principal assistant in the translation of the Scriptures, was a Massachusetts Indian, named Job Nasutan, one of the praying Indians who had been instructed and converted by him — a man who, agreeably to this testimony, was well esteemed for piety and knowledge, both in the Indian and English tongues.

The translation embraces the whole of the Old and New Testament, from Genesis to Revelation, with the Psalms — a labor that appears stupendous. It was done at the expense of the Society in London for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians in New England. The New Testament appears to have been first printed in 1661. This was repeated, by a new edition in 1680. The entire work was embodied in the edition above noticed, of 1685. It is, at this day, a monument of philological value. It links, in one family of languages, the Chippewas and other tribes of Algonquin lineage, of the Upper Lakes, with the Massachusetts and New England Algonquins. Mr. Eliot did not deem their name for God (Manitoo,) sufficiently pure and free from superstitious notions to introduce, in all places in his translation, as an equivalent. He sometimes gave it this sense, as in Ex. xx. 2, but as is perceived in the same verse (Ind. Bible,) he never employs it in the sense of Lord. The latter is uniformly rendered by the term Jehovah. There were, apparently, difficulties in speaking of objects, which were unknown to the Natic vocabulary, prior to the coming of Europeans, such as cow, sheep, oxen, &c.; and yet further difficulties, if speaking of objects known only to the oriental world, such as camel, lion, dragon, &c. In all these cases he employed the English words in our version. Neither he, nor his pundit Nasutan, appear to have been adepts in natural history, which renders the work less valuable; but, in all cases of trees, plants, fish, birds, or quadrupeds, where a doubt existed, they cautiously employed the English word. Where these infusions of English into the Natic were made, the proper Indian inflection to denote the genitive, or to mark a prepositional or pronominal sense to the word, as *un*, *in*, *oh*, *oom*, or simply *m*, are most valuable indicia of the grammar.

In the often quoted passage, Ex. iii. 14, the capacities of the Natic admitted but the repetition of the expression I am. Nin (I) nuttinnii (am) nen (I), gives us an expression like this—I am I. (Ind. Bible.)

SECT. 2. CHIPPEWA OR ODJIBWA.

19. The Gospel of John in Chippewa. 1 vol., 12mo, 280 pages, London British and Foreign Bible Society, A.D. 1831. This work, in point of mechanical execution, in its paper, type, and binding, is by far the best volume of Indian translation which has been sent among the sons of the forest. It is the well-known translation of the brothers John and Peter Jones, of the river Credit, in Canada West, which has been extensively used by our missionaries in the United States, as well as the Canada societies, and has the concurrence of various denominations, as being a faithful version. It is a curious fact, that while learned philologists are discussing the actual use by the Indians, and existence in the language, of the substantive verb *to be*, the native missionaries should be in the constant use of various forms of the Chippewa verb I-AU, alleged to have been observed among the Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie, in 1822, to denote, as is done in this volume, the various senses of "is," "was," &c. The orthography of this word is here given as "Ahyah."

20. The First Book of Genesis, 1 vol., 12mo, 178 pp.: Toronto, A.D. 1835. This volume is printed by the Auxiliary Bible Society of Canada, at the office of the Christian Guardian: J. H. Lawrence, printer.

It is the work of the Rev. Peter Jones, the native missionary, and is deemed, by missionaries and teachers who have devoted their attention to the language, an authentic rendering of the entire fifty chapters of the original. There is no attempt to exhibit a plan of orthography, or to employ the English alphabet in a more fixed form, than is known to common writers and speakers. As the influence of the juxtaposition of consonants to vowels, and their modifications from such contact, are well known, there is little or no difficulty in arriving readily at the sounds intended by the translator to be conveyed. The idiom of the Mississagie form of the Chippewa, which is employed throughout in this translation, is perceptibly different from the more rigid intonation and forms of the vowel sounds, as heard in the region of Lake Superior; but the language is literally the same, and is well understood by these northern bands. "Munedoo," the term for God, instead of Monedo, the northern form of it, and other analogous words, present no difficulty to a northern ear or eye; for whatever, indeed, be the form of orthography used, the native reader will retain the mother sound of the word, and attach precisely such value to the syllables actually used in any given translation, as shall bring out the entire and complete sound, as known to him from childhood.

21. The Gospel according to Matthew, in Chippewa. 1 vol., 12mo, 112 pp: Boston, Crocker and Brewster. A. B. C. F. Missions, A.D. 1839.

This is, substantially, a republication of the Gospel of Matthew which originally appeared at York, now Toronto, Canada West, under the auspices of the Canada Auxiliary Bible Society. It is understood to have been the work of the brothers Jones. In this republication the orthography has been adjusted to the system prepared by the late Mr. Pickering, with a few modifications — rendering it, in all respects, conformable to the system uniformly adopted in the publications of the American Board.

22. The Gospel of Luke in Chippewa. 1 vol., 12mo, 112 pp. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, for the American Bd. Com. for Foreign Missions, A.D. 1837.

This translation is the joint production of George Copway, a converted and educated Chippewa of the Mississagie tribe of Canada West, and the Rev. Sherman Hall, of the Lapointe Mission, Lake Superior.

23. The Gospel of John in Chippewa. 1 vol., 12mo, 83 pp. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. Printed for the A. B. C. F. Missions, A.D. 1838. This is the version of John and Peter Jones, No. 24, adapted to the orthography of the American Board.

24. The Acts of the Apostles. 1 vol., 12mo, 105 pp. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. For the A. B. C. F. Missions, A.D. 1838. This translation emanates from the Lapointe Mission, Lake Superior, which is under the superintendence and management of the Rev. Sherman Hall, and is the joint production of that missionary and Mr. George Copway, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission of Canada.

25. Picture Defining and Reading Book. 1 vol., 12mo, 123 pp. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. For the Am. Bd. Com. For. Miss., A.D. 1835. This work is a translation of Mr. Gallaudet's popular "Definer," with illustrations in the Chippewa, and exhibits the pictorial mode of teaching, in a successful manner. The arts of design may certainly be employed, to a great extent, in elementary teaching to the natives. There is no indication of the translator's name, or the field of his labors, which latter is only known to be in the great missionary area of the Chippewas of the north-west.

26. Geography for Beginners. Abinoji aki Tibajimouin; literally, News or Information of the Earth for Children or Youth. 1 vol., 12mo, 139 pp. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. A. B. C. F. Missions. This useful little volume contains a fund of information which has all the attractions of news and novelty for the natives, giving information about people, countries, manners, and customs, which were before totally unknown to them. It is taken chiefly from the Peter Parley series. The system of orthography is precisely that employed in No. 26, which varies in some respects from the system of the Board, and is to be regarded as an attempt of the translator, whose name is not given, to amend it. The forms of Chippewa substantives ending in *ngk* are provided for by a dash under the final vowels — thus, *a̱*, *e̱*, *i̱*, *o̱*, *u̱*. As this *ngk* or *ng*, the *g* full, is both the participial form of the verb, and the ablative or prepositional form of the noun; denoting, in the latter cases, on, in, or at, agreeably to its antecedent; the abbreviation requires to be carefully noticed. At page 88, at the foot of a wood-cut giving the mode of travelling on sleds drawn by dogs, in Siberia, in the winter, if the

vowel *i*, in the word "peboin," signifying winter, should not be put in its full prepositional form in *ing*, or the vowel dashed, according to the translator's system, the word Siberia should certainly have its local ending in *ng* or *ngk*. Otherwise, his reading of Bemadizi peboin ima Siberia is, literally, In *Travelling-winter there* (or *that* place) *Siberia;* and not, as the language permits — Travelling in winter-there (or that place) in Siberia.

27. A Chippewa Primer, 1 vol., 12mo, 84 pp. Printed for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, New York. John Westall, 29 Ann Street, A. D. 1844. Compiled by the Rev. Peter Dougherty. First and Second Editions.

Under the simple name of "Primer," this little work is one of much value to the philologist, as well as being adapted to promote the advance of the pupil. The "Key to the Spelling of the Indian," prefixed to it, is more conformed to the ordinary standard of English orthoepy, than is practised by the American Board, the vowels retaining, under limitations, their natural *English* sounds.

28. The First Initiatory Catechism, with the ten commandments and Lord's prayer, by James Gall. Translated into the Odjibwa language by Rev. Peter Dougherty and D. Rodd. Printed for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 69. New York, John Westall, 11 Spruce Street, A. D. 1847. This translation exhibits the parallel passages of English and Indian.

29. Ojibue Spelling Book, designed for the use of Native Learners. Printed for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Crocker and Brewster, Boston. 1 vol., 12mo, 127 pp. A. D. 1835. Second Edition. This elementary work contains a "Key to the Alphabet," which is adopted, essentially, from the system of Mr. Pickering.

30. Omajibiigeuinum au John, or the Epistles of John, in the Ojibwa language. Translated and printed for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston, Crocker and Brewster. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 30. A. D. 1840.

31. Short Reading Lessons in the Ojibwa language, translated by Rev. P. Dougherty, and printed for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York, John Westall & Co., 14 Spruce Street. A. D. 1847. The parallel passages in English and Indian are preserved, thus making it an element for the study of American philology.

32. Easy Lessons of Scripture History in the Ojibwa Language, translated by Rev. P. Dougherty and D. Rodd. Printed for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York, John Westall & Co. A. D. 1847.

33. The Chippewa Primer, compiled by Rev. Peter Dougherty. Printed for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. Second edition, enlarged. New York, John Westall & Co., Printers, 11 Spruce Street. A. D. 1847. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 123. This appears to be a judicious compilation in all respects, and evinces much familiarity with the modes of thought and expression used by the aborigines. The

introduction of the word "holy" in the Chippewa term of "Mah-no-tah-ho-ly-wun, he te zhe no kâ zo win," (hallowed be thy name,) is a peculiarity of the version of the Lord's Prayer here introduced, and while the object is appreciated, the propriety of the mode of attaining it may be doubted. There are some Ottowa idioms which would offer an objection to the work in high northern latitudes. The names of the months and days, at p. 120, must be deemed as quite local. It seems desirable to make the record of this language as general and comprehensive as possible, in all translations, and not to belittle its phraseology unnecessarily with localisms.

34. The Morning and Evening Prayer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, together with a selection of Hymns. Printed for the Diocese of Michigan. Detroit, Geiger and Christian, A. D. 1844. 1 vol., pp. 59. In this work the translator, Mr. George Johnston, of Sault Ste. Marie, has used the English alphabet in its ordinary and natural manner, as known to English readers. It embraces, besides the daily morning and evening services, the commandments, and a selection of Hymns; and is used at the Griswold Mission, in western Michigan.

35. Nugamouinun Genunugumouat Igiu An-ishinabeg Anumiajig. (Songs to be sung by Praying Indians.) Printed for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Crocker and Brewster, Boston. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 52. A. D. 1835. This is a reprint of some of the approved Hymns, translated by Peter Jones, altering the orthography so as to conform to the American Board's system.

36. Kizhemanito Muziniegun Tezhiwindumingin, &c., or Old Testament Bible Stories: 1 vol., 12mo, 72 pp. Boston, Crocker and Brewster. Printed for the Board of A. B. C. F. M., A. D. 1835. This compilation of Scripture contains the sacred story of the Creation — the death of Abel — the Deluge — the Ark — the building of Babel — the Calling of Abraham — Destruction of Sodom — Daniel in the Lions' Den, and the story of Joseph in full. Some lessons in natural history are added, and the whole illustrated with wood-cuts.

37. Ozageidüwin au Jesus — The Love of Jesus. Boston, Crocker and Brewster. Printed for the A. B. C. F. Missions, A. D. 1840. This tract, comprised in 21 pages, relates, in the Chippewa tongue, the story of the advent and vicarious sufferings and atonement of Jesus; and is precisely such an element of Christian knowledge, as should be in the hands of every teacher in the wilderness.

38. The First Initiatory Catechism by James Gall, with the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer by Rev. Peter Dougherty. Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. New York, John Westall, A. D. 1844.

A considerable amount of Scripture knowledge is here put in the shape of questions and answers in 24 pages. This form is well adapted to the instruction of the Indian mind, from the clearness and simplicity which it may be made to assume. In the version of the Lord's Prayer in this school-tract, the term "Gwa-tah-me-quan-dah-gwud" is employed to express "hallowed" in its aboriginal form, and without the introduction of "ho-ly" to which we alluded in the notice of No. 33. This publication is, however, three years older than the Chippewa Primer, the latter being of the date of 1847, and the former of 1844, and the suggestion, like that of the use of the word "God" in the version of the Bible by John Eliot, may be considered as the result of more knowledge and, at least, *boldness* in the use of the language.

39. Ojibue Spelling-Book, 3d edition. Boston, Crocker and Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. Missions; 1 vol., 12mo, 96 pp., A. D. 1846. This publication is well adapted to convey instruction to the Indian mind, on a great variety of subjects in common life. As a vocabulary of terms and phrases in daily use, it reveals a list of equivalents for names and things.

40. The Ten Commandments. This is a broad sheet without imprint, but was transmitted, with other translations, August 11th, 1847, by Walter Lowry, Esq., secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of the United States at New York.

41. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, translated into the Language of the Ojibwa Indians. Otashki—Kikindiuin au Kitogimaminan gaie Bemajiinung Jeguskrist: ema Ojibue Inueuüning Geizhiton. New York American Bible Society, A. D 1844. 1 vol. 12mo, 643 pages. This is a work of great labor and importance. It would have added much to the interest with which it is regarded as a missionary triumph, if some brief account had been prefixed to it, showing the various laborers who have taken part in it, and the difficulties which have been surmounted in transferring the more recondite and spiritual portions of the epistles and other passages into a tongue which has heretofore been employed only to call on fictitious deities, or to express objects and ideas the farthest removed possible from holiness.

42. Lu Pitabun gema gau Okikinoamaguz, iuiniua igiu abinojiug. The Peep of Day, or a series of the earliest Religious Instruction the Infant mind is capable of receiving. Boston, A. B. C. F. M. T. K. Marvin, A. D. 1844. 1 vol. 12mo., p. 144.

43. Ojibue Nugumouinum, geaiouagin ijiu anishinabeg enumi iajig. Chippewa Songs for Christian Indians. Boston, 1 vol. 12mo., pp. 212, A. D. 1844. This is a judicious compilation of the hymns of Peter Jones and other native teachers, presented in the orthography of the American Board.

44. Ojebwa Nuhguhmonum. New York, published by Lane and Tippet for the Missionary Society of the M. E. Church, 200 Mulberry street. A. D. 1847, 1 vol. 18mo, 289 pages. This reprint of the translations of approved hymns by Peter Jones has some additions, translated by the Rev. James Evans and George Henry.

45. Principes de la Langue des Sauvages appeler Sauteux. Quebec, de l'imprimerie de Frechette et C^{ie}. 1 vol. 12mo, 146 pages. A. D. 1839.

This is a grammar of the Chippewa language, composed by the Rev. G. A. Belcourt, a Catholic missionary at Red River of the North, whose object, as it is expressed by Bishop Archer in the enclosure of his letter of the 8th of May, 1848, was "to facilitate the study of the Sauteux language;" an end which, it is conceived, he has accomplished in a manner useful to missionaries and teachers, and highly creditable to himself.

46. Anamihe Masinahigan. Kebekong (Quebec). 1 vol. 18mo, 209 pages, A. D. 1839. This is a translation into the Sauteux or Chippewa language, of certain essential parts of the services, prayers, and hymns of the Catholic Church, by the Rev. G. A. Belcourt of Red River, Hudson's Bay Territory. It embraces; 1st, Customary prayers of the morning service, to page 17. 2d, the catechism for children, used in the diocese of Quebec, to page 106. 3d, prayers of the mass, the confession, and communion, to page 131. 4th, Hymns and chants in use in the Quebec diocese.

47. The Speller and Interpreter, in Indian and English, for the use of the Mission schools. In the Ojibwa tongue. By James Evans, Wesleyan missionary. D. Fanshaw, New York, 1831. 1 vol. 12mo., 195 pages.

Mr. Evans labored several years in teaching the Chippewas of the river St. Clair, and executing the above performance, in the course of his efforts. His object was to express the Indian sounds with the fewest possible characters, and his system embraces but four elementary vowel and eight consonantal sounds, besides the double vowels and diacritical marks to denote the nasal and suspended vowels.

48. Ketchemanitomenahn Gahbemah jeinunk, Jesus Christ; otoshke waweendummahgawin. 1 vol. 8vo., 484 pages. Albany, Packard and Van Benthuysen, 1833.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ. This translation is from the lips of John Tanner, the captive, made about 1825, while he was interpreter at the United States Indian Agency at Michilimackinac, and was reduced to its present shape by Dr. E. James, then an assistant surgeon at that post. It is known, incidentally, that neither the Doctor nor his pundit were, or professed to be, vital Christians at the period. Tanner had himself passed the most of his life after the age of nine years, among the Indians on Red River of the North, where he first attracted the notice of Lord Selkirk, in one of his visits to that country connected with the interests of the colony which he had founded in that quarter. Tanner had, after his return to the United States, attracted sympathy on the frontiers, and was aided by several individuals to visit and identify his relatives in Kentucky. The habits of the hunter life had, at his advanced age, become so fixed however, that he could not endure the customs of civilization, and he sought employment on the frontiers, as an interpreter at the Government Agencies. Here, also, the singularities of his temper and his views of life, placed him ill at ease, and he seemed for a while to forget his prejudices and allay his severe suspicions of human motives, in the business of rendering equivalent expressions for those of the New Testament. It may be thought that it would be more than reasonable to expect that a person thus nurtured in the depths of Indian prejudices and superstitions, should succeed in catching the true meanings, far less the spirit, of the often abstruse spiritual expressions of this book. And it cannot excite surprise that the translation is often so wide of the true meaning, as to render the book worthless. The following examples may suffice to denote this:—

"Matthew i. 23. Binnuh oskenea-eogequa tuhsunjeko giya tuh oguesse, guhtuh eshenekánä Immanuel, ne che eketonk Kitche Manito wejewinnunk.

24. Joseph dush gwashkoozit ga onishkat owwetotum ga agoot Gitche Manito omezhinnowamun, medush ŏge otâpenan wewun.

25. Ka wapamaseen chebwâ benekanat neetam oguissun Jesus dush oge ezhewenan.

Literally translated, these sentences read thus:

23. Behold a *young woman big* (tuh sunjeko) and she will have a son, and his name will be Emanuel, and it will be said, God goes along with us.

24. And when Joseph awoke, and had risen, he wished to do that which the angel of God told him to do, and he took his wife.

25. He did not lie with her (before bringing forth her foal or animal young), her first-born son, and he named him Jesus."

The mystery of the gospel turns on the fact that a *virgin* was incarnate; and its entire pertinence would evaporate, if the declaration was predicable of a "young woman."

Now the Chippewa language furnishes a term for virgin (seekong) as contradistinguished from young woman (oshkineegequa). The translation also violates a rule of the grammar by using the term "tah sunjeko," which applies to the birth of an animal, instead of "tah onejaunissee," the birth of a child. To give grammatical truthfulness to the termination of the 25th verse above, it should end in this expression—*cheebwâ nejenau wussood.*

49. A Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the Otchipwe Language. By Rev. Frederick Baraga, missionary at L'Ance, Lake Superior. Detroit, Jabez Fox, 1850. 1 vol., 12mo, 576 pp.

Mr. Baraga has labored to instruct the Chippewa Indians of the North, some twenty years, submitting to the hardships imposed by their manners and customs; and we here have the results of his observations on their language. Few men have had larger opportunities in learning its principles, or evinced the same persevering diligence in recording examples of their lexicography, and the multiform changes it undergoes for person, tense, number, &c. He has given distinctive attention to the very frequent use of participles in cases where other languages employ the indicative and infinitive, and to affirmative and negative forms of conjugation. He describes what he denominates a *debutative* form of the verb; and in his perfect affluence of examples, in almost every form, denotes with emphasis, under the name of "the change," that frequent transformation from the present indicative of the verb to the noun infinitive, which is so noticeable a feature in this language. By this change, such expressions as, he eats, he sleeps, he sings, he dances, are changed into eater, sleeper, singer, dancer. This change is generally made by a permutation of the initial vowel, by putting the inflection á before a short, in place of a long vowel, in the penultimate, and by adding the final inflection d, which is the sign of the relative pronoun when it is objective, thus:—

Ne mee . .	He or she dances.
Nau mid . .	Dancer.

The system of notation is partly the French, and partly the German, which will render it easy to foreigners. By this system, the tribal name od-jib, is spelled ot-chip, and the penult syllable rendered we instead of wa. Schemes of orthography and annotation differ with all our missionary authors, which may be only of practical consequence to the Indian learners who make sufficient progress to read English books; but offers no impediment, in reality, to the philologist, who is ever ready to convert the one plan into another.

Sect. 2. OTTOWA.

50. Ottowa Prayer-Book: Otawa Anamie Misinaigan. Detroit. 1 vol., 18mo, 293 pp. A. D. 1842. Printed by Eugene T. Smith for the Catholic Church. A translation of prayers prepared by the Rev. Frederick Baraga.

51. Katolik Anamie Misinaigan. Third edition of the preceding, corrected and augmented. Detroit, A. D. 1846.

52. Otawa Anamie Misinaigan. First edition of this work printed at Detroit, A. D. 1832, by George L. Whitney.

53. The New Testament in the Ottawa Language. Shawanoe Baptist Mission Press. John G. Pratt, Printer, A. D. 1841. Translated by Jotham Meeker, revised and compared with the Greek by Rev. Francis Barker, A. M. 1 vol., 12mo, pages 125 and 98. This translation comprises but the gospels of Matthew and John.

54. Original and Select Hymns in the Ottawa language, by Jotham Meeker. Press of the Am. Baptist Board of For. Miss. Shawnee Ind. Ter. 1 vol., 18mo, 96 pp. A. D. 1845.

55. Ottawa First-Book. Prepared by Jotham Meeker. J. G. Pratt, Printer, Shawnee Mission. A. D. 1838. 24 pp., 18mo.

56. Jesus Odijetawin. *No imprint.* 85 pp. This is transmitted from the Rev. F. G. Bondwel, at Lake Puckaway, in the *Menomonee* country, on Fox river, Wisconsin. It is a Catechism, which is given to Indian children attending school.

57. Jesus Obimadisiioin Ojonda Aking. (The Life of Jesus while on Earth.) Paris (France), A. D. 1837. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 211. This is a compilation and translation by Mr. Baraga, and has the approval of the Catholic Bishop of Detroit, Michigan, (Frederick Rese,) on the 20th October, 1836.

58. Anichinabek Amisinahikaniwa. (The Indian Book.) Detroit: printed by George L. Whitney, A. D. 1830. 1 vol., 18mo, pp. 106. There is a vocabulary of 40 words, in French and Ottawa, at pages 104, 105. It bears the name of Dejean, missionary.

59. Abinodjiag Omasindiganiwan. Buffalo: Press of Oliver G. Steel. A. D. 1837. This pamphlet of 8 pp., 8mo, was transmitted by Rev. T. J. Van Den Broek, 1838. It embraces the usual matter of first lessons for children. It appears from a note, at the end, to have been intended as preparatory to the reading of the *Jesus Obimadisiwin*, No. 57.

60. Child's Book. Detroit: Bagg & Harmon, A. D. 1845. 8 pp., 18mo. It contains the same elementary matter exactly as No. 54, compressed in a smaller type and page, with two additional reading articles. In other respects, it is a reprint of the Buffalo amisinaigon ewan.

SECT. 3. POTTAWATTOMIE.

61. The Gospel according to Matthew, and the Acts of the Apostles. Louisville, (Ky.) William C. Buck, printer. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 240. This translation is by Johnson Lykins. It is printed in the consonantal system of notation, without vowels, which has been proposed by Mr. Meeker.

62. Potewatemi Nememissinoikan. A. M. D. G., Saint Louis. 1 vol. 12mo, 62 pp. W. J. Mullin, printer. A. D. 1844. A Pottawattomie Prayer-book.

63. Potewatome Nkumwinin. Shawnee Baptist Mission: J. Meeker, printer, A. D. 1835. 1 vol., 84 pp., small 8vo.

64. Potewateme Missinoikan Catechisme. (Pottawattomie Book of Catechism.) Cincinnati: Stereotyped by Monfort & Conahans, for the Catholic Church. *No date.* Received 23d December, 1844.

65. Potewatemi Nememissinaikan. Baltimore: John Murphy, for the Catholic Church. A. D. 1846. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 160.

66. Pottawattomie Spelling Book. Shawnee Mission: J. Meeker, printer, A. D. 1834. 32 pp., 12mo.

67. Pewani Ipi Potewatemi Missinoikan. (Catholic Elementary Book for Pottawattomies.) Baltimore: John Murphy, A. D. 1846.

SECT. 4. MOHEGAN.

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE MOHEGAN, MOHÆKANUC, OR STOCKBRIDGE LANGUAGE.

68. The Assembly's Shorter Catechism. 1 vol., 18mo, 34 pp. *No imprint, or date.* This is one of the earlier translations made into our Indian languages, and is understood to have been done prior to the American Revolution, while this tribe dwelt at Stockbridge, Mass., on the Housatonic river. It has the following endorsement: "This translation was made by John Quinney and Captain Hendrick, who received his (their) commission from General Washington. Little else has ever been translated into the Stockbridge language besides this." The name of the tribe is written on the cover—

"Muh hee kun ne ew," being the plural of (to preserve the orthography of the endorsement,) "Muh hee kun," denoting Mohegan people. It is a well-characterised dialect of the sub-group of the Eastern Algonquins.

SECT. 5. MONTAGNAIS OR MOUNTAINEERS.

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE MONTAGNAIS.

[This people occupy the country on the head waters of the river Saguenay, on the north shores of the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, reaching to the Labrador coast. They are a part of the great Algonquin family, so celebrated in the history of Canada.]

69. Aiamieu Kukuetshimitun Misinaigan. Prayer and Question (Catechism) Book. Quebec: 53 pp., 12mo, A. D. 1848. This work is published with the approbation of the Bishop of Quebec, in the dialect of the Montagnais. "Ella est un de debries," observes the Bishop, in a note transmitting it; "ansi que cette des Sauteux, de la grande nation du Algonquins, si celebre dans l'histoire du Canada." The dialect differs but little from the forms of words used by the nations of this stock in the north-western quarter of the United States. The use of the letter l for the sound of n, as heard with our tribes, marks the chief peculiarity in sound.

SECT. 6. DELAWARES.

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE DELAWARE, OR LENNO-LENAPI LANGUAGE.

70. The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, comprising the narrations of the four Evangelists. By Rev. Samuel Leeberkuhn, M.A. Translated into the Delaware Indian language, by Rev. David Zeisberger, Missionary of the United Brethren. New York: Daniel Fanshaw, 1821. 1 vol., 12mo, 222 pp.

This translation is a testimony of the Moravian Brethren for the spiritual welfare of the ancient Delaware tribe. They made early efforts for the reclamation of this people, and when it was determined that they should remove from their ancient seats in Pennsylvania to the banks of the Muskingum, in Ohio, their teachers followed them to those, then, recesses of the forest. The preface to the present volume bears date at the new town of Goshenink, in 1806; a name which, the philologist will note, is made up of a German-Hebrew nominative (goshen), and a Delaware local (ink).

71. The three Epistles of the Apostle John. Translated into Delaware Indian by C. F. Dencke. New York: printed for the American Bible Society. D. Fanshaw, 1818. 21 pp., 18mo.

Getanittowit is the term constantly applied in this, as in the immediately preceding translation, to indicate God. In compound, the root-form "anitto," will be observed to represent the generic term of the group (manitto) for the Supreme Being.

72. The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Shawnee Baptist Mission: J. Meeker, A. D. 1 vol., 12mo, 221 pp. This is a version from the Delaware of Rev. David Zeisberger's compend of the Four Gospels, published in 1806. It is an attempt to express the Indian sounds by a consonantal system of notation peculiar to Mr. Meeker.

73. Lenapie Wawipoetakse ave Apwatuk. First Lessons in the Delaware: J. Meeker, Baptist Shawnee Mission. 1 vol., 18mo, 48 pp., A.D. 1834.

74. Lenapee Spelling Book. Shawnee Mission: J. Meeker, for the Baptist Society, A.D. 1834, 24 pp., 18mo.

SECT. 7. SHAWNEE.

75. The Gospel of St. Matthew. Shawnee Baptist Mission, Indian Territory: J. Meeker, printer, A. D. 1836. 1 vol., 18mo, 64 pp., with 16 pp. of hymns added, by Johnston Lykins. This translation has been compared with the Greek text by J. A. Chute, M. D.

76. Shawnee Speller and Reader. *Siwinowe Eawekitake.* By Johnston Lykins, Shawnee Mission: J. Meeker, printer, A. D. 1834. 1 vol., 18mo, 54 pp. This is executed in the Meekerian system of notation. "The consonants are not pronounced *aloud*, but have precisely the same sound as in reading English." (Editor). The word "Siwinowe," the equivalent for "Shawanoe," may serve as an example of the two systems. It has not perhaps occurred to the author, that when the new system has been learned by the pupil, there will be no other books to be read in it, except those which he or others may publish, in accordance with this very artificial and unpronounceable key. And that, to the learner, the whole body of English instruction, science, and learning, must be a dead letter! It were to be wished that missionaries would cease to try to be scheming philologists.

77. Pratt's edition of the preceding, A. D. 1838, 24 pp. This is a summary or condensed form of Mr. Lykins' first Spelling Book. Both are printed in the consonantal system.

SECT. 8. ABENAKIS.

78. Father Rusle's Dictionary: Mass. Hist. Col.

79. The Abenaki Spelling Book and Reader. Wobanaki Kinizowi Awighigan. By P. P. Wzokhilain, Kitzikotew. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1830. 1 vol., 18mo, 90 pp.

This useful elementary work is from the pen of an educated member of the tribe. Its thought-work may, therefore, be fully relied on. The system of the annotation of sounds is systematically given and clearly followed, from the most elementary to the most concrete words; and the author has rendered a most acceptable and important office for his countrymen. It has, in the form of a fly-leaf, a perpetual almanac, which denotes attention to a subject in which the aborigines have been, usually, thought deficient.

80. Kagakimzouiasis, Weji Wo'ban akiak. Catechism in the Abenaki Language. Quebec: Frechette & Co., for the Catholic Church. 1 vol., 44 pp., 12mo, A. D. 1832.

This is a translation of the Christian catechism of the diocese of Quebec into the language of the Abenakies, who are seated at the village of St. Francis, in the district of Three Rivers. The Abanaki tribe inhabit a wide district of country, situated on the south of the river St. Lawrence, between the St. John's of New Brunswick and the river Richelieu, Canada.

CHAPTER III.

APALACHIAN.

[This group is established provisionally on a geographical principle, which considers all the tribes who formerly lived in or below the spurs of the southern ranges of this noted mountain.]

SECT. 1. CHEROKEE.

BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHEROKEES.

81. The Gospel of St. John in the Cherokee. 1 vol., 18mo, 101 pp. Park Hill, Arkansas: Mission Press, John Candy, printer, 2d ed., A. D. 1841.

This gospel is printed in the Cherokee character (vide Vol. II., p. 228), under the supervision of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The name of the translator is not given.

82. The Gospel of Matthew in the Cherokee. 1 vol., 18mo, 120 pp. Park Hill, Arkansas: Mission Press, John Candy, printer, 3d ed., A. D. 1840; also 2d ed., A. D. 1832.

Printed in the Cherokee character, under the same authority as the preceding. The name of the translator is not given.

83. Doctrines and Discipline. 1 vol., 18mo, 45 pp. Park Hill, Arkansas: Mission Press. This tract in the Cherokee has been prepared under the preceding auspices.

84. Cherokee Primer. 1 vol., 18mo, 24 pp. Park Hill, Arkansas: Mission Press, A. D. 1840; J. Candy, printer, also ed. of 1846. Issued under the same auspices. This is a child's first book, and begins with the Cherokee syllabical alphabet, in 85 characters, followed with spelling lessons, with cuts, and easy reading lessons, illustrated in the same manner; then the numerals, and a short catechism.

85. The Epistles of John in the Cherokee. 1 vol., 18mo, 20 pp. Park Hill, Arkansas: Mission Press, J. Candy, printer, A. D. 1840. Cherokee character.

Authority the same as the preceding. To aid, apparently, the pupil in forming a just conception of the event of the crucifixion, a print thereof is added, with a serpent wound about the foot of the cross, and a city (Jerusalem) in the back-ground. This symbolical mode of teaching is not observed in any other of the American Board's Scripture translations.

86. Evils of Intoxicating Liquor, and the Remedy. 1 vol., 18mo, p. 59. Park Hill. Arkansas Miss. Press. J. Candy, Printer, A. D. 1842–44. In this volume, three separate tracts in the Cherokee character, on the use of intoxicating drinks, are bound together, in the usual Cherokee type, to match with the gospels.

87. Cherokee Hymns. 1 vol., 18mo, 67 pp. Cherokee character. Park Hill. Arkansas Miss. Press. A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1844. J. Candy, Printer. 7th edition. Also, 5th edition, 1833. These hymns are translated from several sources, and adapted to the ordinary metres.

88. Cherokee Almanac for 1846. 1 vol., 12mo, 36 pp. Cherokee character. Missionary Press. A. B. C. F. M. Park Hill, Arkansas. J. Candy and John F. Wheeler, Printers.

This is a useful and appropriate tract; and besides the usual astronomical calculations, has notices of some of the features and working of the new Cherokee government, terms of courts, &c.

89. The Gospel of Jesus Christ, according to John. 1 vol., 18mo, 101 pp. Park Hill, Ark. Miss. Press. A. B. C. F. M. John F. Wheeler, Printer, A. D. 1838.

This translation into the Cherokee character is by the Rev. S. A. Worcester and Mr. Elias Boudinot, the latter an educated Cherokee.

90. Poor Sarah. 1 vol., 18mo, 18 pp. Cherokee character. A. D. 1843. Miss. Press, Arkansas. Also edition of 1833. From the latter, this translation appears to be by Mr. E. Boudinot.

91. Select Passages from the Holy Scriptures. 1 vol., 18mo, 24 pp. Cherokee character. No imprint.

92. The Acts of the Apostles. 1 vol., 18mo, 127 pp. New Echota. John F. Wheeler and John Candy, Printers. Printed for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, A. D. 1833.

This translation is by the Rev. Samuel A. Worcester, and Mr. Elias Boudinot.

93. Cherokee Almanac for 1840, 24 pp. Park Hill, Ark.
94. " " " 1836, 32 pp. Union, Ark.
95. " " " 1847, 36 pp. Park Hill, Ark.

These almanacs are expressed chiefly in the Cherokee character; and while they denote its further adaptation to the language of astronomy, and give some facts of value in the local history and progress of this tribe, as a progressive element of the aborigines, they are, with No. 70, valuable elements of information.

96. Scriptures in Cherokee, various Gospels, &c. 1 vol., 18mo, 483 pp. Park Hill, Ark. Miss. Press. A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1844.

This is a substantially bound volume, consisting of the Gospels, Acts, Epistles of Paul to Timothy, and select passages of Scriptures, Hymns, &c., forming a kind of Scripture Miscellany, of much value.

97. Cherokee Primer. Edition of 1846, 4 copies. 1 vol., 18mo, 24 pp. Park Hill, Arkansas. The progress of primary education, among that people, may be inferred from this tract.

98. Temperance Tracts and Miscellanies. 1 vol., 18mo, 116 pp. Park Hill Miss. Press, A. D. 1844.

This volume consists of four separate tracts, bound together.

99. Dairyman's Daughter and Rob the Sailor. 1 vol., 18mo, 67 pp. Park Hill Miss. Press., Ark. A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1847. Candy and Archer, Printers.

Two popular religious tracts are here presented in the Cherokee language, in their own alphabetical character. The translators' names are not given.

100. Sermon by the Rev. A. Dickinson. 1 vol., 18mo, 24 pp. Cherokee character. No imprint.

101. Cherokee Singing-Book. 1 vol., 4to, 86 pp. Boston. A. R. Kendrick, Printer, for A. B. C. F. M., A. D. 1846.

SECT. II. BOOKS AND TRACTS IN THE CHOCTAW.

102. The Four Gospels, in Choctaw. Boston. 1 vol., large 12mo, 410 pp. Crocker and Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M., A. D. 1845, 2d edition.

These gospels are separately printed and paged, but bound up together, and form a handsome volume. They are regarded, by the best educated Choctaws, as a faithful rendition of the original into that tongue.

103. Chahta Holisso, it im Anumpuli; or, The Choctaw Reader for the use of native schools. Union: printed for the A. B. C. F. M., by John F. Wheeler. A. D. 1836. 123 pp. There is a table of contents added, in English and Indian, to direct the pupil to the leading passages.

104. Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation. Park Hill, Cherokee nation: John Candy, Printer. A. D. 1840. This volume consists of two pamphlets of 36 and 40 pages respectively, giving the matter in both languages.

105. Chahta Uba Isht Taloa Holisso; or, Choctaw Hymn Book. Third edition, revised. Boston: 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 175. A. D. 1844. Press of T. K. Marvin. Published for the A. B. C. F. M.

106. General Rules of the United Societies of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Park Hill: J. Candy, 1841. 24 pp.

107. Triumphant Death of Pious Children. Boston: 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 72. Crocker

& Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. A few hymns are added at the close of these simple and pertinent narratives.

108. Chahta Holisso. Third edition, revised. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 72.

109. Family Education and Government. A Discourse in the Choctaw Language. By L. S. Williams. Boston: A. D. 1835. Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M., pp. 48, with a brief synopsis of the discourse at its close, from which the importance of its subjects may be judged of.

110. Choctaw Arithmetic. Chahta Na-Holhtina. Boston: 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 72. Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1835.

111. The Child's Book on Creation; or, Ulla I Holisso, &c. 1 vol., 12mo. Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, Mission Press: Candy & Wheeler, A. D. 1845. Second edition. Fourteen separate tracts are bound up in this volume, making 159 pages of matter, which is drawn from the sermons and writings of Edwards, Nevins, and other distinguished divines, of past or modern times.

112. Ulla I Katikioma; or, Child's Catechism. Boston: 1 vol., 12mo, 16 pp. A. D. 1835. Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. Second edition, revised.

113. Holisso Holitopa. Scripture Lessons. Utica, New York: 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 151. Press of William Williams, A. D. 1831. This volume is inscribed, on the blank page in front, "Sabbath School Book," and bears the marks of having been much used by scholars.

114. The History of Joseph and his Brethren, in Choctaw. Utica, N. Y.: Press of W. Williams. A. D. 1831. 48 pp., 12mo. The translation of this little volume is due to Joseph Dukes, a native Choctaw interpreter, with the revision of John Pitchlyn, who appends, in a certificate, his judgment of its faithfulness to the original, and probable value to his people.

115. Chahta Holisso A Tukla; or, the Second Chahta Book. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 144. This volume contains translations of portions of the Scriptures, biographical notices of Henry Obokiah and Catharine Brown; a catechism, and dissertations on religious subjects. It was reprinted at Cincinnati, in 1827, by Morgan, Dodge, and Fisher. The translator's name is withheld.

116. The Acts of the Apostles. Boston: 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 165. Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1839. This volume is accompanied by evidence of that carefulness and desire to [illegible]ate exact impressions in the use of language, which are deemed of so much value. It closes with a list of Scripture proper names, as pronounced by the ancients and by Choctaws; a table of words of unusual use in the Choctaw, as apostle, baptise, blaspheme, &c.; together with a few English words for which no equivalents could be found, as angel, synagogue, temple, &c.; and a detailed table of contents.

117. Chahta Ikhan anchi; or, the Choctaw Instructor. Utica, N. Y.: William Wil-

liams, A. D. 1831. 1 vol., 12mo, pp. 155. By a Missionary. This volume contains a brief summary of Old Testament history and biography, with practical reflections. It acknowledges the aid and services of Isaac Wilson, a native interpreter.

118. Chahta Holisso. Boston: 1 vol., 12mo, 108 pp. Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M., A. D. 1830. This is a spelling-book, apparently the second attempt of that kind with the Choctaws, and carries the pupil from monosyllables into easy reading lessons. It ends with a transmutation of the English names of the months into Anglo-Choctaw: as Macha for March, Eplil for April, Me for May, Chuni for June, Chuli for July, Akus for August, &c.

119. Choctaw Spelling Book, of 1827. Second edition, revised. Cincinnati: printed by Morgan, Dodge, and Fisher.

120. The Epistle of James. Chemis I. Holisso Hake. Park Hill, Mission Press: John Candy, A. D. 1843. 42 pp., 18mo. To this epistle is appended the first three chapters of Revelation.

121. Chani I Holisso Ummona Hake. The Epistles of John. Park Hill, Mission Press: 27 pp., 18mo. A. D. 1841.

SECT. 3. BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE CREEK OR MUSCOGEE.

122. The Muskoke Spelling Book. Park Hill, Cherokee Nation: Mission Press, E. Archer, Printer, A. D. 1847, 36 pp., 18mo. Prepared by Rev. T. Harrison and D. P. Aspberry.

123. Nakchokv Esyvhiketv. Muskoke Hymns, collected and arranged by Rev. R. M. Loughridge, Park Hill: Mission Press, John Candy, Printer, A. D. 1845. 1 vol., 18mo, 45 pp. To these hymns the Ten Commandments and Lord's Prayer are added.

124. The Muskoke Hymns of 1847, prepared and revised by Rev. P. Harrison and D. P. Aspberry, Native Missionaries. 1 vol., 18mo, 101 pp. These are the hymns of Loughridge of 1835, in a revised and improved form.

125. A Short Sermon: also, Hymns in the Muskokee or Creek Language, by the Rev. John Fleming. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. 1 vol., 18mo, 35 pp. A. D. 1835.

CHAPTER IV.

DACOTA. BOOKS, TRACTS, AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE DACOTA.

[But one member of this group had crossed the Mississippi, in their ancient migrations, and fixed themselves in the area east of it. This tribe was the Winnebagoes, who formerly maintained an independent position in central Wisconsin. They went into Iowa, a few years since, and have just completed their second removal into the country of the Chippewas, on the west bank of the Upper Mississippi. There is thus left no portion of this stock east of that stream, save, perhaps, a small band of the Sioux, who are yet located on its east bank, between the Falls of St. Anthony and the mouth of the St. Croix river. The great body of the Dacota group extend westward (north of Iowa) to and beyond the Missouri, stretching southwardly below the Rocky Mountains across the waters of the Platte. The Iowas, the Otoes, Omahaws, Osages, &c., are elder branches of this group, who appear, as a body, inclined to fall back in that direction.

The principal missionary efforts have been among the Sioux proper, in which there have been published, so far as known, thirteen separate translations; at the same time there have been five translations in the Iowa, and a single work, in each of the dialects of the Winnebago, Otoe, and Osage.]

SECT. 1. SIOUX, OR DACOTA PROPER.

126. Grammar and Dictionary of the Dacota Language. Collected by the members of the Dacota Mission. Edited by Rev. S. R. Riggs, A. M., missionary of the Am. Board of Com. for Foreign Missions. Under the patronage of the Historical Society of Minnesota. Washington city: published by the Smithsonian Institution, June, 1852. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1 vol., 4to, 338 pp.

This volume is at once the most complete grammar and dictionary of the important language of which it is the type, which has yet appeared. Mr. Riggs, who is the editor, has been one of the earliest, most efficient, and most successful missionaries among that people. He has studied the language with the care and enthusiasm of a student, and describes it with the precision of a scholar. The diacritical marks of the vowels and consonants, and the carefully-placed accents, secure an entire retention of the sounds; and the accurate syllabication and definition of words, gives the language a fixity and embodiment which all future inquirers and learners must respect. This labor has been shared by the Messrs. Pond, who were his predecessors in this field, and by Dr. Williamson and Mr. Hopkins, who joined the mission at later periods. Under their joint labors. the Dacota Language has been thoroughly explored. The principles which the verbs reveal, and the changes they undergo for person, number, and tense, and the participles, always important in an Indian tongue, are clearly denoted. The conjugations are exhibited with sufficient amplification to permit the eye and ear to rest on the varied voices; and the minute rules are supplied, which pertain to the use of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and prepositions. Much of the real labor of the missionary is performed when he has reduced an Indian language to grammatical rules. This truth was seen by the missionary apostle Eliot in the seventeenth century, and his labors, as well in this department, as in the translation of the whole Scriptures into one of the leading dialects of the New England Algonquin, have erected a literary monument to his memory.

Mr. Riggs, by this key to the Dacota group of language, opens an entrance to the large stock of prairie tribes extending to the Rocky Mountains. It is by patient labors of this kind that higher results are obtained, and it is conceived that the Commissioners of the American Board could not have sent into the field a surer precursor of the Gospel, than by laying open, as is here done, the principles of the language — principles by which alone they can reach the Indian heart and understanding. The Smithsonian Institution, under whose auspices chiefly this volume is brought out, has, it is conceived, in so doing, performed one of its appropriate duties.

127. Wicoicage Wowapi qa o dowan Wakan, &c. The Book of Genesis, and a part of the Psalms. 1 vol., 12mo, 295 pp. Cincinnati, Ohio: Kendall & Barnard, for the A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1842.

This is a translation of the Book of Genesis, and a part of the Psalms, and the Gospels of Luke and John, made partly from the original Hebrew and Greek, and partly from the French into Dacota, by the missionaries of the American Board, Dr. Williamson, Mr. Pond, Mr. Riggs, and Mr. Joseph Renville, Sr.

128. Jesus Ohnihde Wicaye cin oranyapanti zon qa Palos Wowapi Kage Ciquon, &c. 1 vol., 12mo, 228 pp. Cincinnati, Ohio: Kendall and Barnard, for the American Bible Society. A. D. 1843.

This volume contains the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles and the Revelation of John, in the Dacota Language, translated from the Greek by Stephen R. Riggs, A.M.

129. Old Testament Extracts. 1 vol., 18mo, aggregate pp. 216. Cincinnati, Ohio: A. D. 1839. Printed by Kendall & Henry, for the A. B. C. F. M. This volume contains extracts from Genesis and the Psalms, the third chapter of Proverbs, and the third chapter of Daniel. Translated from the French version of the Bible, by Joseph Renville, Sr.; and prepared for the press by Dr. Thomas S. Williamson.

130. Wowapi Mitawa, Tamakoce Kaga. (My Own Book.) 1 vol., 18mo, 64 pp. A. D. 1842. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. Prepared from Rev. T. H. Gallaudet's "Mother Primer," and "Child's Picture Defining and Reading Book," by S. R. Riggs, A. M.

131. Dakota Dowanpi Kin. (Sioux Hymns.) 1 vol., 18mo, 71 pp. A. D. 1842. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. These hymns are composed in the Dacota language, by Mr. Joseph Renville and Sons.

132. The Dakota First Reading Book. 1 vol. 18mo, 50 pp. Cincinnati, Ohio: A. D. 1839. Kendall & Henry, for the A. B. C. F. M. Prepared by Stephen R. Riggs and Gideon H. Pond.

133. Dakota Wiwangapiwowapi. (Sioux Catechism.) 1 vol., 12mo, 12 pp. A. D. 1844. New Haven, Conn.: Hitchcock & Stafford, for the A. B. C. F. M. By Rev. S. W. Pond.

134. Eliza Marpicokawin, Raratonwan oyate en wapiye Sa: qa Sara war-panica Ton,

&c. 12 pp., 12mo. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. A. D. 1842. A narrative of the life of a pious native female.

135. Wowapi Inonpa. (The Second Dacota Reading Book.) Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. 1 vol., 12mo, 54 pp. A. D. 1842. By Rev. S. W. Pond. Consists of Bible Stories from the Old Testament.

136. Wiconi Owihanke Wannin Taninkin. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. 23 pp., 12mo, A. D. 1837. This volume contains Dr. Watts' Second Catechism for Children Translated into the Dacota, by Joseph Renville, Sr., and Dr. T. S. Williamson.

137. Sioux Spelling Book, designed for the use of Native Learners. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. M. 22 pp., 12mo, A. D. 1836. This useful little elementary volume is accompanied with a key of the vowel sounds.

138. Josep Oyakapi Kin. (The History of Joseph and his Brethren.) Cincinnati: Kendall & Henry, for the A. B. C. F. M. 1 vol., 40 pp., 18mo, A. D. 1839. This is a translation of the narration of the events, on the subject, recorded in Genesis, by Samuel H. and Gideon H. Pond, missionaries of the American Board.

139. Woahope Wikcemna Kin, (sheet). We have here the ten commandments and the Lord's Prayer, in the Dakota. *No imprint.*

140. Wotanin Waxte Markus Orsa Kin Dee. Cincinnati: Kendall & Henry, for the A. B. C. F. Missions. 1 vol., 18mo, 96 pp. A .D. 1839. The Gospel of Mark, in this translation, is put into Sioux orally, by Joseph Renville, Sr., and was written and prepared for the press by Dr. Thomas S. Williamson.

141. Dakota Tawaxithu Kin. (The Dakota Friend.) A monthly miscellany, in newspaper form, in the Dakota and English. Published at St. Paul, under the patronage of the American Board of Missions. By the Rev. S. H. Pond. It was continued for 1851 and 1852. Nothing could exceed the propriety and excellence of its articles on the language, condition, manners, and prospects of the Indians. It is efforts of this kind which are designed to circulate on the frontier, wherever the Indians have friends, or can be reached by moral counsel, that prove devotion to their cause.

SECT. 2. WINNEBAGO.

142. Ocangra Aramee Wa wa ka ka ra: Ocangra Prayer Book. Detroit: George L. Whitney, Printer, for the Catholic Church. A. D. 1833. 18 pp., 12mo. This appears to be the first attempt at translation into the Winnebago dialect. It is a translation of part of the Ottawa prayer book, containing 203 pages (vide No. 50). Second edition. Used by the Ottawa Indians of L'Arbre Croche.

SECT. 3. BOOKS AND TRANSLATIONS IN THE IOWA LANGUAGE.

143. An Iowa Grammar, illustrating the principles of the language used by the Iowa, Otoe, and Missouri Indians. Prepared and printed by the Rev. William Hamilton

and Rev. S. M. Irvin, under the direction of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Iowa and Sac Mission Press, 1848. 1 vol., 18mo, 152 pages.

This treatise is the result of the study bestowed on this language during a series of missionary labors by its authors. It appears to be a searching inquiry into the plan of thought of the Iowas. The modes of combining the words to express their ideas, according to this plan, are clearly and methodically stated. It is by labors of this kind only, that the Indian can be reached with much hope of efficacy in teaching. Both the gentlemen whose names appear in the title, understand and speak the language fluently. It is not only the Iowas who can thus be reached, but their affiliated tribes who are, in the supposed order of affiliation, the Otoes, Missourias, Winnebagoes, Kansas, Osages, Quapaws, Omahaws, and Poncas. Surely there is no just cause of discouragement. Efforts so well timed and usefully bestowed must succeed; for letters are the true seed of the gospel.

144. Original Hymns in the Iowa Language. 1 vol., 18mo, 62 pages, with forms of prayer, 24 pages, and an introduction to the Shorter Catechism, 29 pages.

This volume is prepared by the missionaries of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, and printed at their press at the Iowa and Sac mission, Indian Territory, A. D. 1843.

145. Iowa Primer, in part.

There are but 8 pages of this publication, extending from page 17 to 24 inclusive, which were transmitted by Walter Lowrie, Esq., Sec. Bd. For. Miss., Presb. Ch. U. S. These sheets contain tables of Iowa dissyllables and trisyllables, carefully accented, with their equivalents in English, and constitute fragmentary elements of value.

146. Iowa Hymns; a fragment.

This consists of 16 pages of translation No. 144 of the same date and edition.

147. St. Matthew in Iowa; in part.

But five chapters (32 pages) of this gospel have been received from the translators, Messrs. Irvin and Hamilton, who are the same gentlemen engaged on the grammar, No. 143.

SECT. 4. OTOE.

148. Otoe Hymn Book, by Moses Merrill, Shawnee Mission. J. Meeker, Printer, A. D. 1834. This appears to be the only translation of any kind which has been made into Otoe. The sound of K following F, as in Irakekofk, reminds the observer of a common sound in the Tuscarora, which appears wanting in all the dialects which are geographically located between them. It has also the final tl, a termination so common to the Aztecs.

SECT. 5. OSAGE: WASHASHE.

149. Washashe Wageressa Pahugreh Tse. The Osage First Book. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, for the A. B. C. F. Missions. 1 vol., 18mo, 126 pp. A. D. 1834. The

broad sound of the letter a, as heard in fall, is represented, in this compilation, by a peculiar enlargement of the letter. The word Wacondah, the family name of this group for the Great Spirit, is dropped, and its place supplied by "Chihova," (Jehovah.)

CHAPTER V.

SHOSHONEE.

This group of tribes possess the range of the Rocky Mountains, from the sources of the Missouri to the elevated plains of New Mexico. From this central barrier, they diverged west into Oregon and California. On the east and south-east, they spread over Texas under the well-known name of Camanches. We have no vocabularies of the Utahs, but they are probably of this stock. It embraces, apparently, as original progenitors, the Snakes and Bonacks. The attempts to penetrate this region have been attended with sufferings and death. Frémont has once successfully crossed the broadest arc of their residences, by the Pass of 42°; but failed, amid the austerities of the climate, in the noble attempt to find a more southerly route. Two officers of the army, Gunnison and Kern, who have contributed data for this work, have recently fallen before the treachery and false vindiction of the Utahs. Excited by the planting of Mormon population on that elevated barrier, which is at least seven thousand feet above the plains, this tribe has thus far resisted all efforts to come into habits of peaceful intercourse.

Sect. 1. NEZ PERCÉS: SAH-APTIN.

150. Nez Percés' First Book. Designed for Children and [illegible] Beginners. Clear Water Mission Press. 20 pp., 18mo. A. D. 1839. The first spelling lesson consists of 44 monosyllables; the second, 124 dissyllables; the third, of 56 dissyllables; the fifth, of 60 dissyllables; and the sixth, of 18 dissyllables. The sounds of tl, sh, and hl, appear to be the only ones which are not known to the tribes east of the mountains, and have their analogies in the Aztec family. Mr. Hale, the ethnographer attached to Captain Wilkes' Expedition, observes, of this tribe, that it is supposed to number 2000 souls. The Sah-aptins possess the country on the Lewis or Snake river, from the Petoose to Wapticacines — about 100 miles; they resemble, in many points, the Missouri Indians. They have horses, are good hunters, and make long excursions to the Rocky Mountains. They had, formerly, wars with the Soshonees proper, Upsorokas, and Sasitka, or Blackfeet. They sent a deputation for missionaries The latter have printed this little work as one of the results of their labors. The disposition of this tribe has been much eulogized by travellers; they are considered superior in intellect to the other Oregon tribes.

ADDENDA.

VOCABULARIES OF THE INDIAN TONGUES PUBLISHED IN THIS WORK.

VOL. I. HISTORY, CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

1. Natic, or Massachusetts Language. [Algonquin.] Folio 288, *et seq.* Gleaned from a Critical Examination of Passages in Rev. John Eliot's Indian Bible of 1688. By H. R. Schoolcraft.
2. Shoshonee, or Snake Language. A Specimen. Folio 216.

VOL. II. HISTORY, CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

3. Yuma. [A Language of Southern California, unclassified.] Folio 118, *et seq.* 200 words. By Capt. Amiel W. Whipple, U. S. A.
4. Chippewa. [Algonquin.] Folio 458, *et seq.*
    5. Dialect of St. Mary's. By G. Johnston.
    6. Dialect of Lake Michigan. By Rev. P. Dougherty.
    7. Dialect of Saginaw. By G. Moran.
    8. Dialect of Michilimackinac. By William Johnston. The Orthography revised by H. R. Schoolcraft.
9. Miami. [Algonquin.] Folio 470, *et seq.* By Charles E. Handy, U. S. Agent.
10. Menomonee. [Algonquin.] Folio 470, *et seq.* By W. H. Bruce, U. S. Agent.
11. Shawnee. [Algonquin.] Folio 470, *et seq.* By Richard W. Cummings, U. S. Agent.
12. Delaware. [Algonquin.] Folio 470, *et seq.* By Richard W. Cummings, U. S. Agent.
13. Mohawk. [Iroquois.] Folio 482, *et seq.* By Rev. Adam Elliot.
14. Oneida. [Iroquois.] Folio 482, *et seq.* By H. R. Schoolcraft and R. Up. Shearman, chiefly from Young Skenando.
15. Onondaga. [Iroquois.] Folio 482, *et seq.* By Abraham Le Fort.
16. Cayuga. [Iroquois.] Folio 482, *et seq.* By Rev. Adam Elliot.
17. Nauni, or Comanche. [Shoshonee.] Folio 494, *et seq.* By R. S. Neighbors, U. S. Agent.
18. Blackfeet, or Satsika. [Algonquin, with large Admixture.] Folio 494, *et seq.* By J. B. Moncrovie, of Fort Union, Upper Missouri.
19. Costanos. [A Language of California, unclassified.] Folio 494, *et seq.* By Pedro Alcantara.
20. Cushna. [A Language of California, unclassified.] Folio 494, *et seq.* By Adam Johnson, U. S. Agent.

VOL. III. HISTORY, CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES

21. Delaware of Edgpiiluk, N. J., 1792. [Algonquin.] From the MSS. of Hon. James Madison. 270 words.

Languages of North-West California. [Unclassified.]

22. Tcho-ko-yem.
23. Cop-eh.
24. Kula-napo.
25. Yask-ai.
26. Chow-e-shak.
27. Batem-da-kai-ee.
28. Wee-yot.
29. Wish-osk.
30. Weits-pek.
31. Hoo-pah.
32. Tah-le-wah.
33. Eh-nek.

34. Mandan. [Upsaroka, or Dacota.] Folio 446, *et seq.* By James Kipp, Fort Union, Upper Missouri.
35. Arapahoe. Folio 446, *et seq.* By John S. Smith, recorded by Captain S. Eastman, U. S. A.
36. Cheyenne. Folio 446, *et seq.* By John S. Smith, recorded by Captain S. Eastman, U. S. A.
37. Pueblo of Tesuque. Folio 446, *et seq.* By David E. Whiting.
38. Pimo. Folio 460, *et seq.* By Dr. C. C. Parry, at the instance of, and forwarded by, Lt. Col. W. H. Emory, U. S. A.

VOL. IV. HISTORY, CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

39. Osage. [Dacota.] Folio 275.

Languages of California. Folio 406, *et seq.* By Adam Johnson, U. S. Agent.

40. Toulumne, p. 408.
41. Co-co-noone, p. 413.
42. Sacramento, p. 414.

43. Muscogee. [Apalachian.] Folio 416, *et seq.* By Capt. J. C. Casey, U. S. A.
44. Assinaboine. [Dacota.] Folio 416, *et seq.* By E. T. Denig, Fort Union, Upper Missouri.
45. Navajo. Folio 416, *et seq.* By Lt. Col. J. H. Eaton, U. S. A.
46. Pueblo of Zuñi. Folio 416, *et seq.* By Lt. Col. J. H. Eaton, U. S. A.

2. AMERICAN NOMENCLATURE; BEING A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF INDIAN NAMES IN THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND MYTHOLOGY OF THE UNITED STATES, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED. LETTER B.

This letter is but little used in the North American languages. To some of them, as the Mohawk, it is unknown.

Ba is a particle in the Algonquin Language, frequently employed to convey a substantive meaning to descriptive and geographical terms having verbal roots.

Babesakundiba, or, the Curly Head.—A Chippewa chief of the band of Sandy Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi. He exerted his influence to preserve peace between them and their hereditary enemies the Dacotas. In 1820, he descended the Mississippi to make peace with the Sioux, in the train of the government expedition sent out that year, under the personal orders of Gov. Cass, to explore the sources of the river. When the expedition reached the vicinity of St. Anthony's Falls, the Indians put out from their canoes insignia of peace, to notify their enemies of the object of their mission, and they began to beat their drums. This chief also attended other convocations, under the auspices of government, to preserve peace among the infatuated north-western tribes. He was of the clan or totem of the crane, a distinguished armorial sign among the Algonquin Chippewas. He lived much respected by his people and by the whites, reaching to a good old age. On his death, which happened about 1830, at his native village, on the banks of the Mississippi, an oration was pronounced by one of the best speakers in the band, in which his praiseworthy deeds were recited. They planted his flag on a pole at the head of his grave, and set up an ajidatig, or grave-post, inscribed with pictorial characters.

Baborigame (Indo-Iberian).—An Indian mission established by the Jesuits, in the province of La Sonora, in Mexico.

Bacallaos (Indo-Iberian).—Certain islands seventy miles off the coast of Newfoundland, which were discovered by Sebastian Cabot, and named from the abundance of cod-fish caught there. These fish are so abundant, that it is related that one Juan Peon once caught 100 in an hour with the hook and line.

Bachtamo.—A god of the Esopus Indians, N. Y. Brodhead's History of New York.

Bachouanan (Indo-Gallic).—A village of the Mountaineer or Nopeming Indians, on a small river which enters Lake Superior, on a bay of the same name, about a day's march north of its outlet at Sault de Ste. Marie.

Bahama (Indo-Iberian).—A group of islands composing a part of the Lucayas, on one of which, called by the Indians Guanahani, Columbus first landed, on the 12th October, 1492. He named it San Salvador. The island is known to mariners, in modern times, by the name of Cat island. Being many degrees north of the equator, it belongs strictly to the system of islands of North America; and shows the discovery to have actually been made in the northern, and not the southern part of the hemisphere. There are upwards of thirty principal islands in this group, without counting the lesser. It has been doubted, from some facts stated in the reports of Columbus, relating to the anchorage and verdure of the island, whether this be the identical island. But, with the lapse of time, and the admitted geological agency of the sea, this point cannot be disturbed. He found the Indians inhabiting them to be of a mild and peaceful disposition. They were indolent in their habits, and but little, if at all, accustomed to cultivate the soil. In this respect they were the opposite of the Mexicans and Peruvians. They were of a dark or dingy hue, with long black hair, and having their bodies painted of various colors. They were numerous, and many of them were afterwards carried over to South America, and compelled to work in the mines.

Bailadores, or Dancers (in Spanish Miss. History). — A tribe of the settlement and jurisdiction of La Grita, in Maracaibo, who were thus named from their former passion for this amusement.

Balbuena (in Spanish Miss. History).—A settlement of the district of Chaco, in the province of Jucuman, consisting of the Ixistinieses and Toquistineses Indians. They were originally formed into a mission by the Jesuits, but are now under the denomination of St. Francis.

Baltasar (in Spanish Miss. History). — A settlement of the original Aztecs at Nexupa, in the province of Zacatlan, in Mexico, containing thirty-four Indian families.

Bamondu (in Algonquin mythology). — A youthful prodigy of supernatural gifts of the Algonquins, who united the powers of a meta, a magician, and an heroic warrior. He was called, The Boy who carries the Ball on his Back. When he set out to do a feat, witches and wizards flocked in his path, and gave him gifts. He determined to rid the world of the two daughters of a great magician, who had long exerted an evil sway, and who lived in a lodge in a tall enchanted tree. He relied upon the power of his magical ball; but, as he went on his enterprise, he received the gift of a pair of enchanted moccasins, which would travel wherever he directed them, if he only set the toes in the right direction. Another magician gave him curious magic bones, called *O zhe ba gin un*. Thus armed with magic weapons, he proceeded to attack and destroy the magician and his evil-minded daughters; who were, indeed, as beautiful as they were malignant. At length he came to the foot of the wonderful enchanted tree which formed the sacred and aerial locality of their lodge. By the aid of the *O zhe ba gin un*, he climbed it; but as soon as he reached the threshold of their enchanted lodge, the tree rose, till at length its top reached the high arch of the skies; at which point his power prevailed, and he severed the heads of both the fair enchantresses at a blow, amid the clouds and stars. (*Alg. Res.*)

Bannos (in Spanish Miss. History). — A settlement noted for its Indian antiquities, in the province of Humalies, in Peru. In its neighborhood are vestiges of a stone road. Its direction is from Caxamarca towards the south. Vestiges of it are also seen in Conchucas, Tarma, and other provinces. The Incas used to travel along this road, and it is said to have extended as far as Quito. These remains show it to have been a sumptuous work, erected with great labor and cost. Not far from Bannos, there are monuments of antiquity; such as a palace for bathing, in which the stones of the other building are fitted together with such nicety, that it is almost impossible to discover where they were joined. There are ruins of a temple and a fort at the summit of a mountain. The base of this mountain is washed by the river Marañon. Remains of another fort exist at a little distance.

Vestiges of baths used by the Indians are also seen at Bannos, in the province of Cuença, in the same kingdom. These baths were supplied with warm mineral waters, which bubble up through several holes on the top of a mountain. The heat is sufficient to cook an egg in a few minutes. These waters flow off in a stream, which deposits a yellow sediment, and are conducted to the former site of the baths.

Banomas (Indo-Iberian). — A barbarous nation of Indians who inhabit the forests on the borders of the river Marañon, in the province of Quito. They were formed into a settlement in 1683, by a celebrated mathematician and Jesuit named Samuel Frit.

Baradero (in Spanish Miss. History). — A settlement of Indians in Buenos Ayres, founded in 1580 by the Gauranos. In S. latitude 34° 46′ 35″, W. long. 59° 46′ 36″.

Barbara, Santa (in Spanish Miss. History).—An Indian settlement in the town of St. Christoval, New Granada, consisting of 100 souls: another, in Cholulo, of thirty-six families. There is also a mission of this name in Orinoco, composed of Indians of the Saracu nation.

Barbudos (Indo-Iberian).—A barbarous nation of Indians who inhabit the woods to the south of the river Marañon, and to the east of the Guallaya.

Barbures (Indo-Iberian). — A barbarous nation of Indians of New Granada, inhabiting the mountains near the city of Pampeluna.

Barcelona (in Spanish Miss. History).— One of the three provinces which form the government of Cumana. It is bounded by Caraccas and the river Orinoco, which separates it from Guiana. This province has seventeen missions of Indians, as follows — Quiamare, Cary, Candelaria, Micures, Santa Aña, Guazaiparo, Margarita, Chimariapa, Santa Clara, Platanar, Santa Barbara, Unare, Santa Rosa, Alapirire, Cachipo, Arivi, and San Joaquin. Its capital was founded in 1634.

Bareces (Indo-Iberian).—A barbarous Indian nation living immediately on the shores of the river Paraguay, at no great distance from the Lake of Los Xareyes.

Barreteras, San Simon de Los.—A Spanish missionary settlement at Temascaltepec, in Mexico, containing forty families of Indians, who work the mines with small crowbars of iron.

Bart, Lavoine (in Chippewa History).—A chief of the Chippewa nation, called by the natives Shingwauk, or the Little Pine. He is a man of much shrewdness and sagacity, living on the Canada shores of the straits of St. Mary's. Many of his speeches, addressed to government officers and missionaries, have been admired as models of simple and connected argument, sometimes rising to eloquence. Few men of the native race are better acquainted with the history and traditions of his nation, or with their peculiar religious rites and notions. In the war of 1812, with the United States, he was an actor, and led a band of his people to join in the operations under Tecumseh, In 1820, he was present at a council held by the governor of Michigan, at St. Mary's, in which a hostile spirit and movement was manifested against the Americans, taking post at that commanding pass into the lake. He afterwards united in the cession of four miles square, made on the 16th June, 1820, on the south side of the Falls.

Shingwauk is in stature about five feet ten inches, of a stout, well-set frame. He has an intelligent eye, and countenance. He had formerly practised the ceremonies of a Meda, or native religion, but relinquished them about 1830, and united himself with an Episcopal mission in that quarter. He is a man well versed in the system of Indian picture-writing and mnemonics.

Bartholome, San.—A Spanish missionary settlement at Toluca, Mexico, containing 89 Indian families; another of Huatuzca, containing 66 families; another of Toxtepec, containing 54 families; another of Taximara, containing 115 families.

Bashaba.—A term, in the early history of New England Indians, applied to a sagamore, who reigned over Sagamores, or ruler over confederated chiefs.—*Whittier.*

Batem-da-kai-ee.—A tribe of north-western California, along the Pacific coast. For the dialect spoken by this tribe, or band, see Vol. III., p. 434.

Batnaiuh.—An evil spirit of the Babylonian era.—*Layard.*

Bauras.—A barbarous nation of Indians, who were anciently cannibals, of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the province of Moxas. They dwell in plains, between the rivers Gauzimine and Iraibi. These plains are very fertile; but, owing to their redundant moisture, unhealthy. This nation was discovered by Father Cipriano in 1701, who, in his attempts to convert them, was put to death. The missionaries, however, renewed and continued their labors until the year 1767.

Bawateeg, or Pawateeg.—The Chippewa name for the falls of the river St. Mary's, Michigan. The term is descriptive of Shallow-water-upon-rock, and is a common word to designate rapids of that particular class. The French, on the discovery of the country, gave the name of Mary, as the tutelar saint to the village; and, as a consequence, named the rapids *Sault de Sainte Marie*, which is usually and properly abbreviated *Sault Ste. Marie*. The word is generally heard from the natives, in its *prepositional* form, in *ing*, when it means *at the place of the falls*. The letters B and P are often interchangeable between different dialects of the Algonquin, but the true Chippewa pronunciation, in this word, is B.

This magnificent rapid, although ten miles below the precipitous capes of Point Iroquois and *Gros Cap*, is the true outlet of Lake Superior, at the head of which the upper strait is gathered into the compact shape of a river, having corresponding deflections in its banks. Its width on the rapids is about three-quarters of a mile; the river falls twenty-two feet ten inches, in the distance of a little over half a mile. In this distance, there are several minor leaps or cascades, which the French termed *Sault*, and from this word the Chippewas, whose ancient council-fire or capital, it was, were denominated *Saulteaux*. Canoes and boats may, however, under skilful guides, descend the *south*, or American side of the rapids, in safety; but it is an effectual bar to the navigation of large vessels.

Batagoulas (Indo-Gallic.)—A tribe of Indians of Lousiana, who formerly lived west of the Mississippi river. They have disappeared, or been merged under some other name.

Bearded Indians.—See **Blanches.**

Beaver Islands, Lake Michigan.—An ancient location of the Ottowa and Chippewa Indians. The name is derived from Amik, a beaver.

Beaver Island Indians.—A band of Chippewas living on the group of Beaver Islands, in Lake Michigan. In 1840, they numbered 199 souls. Of this number, 39 were men, 51 women, and 109 children. They live partly by fishing, and partly by hunting. They occupy temporary wigwams of bark, which, on removal, are rolled up, and put in their canoes. Their canoes are constructed of the stout layers of the bark of the white birch tree. They manufacture sugar from the sap of the maple in the spring, and plant a few potatoes and some corn. They are without teachers, unfixed in their locations, and of intemperate habits. They draw annuities, along with other bands of kindred stock, at the agency of Michilimackinac.

Beaver Indians, (of Hudson's Bay.)—A nation who are located by Mackenzie and other authors, on the Peace, or Unjigah river, of the Rocky Mountains. They are of the Chippewa, or Atha-pasca stock. They were estimated by Mackenzie at 150 men, or 750 souls.

Becauas.—A barbarous nation inhabiting the forests to the west of the river Aguarico. It is very numerous, and continually at war with the Encabellados.

Bedies.—In the history of the Caddoes, a tribe of Indians formerly living on the river Trinity, in Lousiana, about 60 miles south of Nacogdoches. According to Dr. Sibley, they numbered 100 souls in 1805. They plant corn, and speak the mother Caddo language. They bear an excellent character.

Bedud, the son of Noka.—A Chippewa chief, who was distinguished in the wars of the conquest of the upper Mississippi, by that tribe, from the Dakota.

Beheran.—The name of one of the magic gods of the ancient valley of the Euphrates. —*Layard.*

Behring's Straits.—These straits are intimately connected with the history of the American Indians, which cannot be adequately discussed without reference to them. The continents of Asia and America approach, at these straits, in the narrowest pass, to within 39 miles. Cape Prince of Wales, south of Kotzebue's Sound, is the most northerly point of the American continent. It is situated in lat. 65° 46′ N., and long. 168° 15′ E. The waters are shallow, reaching from 12 to 54 fathoms. A crescent of islands extends towards the Asiatic coast. The country is of a volcanic formation, and it has been supposed probable that the continents were rent asunder at an ancient period. Such a supposition is not, however, necessary to account for the origin of the races of American Indians; portions of whom may have passed here, and others, more probably, reached, or had been thrown on the coast, like the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, at more southerly points, and at distinct eras. The Esquimaux race are found to inhabit the opposite points of both coasts, reaching down the American shores as far as the Alaska Peninsula and Cook's Inlet. The sedentary Tchuckti, of Asia, are, agreeably to the best authorities, Esquimaux.

Belantse-Eteas.—A name for the Minnetaries of the upper Missouri. They are also called Gros Ventres, by the French. They belong, apparently, to the Upsaroka family. They have been roughly estimated at 2500 souls.

Betois.—A settlement of Indians formed by the Jesuits, in 1717, in the district of New Grenada, on the shores of the river Casanocere. They raise wheat and maize.

Beshike.—A Chippewa chief of note at La Pointe, in Lake Superior. The name signifies the Buffalo, in hunting which animal, west of that position, he obtained early celebrity. A man of fine stature, grave, respectful, considerate, he has been chiefly distinguished in the history of his people as a civilian and counsellor. He is still living, at an advanced age.

Big Bone Lick, Ky.—A celebrated locality in Indian mythology and history. The tales the Indians relate of this, and other localities of bones of ancient quadrupeds of large size, only prove that they have no traditions of value, reaching to the period of their existence and destruction. They told Mr. Jefferson, when strongly pushed on the subject, that the Great Spirit had destroyed the race with thunderbolts.

Big Cloud, or Chenoquot.—A celebrated Chippewa chief and warrior of Leech Lake, Upper Miss. The name is from gitche, great, and ahnoquot, a cloud.

Big-Devils.—In Dacota history a nickname for certain Yanktons living in the area between the sources of the St. Peter's, or Minnesota, and Red River of the North.

Big Kettle.—A chief of the Seneca nation, who died on the Indian reservation near Buffalo, in the summer of 1839, aged 55. He was one of those who adhered to the policy and counsels of the distinguished orator of his nation, Red Jacket, and opposed the further cession of their territory. He persisted in this policy to the latest hour, and his loss was deeply regretted by those of his nation who are opposed to the plan of western emigration.

Bigotes.—A noted Indian chief who, in 1541, visited Coronado, in the present area of New Mexico. He was seized and imprisoned by Alvarado, in a moment of disappointment.

Blackfeet, (Satsika tribe.)—A numerous and hostile family of Indians, who inhabit the banks of the river Saskatchewine, of Hudson's Bay, extending south to the Missouri, and west over the plains which stretch along the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. They were found hostile to the Americans by Lewis and Clark, in 1805. They own horses which have been stolen in war from the tribes south of them. They have suffered greatly from the small-pox. They were estimated in 1848, (Vol. I., p. 523,) at 13,000 souls, which, if correct, would give them over 2000 warriors. Later accounts give them 1200 lodges, and 9500 souls, (Vol. III., p. 631.) They have no relations with the United States, and receive no annuities. Vocabularies, recently derived, show them to speak many words of the great Algonquin family. We are much in the dark as to their true history.

Black Hawk.—A celebrated Sac or Sauk chief, who instigated the Indians of the Upper Mississippi to rebellion against the United States in 1832. The war commenced in the spring of that year by their treacherously murdering their agent, Mr. St. Vrain, whose body was dreadfully mutilated. The Indians had some partial success in a skirmish with the Illinois militia. A large force of United States' troops was ordered to the scene. Generals Dodge and Atkinson pursued the embodied Indians through their fastnesses, till they were eventually driven back into the Mississippi valley, at the mouth of the Badaxe river, where they sustained a total defeat, and the chief was taken prisoner, and carried a captive to Washington. General Jackson gave the chief his liberty; and, to guard him against the popular fury, sent him home with a military guard.

Blacksnake.—A well-known chief of the Seneca tribe of Indians, living at Teoneguno, on the Alleghany river, N. Y. He has reached the age of 96, agreeably to the best accounts. He was present, with the British auxiliaries, in the severe and hard-contested battle of Iriskany, in 1777. He was one of the tribes of the Six Nations, present at the massacre of Wyoming.

Blanche Indians.—A term bestowed, in the earlier period of the history of New France, on a tribe living on one of the south branches of the Missouri. Hence, the apocryphal story of White Indians.

Blood Indians.—Bands of the Blackfeet Indians, living about the falls of the Saskhtchewine river, Hudson's Bay.

Boatch-wequaid.—The Algonquin name for Green Bay, Wisconsin. It is derived from boatch—sharp, deep, &c., and wequaid—a bay.

Boisbrules.—A French nickname for half-breeds. They are persons of mixed Canadian and Indian blood, living on the north-west frontiers.

Bökewa.—In Algonquin mythology, a great magician. This name signifies a voice suddenly stopped. He was a magician who exercised great sway in the north. He lived a lone and ascetic life, admitting no companion but his brother. One day this brother found the corpse of a beautiful female, scaffolded at a deserted encampment, with which he became so enamored, that Bökewa at length consented to restore her to life, and she became his wife. She travelled with him to the South, where he fell under the seductive powers of effeminacy and luxury. Vide Algic Researches.

Bolixies, (in the French period of the history of Louisiana.)—A tribe of Indians who, in 1669, and during the first settlement of that province, lived on the bay of Bolixi, on the Gulf of Mexico. They are believed to have been of the Choctaw stock In 1804, a few of them were still living on Red River, whither they had migrated.

Bonaks.—In the history of the Shoshonees, a tribe who occupied a part of the territory of Utah. They live on roots and larvæ, and are represented by Frémont and other travellers as very degraded.

Bondas.—In Spanish colonial history, a tribe of Santa Martha, who united with the Bodiguas and Jenbocas against the Spaniards. They are nearly extinct.

Bone-men.—A term traced to the Toltec mythology. The curious idea of the origin of castes, nobles and peons, is found among the ancient Mexican myths. According to their traditions, Xolotl invaded the country of Anahuac with an army of one million of wild Chichimecs, without counting women and children. The country was a desert, in which they found game, but cultivated nothing. It appears that Xolotl was a god who sighed to escape death and insure immortality; for which purpose he changed himself, first into a species of maize, and successively into a species of maguey, and a fish, and was finally killed by the god of the air. He is also described as one of the seven men who escaped the Flood, and also as the god of monsters, of twins, and of things joined together. According to another tradition, the progeny of Citlalatonic, and of the goddess Citlalicue, who is silex, which, broken to pieces, produced 1600 sub-gods, inhabitants of the earth. As these gods had no slaves to serve them, Xolotl, who was one of these gods, went to the lower regions and brought up a bone, which, being broken to fragments, gave birth to mankind. The nobility, or those who had slaves, were the 1600 sons of Silex, but the common people were the progeny of the broken bone. This is curious, and reminds one of the origin ascribed to the castes of Hindoostan.

Bone-pickers.—According to Indian history, a class of men existed in certain Indian nations of North America, whose duty it was, after a certain lapse of time, to clean the corpse of adhering integuments and collect the bones from their aerial scaffoldings or other places, for interment, in a general deposit in charnel-houses. The practice has passed away, but many such ossuaries are found, where hundreds and thousands of individuals have been interred together. A noted locality exists at Beverly, in Canada West.

Borillos.—In Spanish history, a barbarous nation of Indians of Peru. They live east of the Chiquitos, and north of the Purasicans. The Jesuits of Lima made converts among them.

Boronota.—In Spanish history, a settlement of Indians of the Guaranos and Guasciros of New Grenada.

Bosh-ke-dosh.—In Algonquin mythology, a tiny animal in the original class of quadrupeds. He was found among the blades of grass, and taken up in his hand by an adventurer, who became his protegé. This little animal, the name of which appears to signify *hair blown off the skin*, had the power to enlarge his own size by the shake a dog gives himself, which is called *pup-pou-we*. This he repeated, enlarging at every shake, till he reached an enormous size. In a word, this tiny thing grew to be the Mastodon. *Algic Researches.*

Boston.—In the history of the New England Indians, this town holds a pre-eminent place. The Indian name of the peninsula on which the city stands, is Shawmut. It appears to be, in Indian lexicography, a description of the figure of the peninsula on which the town is situated, separated by its narrow neck from Dorchester. This had to the red men a striking resemblance to the shape of the human stomach, with the pylorus attached. In the cognate dialect of the Chippewa, *shaw-mood* is the name for the stomach of an animal—the letter *t* being exchanged for *d*.

Boukfuka.—In Choctaw history, a tribe or band of Indians formerly situated on the waters of Pearl river, Louisiana.

Bow-wood Indians.—From arc, Fr., and Kansaw, a tribe. A part of the Kanzas appear to have been so designated in the early days of western history. They lived on the Arkansas river, and are, not without probability, believed to have given its present name to that stream.

Boyaca (Indo-Iberic).—A name in Spanish missionary history. The Indians of this settlement in New Grenada, boasted that they alone had any true notion of the Supreme Being. They adored a human image with three heads—which, it is said, was symbolical of a deity of one essence, and three persons. *De Alcedo.*

Brant, Joseph.—A celebrated Iroquois chief, who controlled the power of the Six Nations against the Americans during the war of the Revolution. Few men have appeared among the aborigines of this continent, who have played so distinguished a part. His energy in action, and his wisdom in council, were equally conspicuous. Of his bravery in battle no doubt was ever entertained. He had received a good common school, and, in fact, an academic education; and wrote the English language with fluency and strict propriety.

Brazil (Indo-Iberic).—This kingdom, which was first discovered by Vincenti Yañes Pinzon, in 1498, is said to derive its name from the native term for the dye-wood so abundantly furnished from its shores. Diego Lopez re-discovered it in 1500, Americo Vespucio in 1501, and Pedro Alvarez Cabral in 1502.

Broken-Arrow, or Cla-catska. — In geography, a Creek town formerly existing on the Chata-Uche, in West Florida, 12 miles below the Cussitah and Caveta towns.

Brothertons. — In Indian history, a tribe which was formed in western New York on the basis of Mohegan emigrants, who followed the Rev. Mr. Occom from Connecticut, and were joined by certain Nanticokes, &c. A grant of land was made to them by the Oneidas, who had previously received the Stockbridges from the banks of the Housatonic, in Massachusetts. Occom had visited England, and was instrumental in obtaining the large donations which served to organize Dartmouth College. His little colony was joined by other members of affiliated tribes; who, in the end, dropped their several dialects, and assumed the English language alone. They migrated to Wisconsin, after 1820, where they occupy one entire township of fertile land on the east banks of Winnebago Lake. They were admitted to citizenship by an Act of Congress, in 1836. They raise cattle and grain, and exhibit all the essential characteristics of a civilized community.

Brown, Catherine. — The daughter of a Cherokee, who was educated at one of the south-western missionary stations, where she embraced Christianity, made notable proficiency in letters, and gave promise of distinguished attainments. Of a disposition mild, pleasing, and energetic, her personal appearance was equal to her mental proficiency. Her premature death was the cause of universal regret.

Buenaventura. — In Spanish missionary history there are several settlements by this name, of the original reclaimed Indians of Mexico and South America. — *De Alcedo.*

Buffalo, N. Y. — The origin of the Indian name for this place is given with some variations. In one of the earlier treaties with the Six Nations, it is called Tehoseroron. By Mrs. Kerr, a daughter of Joseph Brant, it was pronounced Te-ho-se-ro-ro. Both these forms of pronunciation are Mohawk. The Senecas, the true occupants of the stream, call it De-o-se-o-wa. Others have spelt it Dyosewa, and Tushewa. The meaning appears, in all cases, to be the place of bass-wood; a tree common to this stream in early times.

Buffalo Indians. — A part of the Senecas were thus long denominated in popular language. It was in this tribe that Farmer's Brother, Mary Jameson, Red Jacket, and other distinguished chiefs, lived. The tribe removed to Cattaraugus creek, about 1847.

Bug-on-a-ke-shig. — A Chippewa chief of no little local renown on the line of the Mississippi above St. Anthony's Falls, where he evinced many acts of bravery, in sustaining the jurisdiction and authority of his tribe. He was a younger brother of the chief Songikumig, or Strong Ground. In his fasts he beheld a guardian spirit through an opening in the sky; hence his popular name, the meaning of which is Hole-in-the-sky.

Bukanjahela. — A Delaware chief who exercised much influence in the wars and councils of his people west of the Alleghanies. He possessed strong mental and physical traits of character, and was highly respected. Bold and independent in his tone and manner, he raised up bitter enemies, and was finally assassinated in the streets of Kaskaskia, Illinois.

Burari. — The name of a barbarous tribe of Indians on a tributary of the Orinoco. They are of the family of the Seruros Indians.

Burias (an Indo-Iberic term).—It is applied to a barbarous nation on the south shore of the river Marañon, who are but little known. They have the Gusmagio on their west, and the Los Punoois east.

Busbanza.—A Spanish missionary settlement of New Grenada, which is now reduced to 100 Indians. The place is renowned in Indian archæology as having formerly been the court of the second elector of the kingdom of Tunja, in the province of Sogamosa.

Bushy Run.—A stream noted in Indian history as the locality of Col. Boquet's fight with the western Indians, in 1764. It is tributary to the river Sewickly, which enters the Youghiogany twenty miles south-east of Pittsburg.

Busk. — A ceremonial rite and feast in Choctaw mythology.

Busongote. — In the Indian antiquities of the south, a celebrated Indian fortress of the caciques of Zipas or Bogota, in the ancient province of Caxica. It was taken by Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, in 1537. Nothing now remains but ruins.

Buxaloons. — The old name of an Indian town of unknown etymology, on the Alleghany river, some twenty-five miles from Fort Franklin.

Byainswa. — A chief celebrated in Chippewa history as a war-leader and counsellor of that tribe. He carried their conquests against the Sioux to Sandy Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi. He was celebrated among his countrymen alike for bravery and wisdom. The precise era of his life is uncertain. He lived in the heroic period of their history, when the Chippewas were pressed by enemies on the east, south, and west. He was one of the most heroic and noble-spirited men of his nation. On one occasion, when quite an aged man, the chances of war, one day when he was absent from his lodge, threw his son into the hands of their enemies, the Otagamies. He immediately followed the trail, and reached the enemies' camp at the precise moment when they had tied his son at the stake, and were preparing their torments. "My son," said he, "has seen but few winters. His feet have never trod the war-path. But the hairs of my head are white. I have hung many scalps over the graves of my relatives, which were wrenched from the heads of your warriors. Take me and release my son, to whom life is young and new." This offer was immediately accepted; the son unbound from his stake, and the father tormented and burned.

XV. STATISTICS AND POPULATION. D.

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STATISTICS.

A.

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES ON ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT,

From the Declaration of Independence to the 4th of March, 1789; collected from the books of the Treasury in relation to the accounts of the Revolutionary Government.

When appropriated.	Amount appropriated.	When expended.	Expended on account of treaties.	Expended for goods.	Total amount expended.
1776	$261,783·44	1776	$42,928·64	$218,854·80	$261,783·44
1777	107,929·15	1777	57,622·29	50,306·86	107,929·15
1778	55,082·11	1778	10,322·11	44,760·00	55,082·11
1779	3,520·47	1779	3,326·45	194·02	3,520·47
1780	3,409·20	1780	2,337·79	1,071·41	3,409·20
1781	2,836·05	1781	2,195·60	640·45	2,836·05
1782	10,267·05	1782	905·00	9,362·05	10,261·05
1783	5,608·57	1783	1,718·00	3,890·57	5,608·57
1784	19,402·37	1784	4,534·48	14,867·89	19,402·37
1785	43,249·56	1785	8,738·88	34,510·68	43,249·56
1786	37,598·23	1786	27,092·85	10,505·38	37,598·23
1787	16,381·74	1787	750·00	15,631·74	16,381·74
1788	4,747·10	1788	4,747·10	....	4,747·10
1789	8,288·37	1789	2,650·10	5,638·27	8,288·37
Total,	$580,103·41		$169,869·29	$410,234·12	$580,103·41

The foregoing and following statements have been formed from the preserved record of the Revolutionary Government, for this work, and are deemed minutely correct.

A. [CONTINUED.]

STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES ON ACCOUNT OF INDIAN TREATIES,

From March 4th, 1789, *to December 31st,* 1819.

When appropriated.	Amount appropriated.	Amount carried to Surplus Fund.	Balance of appropriation.	When expended.	Amount expended.
1789	$20,000·00	....	$20,000·00	1789	$20,000·00
1790	20,000·00	....	20,000·00	1790	7,000·00
1791	....	....	....	1791	....
1792	....	....	....	1792	....
1793	100,000·00	97,607·21	2,392·79	1793	25,088·00
1794	12,942·77	3,247·56	9,695·21	1794	....
1795	....	....	....	1795	....
1796	11,000·00	1,500·00	9,500·00	1796	9,500·00
1797	11,000·00	1,500·00	9,500·00	1797	9,500·00
1798	36,880·00	1,500·00	35,380·00	1798	15,300·00
1799	36,000·00	36,000·00	....	1799	20,080·00
1800	26,000·00	11,000·00	15,000·00	1800	....
1801	11,000·00	11,000·00	....	1801	9,000·00
1802	45,000·00	....	45,000·00	1802	20,000·00
1803	21,000·00	10,000·00	11,000·00	1803	....
1804	41,000·00	....	41,000·00	1804	53,000·00
1805	12,800·00	....	12,800·00	1805	41,000·00
1806	60,825·00	....	60,825·00	1806	....
1807	72,725·00	....	72,725·00	1807	60,825·00
1808	115,575·00	....	115,575·00	1808	70,725·00
1809	53,575·00	....	53,575·00	1809	169,150·00
1810	58,225·00	1,300·00	56,925·00	1810	58,225·00
1811	61,125·00	....	61,125·00	1811	57,725·00
1812	55,975·00	2,600·00	53,875·00	1812	55,975·00
1813	55,475·00	....	55,475·00	1813	55,475·00
1814	54,475·00	....	54,475·00	1814	....
1815	53,975·00	....	53,975·00	1815	111,750·00
1816	84·075·00	....	84,075·00	1816	82,075·00
1817	100,925·00	....	100,925·00	1817	91,276·06
1818	281,575·00	....	281,575·00	1818	230,409·54
1819	213,311·38	....	213,311·38	1819	185,522·77
Total,	$1,726,459·15	$177,254·77	$1,549,204·38	Total,	$1,458,601·37

B.

CREEKS—STATEMENT OF THE ANNUITIES

Which became payable in each Year, under Treaties with the Creek Indians, from 1791 *to* 1819, *inclusively.*

Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.	Year.	Amount.
1791	$1,500		$12,000		$34,500		$156,000
1792	1,500	1799	1,500	1806	17,500	1813	16,500
1793	1,500	1800	1,500	1807	17,500	1814	15,500
1794	1,500	1801	1,500	1808	17,500	1815	15,500
1795	1,500	1802	1,500	1809	17,500	1816	15,500
1796	1,500	1803	5,500	1810	17,500	1817	15,500
1797	1,500	1804	5,500	1811	17,500	1818	15,500
1798	1,500	1805	5,500	1812	16,500	1819	25,500
Carried for'd,	$12,000	Carried for'd,	$34,500	Carried for'd,	$156,000	Total......	$275,500

STATEMENT EXHIBITING THE AMOUNT OF INVESTMENTS FOR CREEK ACCOUNT IN STATE STOCKS, &c.

Also, the Annual Interest appropriated by Congress to pay the Creek Indians, in lieu of investing the sums of money provided by Treaty in Stocks.

For what account the Stock is held in trust.	Names of States which issued the bonds.	Rate of Interest	Amount of cash lent on bonds.	Amount of annual interest.	Cash value of each lot of bonds.	When the interest is payable.	Where the interest is payable.	Deposited until wanted for application	Treaties regarding the objects to which the interest is to be app'd.
Creek Orphans.....	Alabama...........	5	$82,000	$4,100	$82,000·00	Semi-annually.	New York.	U. S. Treasury.	In Mar. 1832.
" "	Missouri...........	5½	28,000	1,540	28,487·48	"	"	"	" "
" "	Pennsylvania......	5	16,000	800	13,840·00	"	Philadelphia.	"	" "
" "	U. S. Treasury loan, 1841..	6	10,000	600	10,000·00	Quarterly.	Washington.	"	" "
			$136,000	$7,040	$134,327·48				

Amount provided by Treaty for investment.. $350,000
Amount of interest annually appropriated (see Treaty of November 23, 1838)......................... 17,500 = 5 per cent.

C.

QUANTITY OF LAND, NUMBER OF SOULS, &c.,

Within the Territory bounded on the south by the parallel of the southern boundary of the Osages, east and north-east by the State of Missouri and the Missouri river, north by the parallel of the northern boundary of the State of Missouri, and extending west 200 miles from the eastern and north-eastern boundary.

The entire quantity of land is	51,000 sq. miles	=	32,640,000 acres.
From this subtract Cherokee lands	1,250 "	" =	800,000 "
Leaves	49,750 "	" =	31,840,000 "

	Names of Tribes, &c.	Number on the ground.	Number elsewhere.	Total Number	Square miles.	Acres.	No. of acres to each.	By Treaty ratified.	Nature of the claim.	Remarks.
Tribes for whom lands have been surveyed.	Ottawas of Blanchard's fork and Oquanoxas village...	say 200		200	53⅛	34,000	170	April 6, 1832,	Patent...	The immigrants are amalgamated.
	Ottawas of Roche de Bœuf and Wolf rapids..........	say 100	In Ohio, perhaps 100	200	62½	40,000	200	April 6, 1832,	Patent...	
	Peorias and Kaskaskias....	142		142	150	* 96,000	676	Feb. 12, 1833,	Forever.	* Fractions are not noticed
	Weas and Piankashas.......	363		363	250	160,000	440	Feb. 12, 1833,		
	Pottawatamies..............	ab't 2,500	In Indiana, say 500	3,000	1,500	960,000	320	Feb. 18, 1837,	Patent.	
	Osages	5,500		5,500	8,750	5,600,000	1,018	Dec. 30, 1825,	During resid'ce.	
	Shawanese..................	823		823	2,500	1,600,000	1,944	Dec. 30, 1825, April 6, 1832, Feb. 12, 1833,	Patent.	The Osage lands extend west as far as the sources of the Kanzas.
	Kanzas.......................	1,700		1,700	4,200	2,688,000	1,581	Dec. 30, 1825,	Guaranty equal to patent..	Kanzas lands extend west as far as the sources of the Kanzas.
	Delawares and St'ckbridges	1,000		1,000	about 2,840	1,817,600	1,817	Jan. 15, 1819, Mar. 24, 1831,		The Delaware outlet is unlimited on the west. The Delawares have admitted the Stockbridges on their land, expecting the United States to add a small tract on their north.
	Kickapoos..................	400		400	1,200	768,000	1,920	Feb. 13, 1833,	Convey'e equal to patent.	
	Sauks	600		600	200	128,000	213	Feb. 15, 1837,		
	Iowas.	800		800	200	128,000	160	Feb. 15, 1837,		
				14,728	21,906	14,019,600				
Tribes to whom lands have been promised, but no surveys made.	New York Indians...........		In New York, 5,700	5,700	2,850	1,824,000	320	April 4, 1840,	Patent.	
	Miamies		In Indiana, 800	800	400	256,000	320	Not complete,		
	Chippewas of Swan c'k, &c.	perh'ps 50	In Michigan, say 80	130	13	8,320	64	May 25, 1836, July 2, 1838,	....	Selected by a delegation in (perhaps) 1837, under Isaac M'Coy.
	Chippewas of Saginaw......		In Michigan, say 1,500	1,500	3,040	1,945,600	367	July 2, 1838, May 27, 1836,	....	Selected as above, at same time.
	Ottawas and Chippewas.....		In Michigan, 3,800	3,800					....	Selected by a delegation in (perhaps) 1838, under I. M'Coy. The quantity in these two cases has not been fixed by treaty; but the exterior bounds of each tract were definitely explained. See column to left for aggregate.
	Chippewas, Ottawas and Pottawatamies............		In Mich., say 2,000 Near Green bay 300 Council Bluff, S. Agency, 2,000	4,300	7,812½	5,000,000	1,162	No treaty made,	....	The number of acres is put at 5,000,000, because, by treaty, Sep. 1833, these Pottawatamies hold that amount on the N. E. side of the Missouri river.
		14,178	16,780	30,958	36,021	23,053,520	744			

The whole amount of land within the limits first described is......				from 49,750	31,840,000				
Total amount of land surveyed, appropriated, and promised, and the number of persons on it, or coming to it..................			30,958	take 36,021	23,053,520	....	....	....	All the lands south of the Kanzas and Shawanese have been appropriated or promised. The unappropriated lands lie north of the Delawares and Iowas.
Leaves the amount of unappropriated land......................				13,729	* 8,786,480	....	....	....	This includes 143,000 acres of half-breed land, between the two Nemaha rivers.
Tribes to be provided for on the unappropriated land.									
Wyandots		In Ohio, 500	500			....	....	....	The Wyandots are expected to locate on the lands of the Delawares and Shawanoes.
Sauks and Foxes		In Iowa Ter., 4,200	4,200	13,729	* 8,786,480	720	No treaty made.		
Winnebagoes.....................		In Iowa Ter., 4,000	4,000						
Menominees......................		In Wisconsin, 4,000	4,000						
	14,178	25,480	43,658						

LANDS, NUMBER OF SOULS, &c.,

Within 200 miles south-west of the Missouri river, and between the parallel of the northern boundary of the State of Missouri and the Puncah river.

Names of Tribes.	Number.	Number of sq. miles in all.	Acres.	Acres to each person.	Remarks.
Pawnees..	6,244	32,000	20,480,000	2,080	The boundaries of the lands owned by these tribes have not been definitely settled. The Ottoes own south of Platte river as far as the Little Nemaha river, and a line west from its source.
Puncahs..	800				
Omahas...	1,400				
Ottoes and Missouris	1,400				
	9,844				

RECAPITULATION.

Whole number of square miles in both tracts	81,750
Whole number of acres..	52,320,000
Whole number of persons within, or to be brought within the entire country	53,502

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* It has been discovered that, in giving the Pottawatamies 5,000,000 acres, 1,232,000 acres will lie west of, and without, the western line on which these calculations are based. Therefore, subtract this, and the case will stand corrected, thus:

From.. 13,729 sq. miles = 8,786,480 acres,
Take .... 1,925 " " = 1,232,000 "
Which leaves the true amount of unappropriated lands .... 11,804 " " = 7,554,480 " = 619 acres to each.

D.

QUANTITY OF LAND, NUMBER OF SOULS, &c.,

Between the parallel of the southern boundary of the Osage lands and Red River, and west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, to the distance of 200 miles.

The entire quantity of land is .... 44,762¼ sq. miles = 28,648,000 acres.
To this add the northern tract of the Cherokees, containing .... 1,250 " " = 800,000 "
Makes the entire quantity embraced in the following estimates.. 46,012¼ " " = 29,448,000 "

Names of Tribes.	Number on the ground.	Number elsewhere.	Total Number	Square miles.	Acres.	No. of acres to each.	By Treaty ratified.	Nature of the claim.	Remarks.
Choctaws and Chickasaws..........	20,500	East of the Miss., say, 8,000	28,500	about 20,000	12,800,000	544	Feb. 19, 1825, Feb 24, 1831, Mar. 21, 1837,	Patent...	The Choctaw lands extend west to long. 100°. These lands have not been surveyed. The Choctaws and Chickasaws have amalgamated.
Creeks and Seminoles................	24,000	East of the Miss., say, 1,500	25,500	about 10,400	6,656,000	261	April 22, 1826, April 4, 1832, April 12, 1834, April 12, 1834, April 12, 1834,	Patent...	Creek lands extend west to long. 100°. These lands have not been surveyed. The Creeks and Seminoles have amalgamated.
Cherokees	22,000	East of the Miss., say, 1,000	23,000	about 15,275	9,776,000	425	May 28, 1828, April 12, 1834, May 23, 1826,	Patent issued.	The Cherokee lands extend west to long. 100°. These lands have been surveyed; but the quantity cannot be stated precisely without reference to the field-notes.
Senecas .... Senecas and Shawanees	460	....	460	about 187	120,000	260	Mar. 24, 1831, April 6, 1832, Mar. 22, 1838,	Patent...	The Seneca, and Seneca and Shawanee lands have been surveyed in two tracts; but the precise quantity of the first cannot be stated without examining the field-notes. The two bands have amalgamated.
Quapaws	600	....	600	150	96,000	160	April 12, 1834,	Patent...	The Quapaw lands have not been surveyed. On the north side of the Quapaws is an unappropriated tract, about 1¾ miles wide, and 25 miles long.
Totals..	67,560	5,500	73,060	46,012	29,448,000	408			

The amount of land between the assumed line, 200 miles west of the State of Arkansas, and long. 100°, cannot be stated without examining the field-notes of the Cherokee survey.

POPULATION.

E.

CENSUS OF THE CREEK, OR MUSCOGEE NATION, AS RETURNED TO THE INDIAN BUREAU.

PART I.

TAKEN BY BENJAMIN S. PARSONS.

Census of the principal Chiefs, and Heads of Families, of the Creek tribe of Indians; taken by virtue of the second Article of the Treaty concluded with that tribe, at the City of Washington, March 24, 1832.

Names of the principal Chiefs, with their places of residence.	No. of males.	No. of females.	No. of slaves.	Total number of each family.
Tuck a batch cha Town.				
1. Sus ke ne hau	1	1	10	12
2. Ho po uth lo yoholo	2	2	3	7
3. Little Doctor	4	2	8	14
4. Mad Blue	2	2	...	4
5. Tuck a batcha micco	3	4	4	11
6. Micco buiccas, or Old King	2	1	1	4
7. Tus tunnugga	2	1	...	3
8. Ne haw lacco chop-co	1	1	...	2
9. O sooch e micco	3	3	...	6
10. Siarh yoholo	1	3	...	4
11. Bob Cornds	2	1	3	6
12. Ogillisa	3	3	...	6
13. Fus hatch che micco	2	1	...	3
14. Cho gart la fixico	3	5	...	8
15. Stitchey cornoleo	2	3	...	5
16. Tom mastth micco	1	1	...	2
17. Ah loc e yoholo	2	1	...	3
18. Tosconer fixico	3	2	1	6
19. Tus sick i holatta	3	4	...	7
20. David Barnard	2	2	4	8
Tallisee Town.				
21. Tus ta nugga chopco	3	1	...	4
Cleu wathta Town.				
22. Jim Boy	2	5	5	12
23. Laugty micco	2	2	...	4
Hatch cha chubba Town.				
24. Hatch cha chubba Tom	3	5	1	9
Carried forward	54	56	40	150

E. [CONTINUED.]

CENSUS OF THE CREEK, OR MUSCOGEE NATION.

Names of the principal Chiefs, with their places of residence.	No. of males.	No. of females.	No. of slaves.	Total number of each family.
	54	56	40	150
Hickory-Ground Town.				
25. William McGilvery........................	2	1	25	28
We woak car Town.				
26. Laughty marturhar........................		5	...	6
We guf car Town.				
27. Martaw way hadjo........................	1	2	...	3
Toak parf car Town.				
28. No cle pisa hargo........................	2	1	...	3
Fish-Pond Town.				
29. Tus coner hargo........................	2	4	...	6
Kiliga Town.				
30. Spoak cake micco........................	3	2	...	5
31. Quas sad har jo........................	2	1	...	3
Po con talla hassa Town.				
32. Spoak oak hargo........................	2	4	5	11
U faw la Town.				
33. Yoholo micco........................	1	1	2	4
34. Oc te ar che micco........................	2	5	...	7
Oak fuska Town.				
35. Ma naw way........................	4	2	...	6
36. Cotch er e marthla........................	2	5	...	7
Hillabe Town.				
37. Clath lo hargo........................	2	2	...	4
He maw hie Town.				
38. Tuota migga chopco........................	1	2	...	3
39. Pas coaf emathlar........................	1	4	...	5
40. Hobie fixico........................	3	1	...	4
Talladega Town.				
41. Coosa fixico........................	4	4	...	8
42. Cus se taw harjo........................	2	2	...	4
Che haw Town.				
43. Thlane hargo........................	2	1	...	3
44. Salotta (alias E marth lar yoholo)......	4	2	...	6
45. Fus hatch fixico........................	3	5	...	8
Totals........................	100	112	72	284

E. [CONTINUED.]

CENSUS OF THE CREEK OR MUSCOGEE NATION.—PART I.

Enumeration of the people of the Upper Towns.

Reference to Mr. Parsons's Report.	Heads of families.	Males.	Females.	Slaves.	Total.
On folio 1*..	29	69	62	65	196
" 2...	16	38	43	7	88
" 3...	44	98	95	...	193
" 4...	37	62	59	...	121
" 5...	43	72	79	19	170
" 6...	44	68	73	...	141
" 7...	44	68	75	11	154
" 8...	43	46	74	11	131
" 9...	44	57	76	17	150
" 10...	44	47	78	6	131
" 11...	44	71	74	8	153
" 12...	44	74	61	2	137
" 13...	36	50	58	75	183
" 14...	43	101	90	...	191
" 15...	44	79	73	...	152
" 16...	29	48	53	...	101
" 17...	22	23	34	...	57
" 18...	43	85	94	12	191
" 19...	44	91	82	...	173
" 20...	37	75	79	...	154
" 21...	39	77	74	15	166
" 22...	22	39	42	6	87
" 23...	43	81	69	...	150
" 24...	44	59	68	...	127
" 25...	44	56	87	...	143
" 26...	...	69	77	...	146
" 27...	38	69	66	...	135
" 28...	39	69	72	33	174
" 29...	33	29	61	2	92
" 30...	32	32	50	...	82
" 31...	36	59	65	49	173
" 32...	40	54	66	19	139
" 33...	26	28	32	...	60
" 34...	43	101	96	...	197
" 35...	44	46	84	...	130
" 36...	44	46	77	...	123
" 37...	34	45	70	...	115
" 38...	43	81	91	...	172
" 39...	17	24	44	...	68
" 40...	43	84	83	2	169
" 41...	44	67	76	...	143
" 42...	44	59	74	2	135
" 43...	3	3	4	...	7
" 44...	43	80	67	...	147
" 45...	18	21	28	...	49
" 46...	43	82	60	...	142
" 47...	24	34	36	13	83
" 48...	42	64	59	...	123
" 49...	44	58	71	...	129
" 50...	14	23	20	...	43
" 51...	30	45	42	...	87
" 52...	44	74	100	...	174
" 53...	33	52	56	...	108
" 54...	43	60	68	...	128
Carried for'd.	1,947	3,194	3,537	374	7,003
Bro't for'd ...	1,947	3,194	3,537	374	7,003
On folio 55...	44	95	76	...	171
" 56...	16	27	24	...	51
" 57...	43	54	58	...	112
" 58...	44	62	81	5	148
" 59...	39	68	65	...	133
" 60...	44	72	65	...	137
" 61...	20	34	27	...	61
" 62...	43	69	76	...	145
" 63...	44	65	72	...	137
" 64...	21	31	42	...	73
" 65...	34	65	66	...	131
" 66...	39	67	74	...	141
" 67...	43	87	86	...	173
" 68...	33	58	81	...	139
" 69...	44	71	73	1	145
" 70...	34	66	69	...	135
" 71...	30	39	50	...	89
" 72...	42	59	78	...	137
" 73...	34	65	62	...	127
" 74...	44	70	73	...	143
" 75...	26	46	45	11	102
" 76...	43	77	66	...	143
" 77...	36	88	68	...	156
" 78...	44	69	75	...	144
" 79...	32	69	82	7	158
" 80...	44	101	100	...	201
" 81...	45	77	81	...	158
" 82...	42	81	81	...	162
" 83...	37	57	79	...	136
" 84...	42	60	74	...	134
" 85...	33	53	56	...	109
" 86...	43	76	76	1	153
" 87...	44	72	80	...	152
" 88...	20	29	45	...	74
" 89...	41	78	81	2	161
" 90...	34	52	58	...	110
" 91...	20	31	33	...	64
" 92...	42	75	90	...	165
" 93...	44	79	81	...	160
" 94...	37	77	79	36	192
" 95...	42	67	75	1	143
" 96...	44	78	83	...	161
" 97...	37	46	56	3	105
" 98...	33	59	60	...	119
" 99...	42	67	76	...	143
" 100...	44	66	94	...	160
" 101...	44	86	74	2	162
" 102...	36	61	59	...	120
" 103...	42	66	82	2	150
" 104...	44	67	74	...	141
" 105...	44	75	75	...	150
" 106...	32	54	59	...	113
Totals........	3,915	6,555	7,142	445	14,142

* This reference is to the Official Report of Mr. Parsons, on file in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

E. [CONTINUED.]

CENSUS OF THE CREEK, OR MUSCOGEE NATION.—PART I.

Total of the population of the Upper Towns, including Negroes	14,142
Deduct the number of Negroes (slaves)	445
And the remaining Indian population numbers	13,697

I do hereby certify that the above census has been taken by me, and that this Roll is as correct as I have been able to make it.

May 1, 1833.

BENJAMIN S. PARSONS.

Sworn to before me,

JAMES W. ARMSTRONG, J. P.

INDEX TO THE UPPER TOWNS.

Folio.	Names of Towns.	No. of heads of families.	Folio.	Names of Towns.	No. of heads of families.
21	Au tau ga	54	14	Ottisse	90
86	Ar bic coo chee	107	65	Oak taw sar seg	34
18	Cle wulla	101	66	Oak choy	39
27	Che haw	29	67	O se lar ne by	45
30	Coasawda	32	51	Po chis hach cha	31
31	Cube hatcha	36	52	Poch en tal le hasse	76
76	Con chante ti	55	84	Rabbit	75
77	Che ar haw	80	38	Sow ga hatch cha	60
79	Chock o lock o	109	60	Sock o par toy	64
98	Corn House	38	3	Thlob thloc co, 1st. (see page 32).	81
103	Cha tok sof ke	143	32	Thlob thlocco, 2d. (see page 3)	66
70	E mar he	58	5	Tuck a batcha	386
90	E kun duts ke	47	16	Talmachussa	48
62	Fish-Pond Town	111	20	Taw warsa	30
44	Hatch chi chubba	62	23	Tallisee	190
46	Hickory-Ground	67	28	Tus kee ga	68
68	Hatchet-Creek	82	57	Toak paf car	126
89	Hitch o par tar ga	48	73	Talledega	92
92	Hil la bee	123	82	Tal la se hatch ee	79
72	Ki a mul ga	54	106	Tal lip se ho gy	19
95	Ko ho mut ki garts kar	123	40	U fawla	145
99	Ki a li ge	166	48	We woak kar	100
34	Lu chi paga	165	54	We o guf ka	103

INDEX TO THE LOWER TOWNS. (*See* PART II.)

Folio.	Names of Towns.	No. of heads of families.	Folio.	Names of Towns.	No. of heads of families.
4, 56	Eu fau la	229	23	Che haw ah	92
10	So woc co lo	56	26	O switch ee	168
12	Cow ye ka	45	30	Eu chee	103
14	Hatch ee chub ba	30	33	High Log	187
15	Pah lo cho ko lo	21	38	Cus se taw	620
16	Tol o war thloc co	47	56, 4	Eu fau la	49
18	Hitch e tee	95	58	Cow e ta	289
21	Hi ha gee	17	68	Thla katch ka	331
22	Ho tal le ho yar nar	27			

F.

CENSUS OF THE CREEK, OR MUSCOGEE NATION, AS RETURNED TO THE INDIAN BUREAU.

PART II.

TAKEN BY THOMAS J. ABBOTT.

Census of the principal Chiefs, and Heads of Families, of the Creek tribe of Indians; taken by virtue of the second Article of the Treaty concluded with that tribe, at the City of Washington, March 24, 1832.

At a General Council of the Lower Towns of the Creek Tribe of Indians, held at See-char-litch-ar, on the 29th day of November, 1832, the following persons were designated and acknowledged as principal chiefs:—

Names of the principal Chiefs, with their places of residence.	No. of males.	No. of females.	No. of slaves.	Total number of each family.
Cus se taw Towns.				
1. Ne har mic co	5	6	4	15
2. Tus ke he ne haw choo ley	1	1	1	3
3. Ar par lar tus tun nuck ee	3	2	...	5
4. Is far ne e marth lar	3	4	...	7
5. Oke fus ke yo ho lo	2	5	...	7
6. Tuck a batch ee har jo	1	3	1	5
7. E far e marth lar	2	4	11	17
8. Cus se taw mic co	2	1	...	3
9. Mic co char tee	1	2	...	3
10. Eas tee char co chop ho	1	1	...	2
Cow e ta Towns.				
11. Katch ar tus tun nuck ee	1	2	...	3
12. James Island	4	4	...	8
13. E far tus ke ne haw	1	2	...	3
14. Absalom Islands	1	1	...	2
15. Jacob Beavers	2	3	...	5
16. Tal marse har jo	2	2	...	4
17. Char lo har jo co cho ko ne	3	2	...	5
18. E marth lar har jo	1	2	...	3
19. Joseph Marshall	4	2	16	22
Thla katch ka (or Broken Arrow).				
20. See o ko ba	1	1	...	2
21. Ho nese har jo	3	3	...	6
22. Ko nip pe e marth lar	3	1	...	4
23. Yuf kar e marth lar har jo	2	2	...	4
Carried forward	49	56	33	138

F. [CONTINUED.]

CENSUS OF THE CREEK, OR MUSCOGEE NATION.—PART II.

Names of the principal Chiefs, with their places of residence.	No. of males.	No. of females.	No. of slaves.	Total number of each family.
	49	56	33	138
Eu fau la				
24. Fose hatch ee e marth lar	2	4	...	6
25. Ke par yar tus tun nuck ee	3	1	...	4
26. E ne har tus tun nuck ee	3	1	...	4
27. Tus tun nuck har jo	3	1	...	3
Che haw ah.				
28. Yo ho lo har jo	1	7	3	11
29. Kotch ar har jo	4	1	...	5
30. Jonny Chop ko	3	2	...	5
Eu chee.				
31. Tim poo che Barnard	3	1	3	7
32. William Barnard	4	5	11	20
33. Pon a hor thlock o	4	5	...	9
O switch ee.				
34. Ok ti ar che e marth lar	1	1	...	2
35. O switch ee e marth lar	2	3	...	5
36. Tuck a batch ee fix i co	3	2	...	5
Tol o war thlock o.				
37. Ne har thlock o	2	3	...	6
38. E ne har tus ke he ne haw	3	4	1	7
Che wok o lee (Eu fau la).				
39. Wox e micco	1	2	...	3
Hitch e tee.				
40. E ne har e marth lar	3	3	...	6
41. Tun nee chee	1	3	...	4
So woc co lo.				
42. Ne ah mic co	2	2	...	4
43. Par hose e marth lar	3	2	...	5
Hatch ee chub ba.				
44. Tal la se mic co	4	1	...	5
Totals	104	110	51	264

F. [CONTINUED.]

CENSUS OF THE CREEK OR MUSCOGEE NATION.—PART II.

Enumeration of the people of the Lower Towns.

Reference to Mr. Abbott's Report.	Heads of families.	Males.	Females.	Slaves.	Total.	Reference to Mr. Abbott's Report.	Heads of families.	Males.	Females.	Slaves.	Total.
On folio 1*..	19	40	49	33	122	Bro't for'd ...	1,229	2,126	2,178	337	4,641
" 2...	20	50	50	18	118	On folio 40...	40	69	63	...	132
" 3...	5	13	11	...	24	" 41...	43	84	77	...	161
" 4...	40	82	77	15	174	" 42...	43	67	74	4	145
" 5...	42	69	74	...	143	" 43...	16	32	20	...	52
" 6...	43	61	56	...	117	" 44...	39	47	66	...	113
" 7...	43	63	71	...	134	" 45...	17	26	31	...	57
" 8...	43	89	85	...	174	" 46...	32	60	58	...	118
" 9...	18	29	28	...	57	" 47...	40	59	58	...	117
" 10...	42	67	71	42	180	" 48...	36	42	55	...	97
" 11...	14	18	22	...	40	" 49...	39	69	64	3	136
" 12...	40	70	72	...	142	" 50...	42	52	41	3	96
" 13...	5	5	10	...	15	" 51...	15	18	27	...	45
" 14...	30	51	50	...	101	" 52...	39	64	65	...	129
" 15...	21	36	41	...	77	" 53...	43	50	64	...	114
" 16...	41	71	66	6	143	" 54...	42	43	55	...	98
" 17...	6	6	7	...	13	" 55...	24	28	30	...	58
" 18...	41	85	70	...	155	" 56...	37	73	64	...	137
" 19...	43	62	64	20	146	" 57...	12	23	20	...	43
" 20...	11	17	17	...	34	" 58...	40	62	75	11	148
" 21...	17	22	32	...	54	" 59...	42	53	64	...	117
" 22...	27	32	50	6	88	" 60...	6	8	13	1	22
" 23...	41	80	78	32	190	" 61...	28	37	48	15	100
" 24...	43	65	81	21	167	" 62...	11	14	16	...	30
" 25...	8	11	12	8	31	" 63...	40	63	61	...	124
" 26...	42	72	68	2	142	" 64...	28	33	34	...	67
" 27...	40	54	64	6	124	" 65...	37	66	57	5	128
" 28...	39	61	62	1	124	" 66...	43	53	59	19	131
" 29...	43	73	66	...	139	" 67...	14	11	29	...	40
" 30...	29	63	58	6	127	" 68...	37	63	61	5	129
" 31...	43	92	70	3	165	" 69...	43	61	65	16	142
" 32...	35	37	66	13	116	" 70...	42	64	69	10	143
" 33...	40	95	82	...	177	" 71...	17	19	21	...	40
" 34...	43	97	78	...	175	" 72...	28	54	39	2	95
" 35...	43	90	85	...	175	" 73...	38	72	74	3	149
" 36...	43	78	89	...	167	" 74...	43	65	60	4	129
" 37...	17	25	28	...	53	" 75...	27	21	47	5	73
" 38...	40	56	73	104	233	" 76...	39	81	74	14	169
" 39...	29	39	45	1	85	" 77...	17	26	31	...	57
Carried for'd.	1,229	2,126	2,178	337	4,641	Totals........	2,448	3,958	1,107	457	8,522

Total of the population of the Lower Towns, including slaves....................................	8,522
Deduct the number of slaves..	457
Which leaves the number of Indians...	8,065

In addition to the foregoing, the two following names have been reported to me (by the chief), of individuals to whom they have assigned one half section each, of the twenty-nine sections of land reserved by the sixth Article of the Treaty, and left at the disposal of the Tribe; viz.:

George Grayson...... ½ section. *Winchester Doyle*...... ½ section.

I do hereby certify that the above census has been taken by me, and that this Roll is as correct as I have been able to make it.

May 13, 1833.

THOMAS J. ABBOTT.

Sworn to before me,

THOMAS S. MARTIN, J. C. C. R. C.

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* This reference is to the Official Report of Mr. Abbott, on file in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

G.

CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, AND CHEROKEE NATIONS.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Office of Indian Affairs, October 3, 1853.

SIR:—In compliance with your verbal request that I would give you the number of men, women, and children of the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw tribes of Indians at the last payment of their annuities, I have caused an examination to be made of the pay-rolls to said tribes, and find that there were, of the Choctaws, 3,816 men, 4,172 women, and 7,779 children, making in the aggregate 15,767; of the Chickasaws there were 1,122 men, 1,117 women, and 2,476 children—in the aggregate 4,715; of the Cherokees there were, in the aggregate, 17,367: the returns in reference to these last being made in a manner which renders it impossible to give the number in detail, as in the cases of the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES E. MIX, *Acting Commissioner*.

To H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, Esq.

ABSTRACT OF THE CENSUS ROLLS OF THE CHOCTAW, CHICKASAW, AND CHEROKEE TRIBES.

Tribes.	Males, Females, and Children.	Number of each.	Total population.	References to the present state of the Tribes.
Choctaws	Men	3,816	15,767	A.
	Women	4,172		
	Children	7,779		
Chickasaws	Men	1,122	4,715	B.
	Women	1,117		
	Children	2,476		
Cherokees	Not specified	Aggregate.	17,367	C.

A. STATISTICS DENOTING THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CHOCTAW TRIBE.

This nation, on first crossing the Mississippi to the western Indian colony, went in close league with their kinsfolk, the Chickasaws. The two tribes occupy the southern part of the western Indian Territory, extending from about 94° W. lon., on Red river, to 100° W. lon. on the same; thence, about due north to the waters of the Canadian river, and down said river to its mouth; thence, due south to the place of beginning. It is bounded on the north by the Creek and Cherokee Nations, on the east by Arkansas, and on the south and west by Texas.

At present the principal settlement is in this district (Apuckshanubbee)—the eastern part of the nation. Population about 11,000

The Nation is divided into four districts, of which the western, or Chickasaw district, is settled principally by the Chickasaws. Population, 4,700.

The middle district, Pushmataha, has a population of about 5,500.

The northern district, Musholatubbee, has a population of about 5,500.

Total population, 15,700; of which the Chickasaws comprise 4,700.

The Chickasaws are united to the Choctaws under one government, and together form the Choctaw Nation. The two tribes are much intermingled; all matters of government being conducted as if they were one tribe. Their annuities, however, and school-fund, are kept entirely distinct.

The languages, manners, and customs of the two tribes nearly assimilate; and, according to the traditions, they sprung from a common origin.

They are becoming an agricultural people; and some of them have fine farms. Some 600 bales of cotton were produced from the crop of 1850. The culture of corn, however, receives the principal share of attention.

These Indians have a National Legislature, or General Council, a newspaper, public schools, and all the other appliances of civilization.

Education has been steadily pressed on this tribe during the last and immediately preceding years; and its claims have been well appreciated. William Wilson, Esq., the Choctaw Agent, writing under the date of September 5, 1852, gives an encouraging view of the condition of the tribe generally: —

"In looking over the events which have transpired in the Choctaw nation, I feel that we have abundant reason for feelings of gratitude to the Giver of all Good, that the Choctaws have neither been wasted by pestilence nor famine; nor by the more slow, but not less certain, destructive influences of vice. Every effort has been made, both by the officers of the nation and the missionaries of the several denominations of Christians who are laboring amongst this people, to elevate them, morally, as well as in other respects.

"During the past spring fears were entertained that some of the Choctaws would suffer for want of bread, owing to the great scarcity of corn, occasioned by the excessive drought of the previous summer. I am, however, happy to state that, by the assistance of the licensed traders in the country, who purchased and shipped a considerable quantity of corn and flour into the nation, for the use of the people, and the generous disposition of all who had any corn to spare, the season of scarcity has been passed without much, if any, actual suffering. The anticipated scarcity, also, caused a considerable number of the people to sow wheat and oats, and also to plant a considerable quantity of Irish potatoes and garden vegetables, which would come into use before the corn harvest. Crops of corn were also planted much earlier than usual, and every effort was made to increase the quantity of the present crop. In this they have not been disappointed, as their exertions have been aided by an excellent season; and it is now apparent that a very abundant crop will be made in all the Choctaw country.

"In June and July last I was called by my duties to be considerably about in the country, and was much gratified to see evidences of improvement, both in regard to the comforts of living, and in respect to the cultivation of their lands. I observed, particularly, that their corn was planted at a proper distance apart, and so thinned out as not to leave too many stalks in a hill. Maj. Thomas Wall, and Thomson McKenney, U. S. interpreter, have erected a good grist-mill on James's Fork, one of the tributuaries of the Potean, in this district, about ten miles from this place, on the main road leading from Fort Smith to Fort Towson. As this mill has a good bolt, the Choctaws are encouraged to raise wheat; and, from what I hear, I am induced to believe that, in a few years, the people will raise a sufficiency of wheat to supply the flour required for the ordinary wants of the country. Some little attention is now paid to the culture of cotton in Moosholatubbee district; and, from the experiments already made, the people are satisfied that it can be raised to advantage here as well as on Red river. The largest planter in the Choctaw country is Capt. Robert M. Jones, who has some four plantations on Red river, and last year raised about 600 bales of cotton. There are other large planters besides him in that part of the country, amongst whom may be mentioned Maj. Pitman Colbert and Jackson Kemp. I regret that I am not in possession of any correct statistical information to lay before you for your enlightenment; but a correct estimate might be hereafter made, in regard to the progress of the Choctaws in agriculture, &c., by comparing future years with the present.

"The Choctaws also feel encouraged to raise more cattle, by the increased demand from abroad. Some years ago there was scarcely any demand for cattle, at any price; and, when a purchaser was found, the market-price was so low that it seemed like giving them away. This was exceedingly discouraging, and led to neglect of the great facilities for raising cattle, afforded by the wide and inexhaustable range.

"I may mention, as another evidence of the improvement of the Choctaws, that there is much less intemperance than in years past. This is very manifest in large assemblies of the people, such as at the time of annuity payments. I scarcely saw a drunken man during the entire annuity payment last winter; and, instead of the song of the drunkard, which used to be common on such occasions, songs of praise to God might be heard at many of the camps.

"The schools continue to be well sustained, and are the pride of the entire Choctaw people. Reports have been received from the superintendents of all the schools in the nation supported by public funds appropriated by the Choctaws, with the exception of Spencer Academy, Wheelock Female Seminary, Norwalk School, and I-ya-nubbee Female Seminary. . . . .

"The school at Wheelock is, in my judgment, one of the best I ever visited; the scholars are well advanced, considering their age, and are, in the fullest sense of the term, receiving a thorough education. It so happened that I was at this school on Saturday, and, though the ordinary school exercises are not usually attended to on that day, yet the teachers called the scholars together, and examined them on their several studies. In justice to my own feelings, I must say that I never visited a school with more pleasure, or with a more thorough conviction of the efficiency of the teachers in the general management of the scholars. I was shown, also, many specimens of their work, both plain and fancy. I think the school a model of the kind, and it must exert an extended, healthful influence on the Choctaw people.

"Spencer Academy is the largest institution of learning in the nation, having over 100 students in attendance, all boarded, clad, and taught at the expense of the institution. Great efforts are made by the very worthy superintendent and his assistants, for the mental and moral training of the scholars; and, so far as I could judge, with a good degree of success. It seems to me, however, that one object for which the school was established, has, in a great measure, been overlooked—that is manual labor. . .

"About 300 Choctaws have been removed from the States of Mississippi and Louisiana, within the present year, to this country—principally from the latter State. It is to be hoped that this business will be brought to a close at no distant day."

Mr. A. Wright, a veteran laborer in this field, presents the subject of education, at one of the chief stations, in a light which promises benign results:—

"In compliance with instructions I send you the report of the Wheelock Female School, and also of the Norwalk Male School, for the year ending July, 1852.

"*Wheelock School.*

"Whole number of pupils	45
Average attendance	44
Supported by appropriation	24
Supported by parents and friends	11
Day-scholars, in the neighborhood	10"

. . . "While the pupils have evinced a good understanding of the several studies to which they have attended, they particularly excel in spelling, reading, and correct pronunciation of English. Many of the pupils are also highly proficient in penmanship, writing a neat and very legible hand. The older pupils have been frequently required to write their thoughts in English; and some of them have exhibited specimens of composition which afford pleasing evidence of their attainments in the knowledge of the English language. . . .

"Great pains are taken by those who have the care of the girls out of school, to make them acquainted with all that pertains to a well-regulated family. All who are old enough are required, in regular rotation, when out of school, to devote a part of their time to the important duties of the dining-room and kitchen.

"The Bible is studied in school and out, and portions of it daily committed to memory by all who can do it, and recited in the family and in the school.

"The pupils have also a Missionary Society, embracing the whole school, in which they take much interest. Half a day in each week they are employed in making fancy needle-work and other articles for sale, the avails of which constitute a fund for missionary purposes.

"The pupils have never been more docile, studious, affectionate, obedient, and never made greater progress in their studies, than during the last year. . . .

"*Norwalk School.*

"Whole number of boys	21
Supported by appropriation	16
Supported by parents and friends	3
Day-scholars, from neighborhood	2"

. . . "It affords me much pleasure to be able to say that there is, throughout the bounds of my labors, as well as in every part of the nation, a perceptible advance of improvement, from year to year, among the Choctaws. This is seen in their better houses, more comfortable clothing, larger fields, more ample provision for their families, increasing industry, and a deeper sense of the importance of the education of their children. . . .

"The light-horsemen, under the direction of the enlightened and energetic chief of the district, are active and unremitting in their exertions to destroy all ardent spirits brought into the nation. The friends of temperance are much encouraged, and large accessions have been made to the members of their Society during the past year.

"The past year has also witnessed encouraging accessions to the church of Christ — forty-six having been added, on a profession of their faith, to the Wheelock church; and nine to the Mount Zion church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. P. Fish.

"A review of the past year affords strong encouragement to go forward with our work among this people, with the full persuasion that it will not be in vain in the Lord."

At the New Hope Academy the session commenced the 1st of October, and closed the 7th of July. "The examination, which embraced the 7th of July, was well attended; and, from various circumstances, we are led to believe that almost all in attendance expressed entire satisfaction with the proficiency evinced by the students in their various studies, which include the following: spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, the book of commerce, geography, grammar, and philosophy. In addition to the above, we had an exhibition of what the girls understood of domestic duties. Quite strong evidences were presented, that the girls were not only capable of receiving an education, but were actually making rapid progress in a knowledge of the sciences and domestic affairs."

At Good Water, another primary point in the business of education among the Choctaws, there have been forty-five regular boarders, and fourteen day-scholars. Mr. E. Hotchkiss, the superintendent, remarks: —

"The conduct of our scholars has been good, kind, and Christian in almost every individual. In this respect they have acquitted themselves with honor, and deserve the esteem of their friends. Several —say twenty-two—of the largest and more advanced, are very anxious to obtain an accomplished education, that they may become teachers of their own people. Would it not be well to cultivate this state of feeling, and, for this purpose, give some of the most promising a fair trial?

"Painting, drawing, needle and coral-work, &c., have been attended to for a few weeks; though but little time, and none of that devoted to study, has been spent on these branches. The advancement made by our scholars in these studies is almost all attributable to the unwearied faithfulness of our teachers, who have spared no pains nor time of their own for the scholars' good. . . .

"Twenty-nine persons have been added to this church during the year. This number is much less than I had the pleasure of reporting last year; yet we are truly glad to realize the presence of God's holy spirit in the building and beautifying of His people on this once Heathen land.

"In this church we have more than 400 members in regular standing. Twelve have died this year, and some of them in the triumph of Christian faith.

"The Bible, as it is now read in the family morning and evening, is producing a wonderful change in the character of this people.

"Daily prayer in the family is also another means that tends to promote personal and general piety and happiness. I do not know a single family, among professors of religion, where prayer in the family is neglected. . . .

"On the subject of temperance I could write much that would interest you and all other temperance men. The groggery business is getting to be a poor business in this vicinity. Two of those engaged in it (doubtless very competent to form an opinion) told me this summer that they could not support themselves by the traffic, and that almost all their *old customers* had quit drinking entirely, and also abstained from visiting the places where liquor was sold. Many of our people feel that it is disreputable to be seen at a groggery; that it is a blemish on the character of a respectable man to trade with those who sell *poison*.

"Fruits of reform are seen all around us, in the house and by the wayside, on the week-day and on the Sabbath. We see it in dress, in the way of living, and also on the death-bed. The drunkard must die as well as others; but he dies an awful death.

"If the present feeling on the subject of temperance increase in the same ratio during the next two years as it has in the two which have just passed, the great evil among us will be almost, if not quite, exterminated.

"Industrious habits are forming. That great aversion to labor, and to labor merely for one's self, in very many instances has been overcome. It is now more of a disgrace to be idle. An idler is now shunned, and treated more as he deserves.

"More wheat has been grown this years than during any three years since the "emigration," and we have had a most favorable time for harvest. The corn crops were all, or nearly all, planted in March; and the prospect for large crops never was better. Late planting has always been one of the greatest drawbacks on the prosperity of this people as farmers.

"Domestic manufactures are on the increase; and cards, spinning-wheels, and looms are now very generally used."

Mr. Kingsbury observes: — "The attendance on preaching has generally been good. There is an average attendance of fifty-four members at Pine Ridge church, twenty-eight at Mayhew, and eighty-five at Bennington. About twenty have been added to the latter church by a public profession of their faith. The cause of benevolence has been favorably regarded in most of our congregations. The temperance cause is firm and strong, and industry is on the increase."

Mr. Copeland remarks: — "Knowledge and intelligence have greatly increased within a few years among the Choctaws. There seems to be no good reason why they may not become an enlightened and happy people. . . .

"Much has been gained during the last year for the cause of temperance. Many neighborhoods are now almost entirely exempt from the evil, and others have been greatly improved. There is but little drinking anywhere within the bounds of my labors. I have seen but one drunken man during many months. This evil is principally confined to the country along the Red river. The chief has made most commendable efforts to banish the evil from the land: his efforts have been seconded by all his officers and all good citizens, and a good degree of success has been the result. Were it not for this curse, the Choctaws would soon become a peaceable and quiet people; but, so long as unprincipled white men bring it to the very borders of the nation, and continue to use such inducements to get the Indians to drink, we shall experience more or less difficulty with them. Sometimes, however, intemperance, like the plague or cholera, breaks out suddenly, in localities where its presence would be least suspected, and carries desolation and woe to many a once happy household, and to many a loving heart.

G. [CONTINUED.]

"Very commendable progress has also been made in regard to industry. This is most clearly seen where the greatest success has attended the preaching of the gospel. Some neighborhoods have been almost entirely transformed, from an indolent, ignorant, and shiftless people, to an industrious, intelligent, and thrifty population. The ground is cultivated in a better manner, and fewer crops are lost for want of labor. As two successive crops have been injured by drought, there must be considerable suffering before the next harvest. In this section of the country none are suffering on account of indolence. Extraordinary efforts have been made this season to insure success; and many of those who are now suffering will not be likely soon to experience a similar calamity. The Choctaws are beginning to sow the smaller grains, particularly wheat and oats. As these crops are harvested early in the season, they perceive the advantage of raising them—wheat for themselves, and oats for their horses and hogs.

"Society among the Choctaws at present is in rather an unsettled state. The *old form* of government has passed away, but something of its *spirit* still *lingers*. The new government is not yet fully established in the hearts of the people. The spirit which prevailed among the people of Israel at the period when they acknowledged no regal authority, is but too manifest in these times. The laws are but imperfectly understood by the mass, while many mistake entirely their spirit; so that, in efforts to execute law and maintain order, errors are often committed — sometimes by the exercise of too great severity, and again by excessive and mistaken lenity.

"There has been, however, a great improvement in the administration of the government within the last two years. The authorities are vigilant and persevering in their efforts to maintain good order; and if they were always directed by skill and judgment, glorious results would soon be recorded on the pages of Choctaw history.

"I can perceive no reason why the Choctaws should not, under the fostering care of our government, become a Christian, civilized, and enlightened nation. If morality and industry keep pace with the progress of knowledge, and they are maintained in the quiet possession of their present territory, there seems to be nothing to prevent such a result."

B. STATISTICS DENOTING THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CHICKASAWS.

This is indicated by the preceding views. For all the purposes of government they are one with the Chickasaws. Their funds, which are large, are, however, kept separate. Mr. J. C. Robinson, of the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy, writes: —

"In the horizon of the future there may be some small clouds, but we see also some bright spots, spanned by the bow of promise. Upon that promise we confidently rely, and look forward with encouragement to the prospects of this institution, and through it as a means of blessing to this people.

"We doubt not they will yet rise from the darkness in which many of them are enveloped, and shine out, not only in the brightness of civilization, but in the glory of Christianity."

A recent estimate, from a respectable and reliable source, makes the probable number of the neat cattle, and other means of the united Choctaws and Chickasaws, as follows: —

Stock, Produce, and Agricultural Means.	No. of Cattle.	Acres Improved, and in Grain.	Bushels of Grain raised.	No. of Farm Tools.
Neat Cattle	4,000			
Milch Cows	2,500			
Horses	5,000			
Hogs	100,000			
Corn	....	....	220,000	
Improved land	....	750,000		
Land in corn	....	60,000		
Ploughs and other agricultural implements	....	....	....	2,000

Of a joint population of 20,000, 680 are estimated to die annually, against 712 births.

G. [CONTINUED.]

C. STATISTICS DENOTING THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.

George Butler, Esq., in his Report of September 30, 1852, dated at the Cherokee Agency, observes: —

"From a late census of the Cherokees, taken by a committee of the nation, in conjunction with myself, a visible increase is discernible in the population, especially among the half-breeds. The returns show the number of inhabitants to be 17,530. From the short time allowed to take the census, I am not prepared to make a statistical report of their condition, &c."

These facts finally determine the population of that people, so long withheld by them from a jealousy of feeling towards the white race. It is hoped that their vital statistics, and industrial and agricultural means, will be obtained in season for our next report.

The following table of statistics, communicated by Mr. James M. Paine, Superintendent of Public Schools, denotes the condition of schools in that nation:

Pupils and Orphans.	No. of each Sex.	Aggregate.	Branches of Learning.	Number of Pupils studying each branch.
Number of scholars	.....	1100	Alphabet, &c	149
Males	677		Reading and spelling, exclusively	435
Females	423		Primary geography	149
Number of orphans	.....	114	Geography and atlas	163
Males	75		Oral arithmetic	272
Females	39		Written arithmetic	192
			English grammar	225
			Writing	354

The following data, from D. B. Cumming, exhibits a synopsis of the report of the missions in the Cherokee nation, under the care of the Methodist Episcopal Church south: —

"These missions do not consist of local stations; but each includes a series of appointments, supplied according to the economy of the church, monthly, or oftener, by the missionary travelling throughout the extent of the field assigned him by the authorities of the church.

Missions.	Missionaries.	Indian members.	White members.	Colored members.	Inclusive.	Total No. of members.
Delaware	2	271	14	13	.....	298
Saline and Tahlequah	3	413	34	141	.....	588
Cana	2		...	...	385	385
Salisa	2	506	...	...	.....	506
Canadian	1	70	2	2	.....	74
Big Bend and Verdigris	1	34	...	...	.....	34
Totals	11	1294	50	156	385	1885

"Of the above missionaries *five* are native men. There are, also, about twelve native licensed preachers (local); also seven Sabbath schools, with about 140 scholars." *

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* These statistics are taken from the report of the missions, as presented to the Conference at its last session. For the support of these missions, the present year, the Board appropriates $3210.

G. [CONTINUED.]

Mr. Worcester reports the number of stations occupied by the Presbyterian, or American Board, in 1852, to five; namely: Dwight, Fairfield, Park Hill, Honey Creek, and Lee's Creek. The number of members is as follows:—

At Dwight	50
" Fairfield	74
" Park Hill	52
" Honey Creek	51
" Lee's Creek	7
Total number of members	234

Mr. S. Foreman reports that a Bible Society was formed at Tahlequah, October 23, 1841. Its object is "to disseminate the Sacred Scriptures, in the English and Cherokee languages, among the people of the Cherokee nation; and all funds collected by the Society are to be expended for that object." It purports to be free from all sectarianism, and to be designed to unite Christians of all denominations in the good work of circulating the Bible. The first few years after the organization of the Society but little was accomplished, because but a limited number of individuals took an interest in promoting its views. Subsequently the Society gained ground, and the exertions of its members have been attended with more or less success to the present time.

From its organization to its annual meeting in October, 1851, the Society collected and expended the sum of $1300. About 3000 books have been purchased during the same period, and distributed among the nation by authorized agents. The Society aims at extending its influence as much as possible.

The Society is in possession of a number of Bibles and Testaments, printed in the English language, furnished (for distribution) by the American Bible Society. Not having sufficient funds to purchase these books, the Society has relied on the before-mentioned association for supplies, which have been furnished gratuitously.

On the topic of education, Mr. O. L. Woodford reports, that the male seminary in the Cherokee nation was opened on the 1st of May, 1851.

"The term closed on the 6th of August, having continued only thirteen weeks, contrary to the letter of the law, which requires each term to be twenty weeks in length. The unseasonableness of commencement, and the inexpediency and danger of protracting the term through the hot and unhealthy months, were the causes of the abridgment. Of course, as this was the first session of a new institution—and a short one at that—we could not reasonably be expected to do more than make a fair start. Such a spirit has been manifested, however, and such progress made on the part of the pupils, as give the teachers, and all acquainted with the facts, much gratification, and afford them good ground for encouragement.

"Twenty-five regular boarding pupils were admitted according to law; and two or three day-scholars have been in attendance during most of the term. These have applied themselves to their studies with exemplary diligence and faithfulness; and all, even the lowest, were found, on examination of the instructors' records, to have maintained through the term a standing of more than medium scholarship. To awaken the faculty of thought, excite a habit of independent investigation, and to arouse an intellectual enthusiasm, has been, and will continue to be, the especial effort of the instructors; and the peculiar nature of the Indian, as well as the defects in elementary instruction among the Cherokees, has made such an effort the more imperatively necessary. To accomplish this with individuals whose minds, perverted in youth by a superstitious education, have become stolid by age and a long course of dissipation, is at all times a difficult, and, sometimes, an impossible task; but I incline to the opinion, that, under similar circumstances, no company of young men of any race would prove more susceptible of intellectual excitement than these have done. To be sure, most of them properly belong to the white race; though a few are entirely or chiefly Indian, and in all traces of Indian blood may be dis-

G. [CONTINUED.]

covered. Some of our best scholars are those most thoroughly Indian. In age they range from fourteen to twenty-one—sixteen predominating.

"A 'good examination' in reading, spelling, geography, arithmetic, and grammar, was the legal requisite for admission. At the close of the term the first class had made excellent progress in arithmetic, algebra, in analysis of the English language, and could read well in that language. One student in Greek and one in French did very well. The second class, though moving much slower than the first, seemed to have acquired a thorough insight into the rudiments of geography, arithmetic, grammar, reading, and spelling. Composition and elocution were attended to by all, and considerable proficiency attained, particularly in reading.

"Lessons in instrumental music, on the violin, flute, and clarionet, were given to some fifteen students by a skilful teacher. At the public examination the performances of his pupils were very highly commended.

"The students have organized a literary society, styled the Sequoyan Institute (from the celebrated inventor of the Cherokee alphabet, George Guess, whose Indian name was Sequoya), in which weekly debates are held, with other literary exercises. They have made provision, by a tax and initiation fee, for a Society library, to be under their own control.

"Globes representing the earth and heavens, Bliss's outline maps, Dr. Cutter's physiological charts, and several large maps of different parts of the earth's surface, besides a good variety of reference books, are here for our use; and it is expected that a philosophical apparatus, estimated to cost $1000, will ere long be added. The institution is also provided with a library, consisting of religious, historical, scientific, and literary works, furnished mostly by the benevolence of publishers, and other friends of the seminary. It is still small, but we hope further donations will be made.

"A sermon is usually preached to the students every Sabbath, besides an hour spent in the study of the Holy Scriptures."

H.

NEOSHO-SENECAS AND SHAWNEES, QUAPPAS AND OSAGES.

Tribes.	Date.	Men, Women, or Children.	No. of each.	Total.	References to the present state of the Tribes.
Senecas of Neosho	1852.	Men	61	177	A.
		Women	44		
		Children	72		
Senecas and Shawnees of Neosho	"	Men	68	320	B.
		Women	94		
		Children	158		
Quappas	"	Men	81	314	C.
		Women	84		
		Children	149		
Osages	"	Men	1648	4941	D.
		Women	1622		
		Children	1676		

A. NEOSHO-SENECAS.

The agent observes: — "No very material change has taken place since my last report. They have enjoyed good health, and have raised good crops, which, with proper economy, will be sufficient to supply them with bread-stuffs. Their proximity to the State of Missouri, affords them all the desired facilities for procuring whiskey. A distillery has been in successful operation for a number of years, at

Enterprise, near the State line. It not only furnishes these, but all other Indians who call for it, any amount of whiskey they can pay for.

"In my last annual report I called the attention of the authorities to the condition of the Seneca mill. It still remains in the same state, and, if not soon repaired, will be entirely useless. The chiefs have recently had a talk with me upon this subject, and requested me to inform the department that they are anxious to have it repaired, and propose that it be done, under the direction of their agent, upon the following plan, viz.: That their agent be authorized and instructed to appoint a competent millwright as miller, whose duty it shall be to erect a new dam, and repair the mill wherever it is defective; who shall hold his appointment for two years, and receive the profits arising from the mill for the same period; except that he be required to grind for the Senecas free of toll. The pay of miller, and the proceeds of the mill for two years, would amply compensate any one who would undertake the contract. By this arrangement the government would lose nothing, and the Indians would be greatly benefited. Should these views meet with the approbation of the department, I would be pleased to receive instructions to place the work under contract, and have it done upon the plan suggested."

B. NEOSHO-SENECAS AND SHAWNEES.

The union between these bands happened through affiliations by marriage, while they lived in proximity, on the waters of Sandusky bay, on Lake Erie. It has been cemented during their residence on the Arkansas, on a branch of which they now reside, and where they are placed under the surveillance of a separate agency. There has been an increase of seventeen in this tribe since the official report of 1850 (vol. i. p. 449). The agent says: —

"They are the most industrious and enterprising Indians under my charge. Many of them have enlarged their farms this year, and are cultivating them in a manner that would favorably compare with their white neighbors in Missouri. Their crops have been very good this year; they will raise enough to supply the ordinary wants of their people, and some will have a surplus. They have enjoyed good health, and have had but few deaths amongst them. John Jackson, their chief counsellor, died with cholera, at Kanzas, in May last. He was an honest man, esteemed by all who knew him, and an ornament to the Indian race. His loss will be seriously felt by his tribe.

"The Senecas, and the Senecas and Shawnees, are still opposed to sending their children to school, or admitting missionaries into their country. They adhere to many of their ancient customs, and contract as few as possible of the habits and manners of the white people. They have their festivals, and various kinds of dances, which are generally well attended. Their dog-dance takes place the first full moon in each year, and continues about one week. At this dance they sacrifice a white dog. He is gaudily dressed with different colored ribbons, and hung by the neck to a gallows erected for that purpose. He remains hanging in this situation for three days; he is then taken down and burned, and his ashes scattered to the four winds. They imagine that he goes to the spirit country; and he is commissioned by them to bear such news as they wish communicated to their deceased friends and relatives. The ceremony is conducted with great solemnity, and all appear to be deeply impressed with its reality."

In the statistics published in 1851 they are reported as having forty-three heads of families, subsisting by agriculture, one silversmith, and two persons employed as clerks in the Indian trade. Ninety-five of their females are returned as seamstresses, and as being engaged in branches of domestic industry. The tribe is estimated to cultivate 515 acres of ground, and to raise 14,000 bushels of corn. They have 430 horses, 80 oxen, 6 milch cows, and 500 hogs.

C. QUAPPAS.

We recognise in these the remains of an ancient people, the "Kapahas" of De Soto's day. They then lived on the Upper Mississippi, near the site of the present town of New Madrid. At their last annuity payment this tribe numbered 314 souls. There has been an apparent decrease of eighty-six in a period of four years. This would seem to be a very high ratio of decrease; but it is beyond doubt that they are rapidly on the decline. Epidemics have recently, and very fatally, prevailed. The agent reports:—

"During the past winter and spring almost every Indian belonging to this tribe had the measles; and, from the best information I can obtain, at least forty persons fell victims to the disease. The Quappas are very indolent, and but few of them have any taste for agricultural pursuits. Nothing but impending starvation stimulates them to labor. Sickness and an unusually wet spring prevented them from planting as large crops as usual. Enough will be produced, however, for their subsistence.

"They express themselves as being deeply concerned at the prospect of the expiration of their annuity: it is a crisis they are ill prepared to meet. They are very poor, and, when the government ceases to pay them an annuity, I cannot conceive how they are to subsist. It is my opinion that but few of them will remain in their own country. A large majority of them will probably wander off among the wild Indians of the prairies; and 'the places that now know them will soon know them no more forever.'

"The Crawford Seminary, which had an existence in the Quappa country for nearly ten years, closed (as I previously informed the department) about the middle of last February. Mr. Patterson, who was superintendent of this school from its commencement to its termination, has left the Indian country without making any arrangements for a successor. The Indians express themselves as being *tired* of schools, and are decidedly opposed to the continuation of a school in their country. All who have been educated at this school, except the present United States' interpreter, have resumed all their original habits, and are now as wild and untamed as though they had never been within the classic walls of Crawford Seminary."

D. OSAGES.

This term is of French origin. It is probably derived from the Algonquin, Assigunaigs, or Bone Indians. The tribe calls itself Wasbasha, and attributes its origin, by an allegorical tale, to a snail and a beaver.

The statistics of this tribe are not of the most reliable cast. The agent asserts that they enrolled, at their last annuity payment, 1643 men, 1622 women, and 1676 children—total, 4941. He continues:

"I am satisfied that they enrolled more than their tribe numbers. In fact, one of the chiefs acknowledged to me, after the payment was over, that he had done so: he excused himself by saying that his band was largely indebted to a certain trader for their outfit; and that the more people he would enrol the easier would it be for them to pay off their debts. I am inclined to believe that the same game was played off by all the chiefs. They have been well trained in such tricks, and I think are pretty apt scholars. I had great trouble in procuring the attendance of a portion of two bands at the last payment. They were no doubt influenced to stay away by one whose interest it was that they should. After waiting a few days they finally came in; and the payment was accomplished to the satisfaction of all concerned.

"The Osages departed on their winter hunt early last fall, before receiving any part of their annuity. This was a serious disappointment to them. They obtained from their traders an outfit upon credit, but not sufficient for all to be well clad, and supplied with guns and ammunition. In consequence of their destitute condition they returned earlier than usual. Many of them were entirely without blankets, or anything to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, except buffalo skins. They complained greatly to me because the government had not sent their annuity goods early in the fall, so that they could have had the benefit of them in the winter, when they most needed them.

"The Osages were unusually sickly last winter and spring. It is estimated by many that not less than 1000 have died within the last twelve months. George Whitehair, one of the principal chiefs, and the most sensible and managing man in the whole tribe, died in December last. The disease which produced such mortality among them was measles.

"The Osages still follow the chase, visiting the plains twice a year in pursuit of the buffalo. I regret to say that there is no disposition manifested by the full-blood Osages to engage in agricultural pursuits. They own neither cattle nor hogs, and are compelled to visit the hunting-grounds to procure a supply of meat. Horses and mules are the only property they possess. As usual, they planted but small patches of corn last spring, which, ere this time, has all been consumed. They returned about six weeks since from their summer hunt, having made a very poor one. They were met in the buffalo country by the Comanches, who treated them in a very unfriendly manner. They would neither trade with the Osages nor permit them to enter their towns or lodges. In several instances they entered the Osage camps, and forcibly wrested from them horses which the Osages had bought from them the year previous. A war-party of Osages, Kioways, and Kaws, consisting of about 400 warriors, went in pursuit of the Pawnees while out on their last hunt. They overtook and attacked the Pawnees, but being greatly outnumbered by them, they ingloriously fled, leaving a war-chief dead upon the ground, and having killed and scalped one Pawnee woman.

"Since the return of the Osages from their hunt, frequent depredations have been committed upon the property of those living on the Verdigris river. About the 25th of August, thirty-three head of horses and mules were stolen from Tally's band in one night. Next morning a party of Osages set out in pursuit of the thieves. They followed their trail two days, but, becoming discouraged, they returned home, having found five of their horses, which had given out. Fortunately, the deputy marshal of the western district of Arkansas was in the Osage country at the time, in pursuit of Wyat C. Coyle, a half-breed Choctaw, who was the leader of this marauding party, for crimes committed elsewhere. The marshal took the trail left by the Osages, and pursued its serpentine course until he overtook the offenders near Jefferson City, in Missouri, finding in their possession sixteen of the stolen horses. Coyle and his accomplices, John Riley (a part Cherokee) and John Catly (a white man), were arrested by the marshal; but, before reaching Van Buren, Arkansas, Coyle broke custody and made his escape. The other two were taken to Van Buren and lodged in jail. I have just heard that Coyle has been again apprehended, and is now on his way to Van Buren. The Osages have succeeded in recovering all their horses but twelve. Mr. Throckmorton, the deputy marshal, notified me to meet him at Fayetteville, Arkansas, with the Indians to whom the horses belonged. I did so, taking with me the chief Tally, his brother, and Henry Martin. It was necessary for Tally and Martin to go to Van Buren as witnesses. Tally's brother, being sick, was left at Fayetteville. When we returned, we learned that he had left town the morning after we had started for Van Buren, and had not been seen or heard of. Search was made by the citizens of the place two days, but not the least vestige of him could be found. He has not returned to the Osage country, and the probability is that he is dead. If so, I fear that it will be difficult to convince the Osages that he was not murdered by the white people.

"Depredations of a similar character have been committed upon Black Dog's band, and about the same number of horses stolen. The Indians followed their trail nearly 200 miles, which led in the direction of the Pawnee country. Despairing of overtaking the perpetrators, and perhaps actuated by fear lest they should come in contact with the Pawnees, whom they dread so much, they returned, and have given up all hope of regaining their property.

"Many of the half-breed Osages manifest a disposition to cultivate the soil for a livelihood, and no doubt would have made greater advances in the arts of civilization had it not been for the maltreatment they received from their full-blood relatives, who often kill and eat their hogs and cattle, and frequent their houses solely for the purpose of being fed. When not invited to eat, they unceremoniously take it wherever they can find it. They consume almost everything raised by the half-breeds, and consider it their prerogative to do so. In addition to all this, when their annuity goods are distributed, the half-breeds are turned off without anything. At present I am unable to suggest any plan by which the government could throw around the property of this class the protection they ask.

"The Osages claim from the government a balance of cows, oxen, hogs, wagons, ploughs, &c., stipulated to them by the fourth and fifth articles of the treaty of January 11, 1839. There is nothing in the office to show how much, if any, of the above articles are due them. Whatever balance may be due them, I would respectfully suggest to the department the propriety of paying it in money. Such articles as are called for by the treaty would do them but little good — the cattle and hogs they would immediately kill and eat; the ploughs they would carry to the State and barter for whiskey, as they have heretofore done.

"Several bands of the Osages have already started on their winter hunt; the others will leave in a few days. Many inquiries have been made of me relative to their annuity goods. They were anxious to receive them before leaving, provided the goods are to be sent out this year. I could give them no information upon this subject, not having received any myself. I reiterate the opinion heretofore expressed, that it would be better for the Osages to receive their whole annuity in money. I have but little doubt that the mass of the Indians would be better satisfied.

"The Osage Manual-Labor School, under the supervision of the Rev. Father Schoenmaker, is in a flourishing condition. All who are connected with the management of this school deserve great credit for their untiring efforts to improve the condition of the Osages. This school, as well as the whole Osage people, have sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the Rev. Father Bax, which took place in August last. The weather was never too inclement for him to visit the most remote part of the nation, to administer medicine to a sick Osage, or to officiate in his priestly office. For further information in regard to the progress of this school, I beg leave to refer you to the accompanying report of the superintendent."

Mr. Schoenmaker, the principal of the Manual-Labor School, gives a melancholy account of the ravages of epidemic disease: —

"Both schools (male and female department) are situated on an elevated and healthy locality. During the first four years general and good health prevailed among our pupils; a day had scarcely been lost (of study hours) in the long term of upwards of four years—our pupils having made considerable progress in learning during said time. The Osages themselves, many of whom had heretofore opposed the education of their children, began all to praise their great-grandfather for having sent teachers among them whose only solicitude it is to instruct children, and to afford comfort and advice to the parents. Whilst exercising the young Osages in reading, spelling, grammar, arithmetic, and geography, we learned that the majority possessed a happy memory, which enables them to learn almost all their lessons by heart, and to write them on paper or slates, without the usual grammatical faults of other children. Their great mental improvements induced us to make an occasional display of the English language at our monthly examinations. Speeches delivered on these occasions soon awakened the attention of the wandering Indian. The school having thereby attained esteem, our pupils increased in proportion, to the number of fifty-seven boys and thirty-two girls. Among the scholars who entered our school during the first three years, a few had almost reached their majority. These, after a brief education, settled in life, and bear already the fruit of small and happy families. Attachment and affection for our schools made them select lands for cultivation in the vicinity of our mission, whence we continued to direct them, as parents would do their own children. But, while we rejoice at so happy a change effected within a few years, we regret that the soil on which our establishments have been located is, perhaps, the worst soil in the Osage country, which tends to discourage the energy of our young beginners; besides, they meet with other obstacles, which it is not in my province to mention, but which prevent a more extensive raising of stock, otherwise the most profitable branch of agriculture in this section of the country.

"The great number of children who entered our schools between the middle of 1851 and the commencement of 1852, and the still greater number of children whom the Osage parents had prepared and intended to place under our tuition, obliged us to make the necessary preparations, and to incur considerable expense in enlarging our houses. Towards the middle of March, 1852, the measles, followed by the typhoid fever, broke out in the Osage villages. The mortality that ensued was exceedingly great; no less than 1000 children or youths died within a few weeks. At this time I, myself, lay dangerously sick at Fort Scott, under the care of the wise and kind Doctor Barness. On my return to the mission, in the beginning of April, I found no less than forty of our school-boys dangerously sick. As the alarm spread, some of these children were carried home to their parents or relations. Seven of these children died, besides four of those who remained at the school. The same disease broke out also in the female department. Twenty-five out of the thirty-two girls then at our mission took the measles. By this time the parents had formed other resolutions, and prudently concluded to leave their daughters at school. Thanks to Providence, the weather being milder, only one girl died—she having had a previous tendency to consumption. Next to the measles and typhoid fever followed the whooping-cough. From what I have said it will be easy to conclude that these diseases caused the loss of more than one month of study-hours; the regularity of classes, so necessary for the steady progress of a school, being broken. Our expenses, however, increased, whilst providing for the safety of these children during the period of their sickness and subsequent convalescence. Whilst undergoing these severe trials, the Rev. J. B. Bax, the most precious member of our community, and one who was universally loved and esteemed throughout the nation, sunk under his great exertions, and died from weakness on the 5th of August.

"As soon as the children recovered from sickness, we resumed the regularity of classes; for we feared that a large number would have left our schools. The eight ladies attached to the female department have succeeded in keeping all the pupils together, and none have been scattered abroad. As to the male department, we exerted all our energies to keep the children under discipline, by teaching again, in regular order, all the branches of education in common use. To encourage and console our Osages under the great losses they had sustained, we undertook a journey of eight days, and visited, in company with the Right Rev. Bishop Miege, the different villages. Although we were kindly received, and obtained from all a promise to send their children to school—even to a larger number than attended it before the appearance of those destructive diseases—yet our former numerical strength has not been attained. We fear that the great mortality among the children has, and will continue to have, a tendency to deter the parents from stripping their villages of those darlings, upon whom the entire strength of their uncultivated affections is fixed. We are amply provided with assistance to give to this school the desired prosperity. The children are ordinarily instructed by three Catholic priests and one competent lay teacher: in addition to whom six lay-brothers are attached to the school, under whose guidance the young Osages are instructed in agriculture and domestic economy."

Mr. Harvey, the agent, communicates the following vital statistics for 1850: —

Births, Deaths, Deaf, Dumb, Helpless, and Crippled Persons.	Born.	Died.	No. of Deaf, Dumb, Old and Crippled Persons.
Births during the past year, about	150		
Deaths—Men	.....	17	
Women	.....	25	
Children	.....	31	
Blind persons in the tribe	.....	...	9
Deaf " " "	.....	...	5
Dumb " " "	.....	...	3
Aged males, entirely helpless	.....	...	15
Aged females, " "	.....	...	18
Cripples, " "	.....	...	25
Totals	150	73	75

The Osage Orphan and Education Fund (Ind. Rep. 1847) is as follows:—United States' 5 per cent. loan of 1843, $7400—interest, $370; United States' 6 per cent. loan of 1842, $24,679·56—interest, $1480·77. Aggregate fund, $32,079·56—interest, $1850·77. Annuity, $3,456.

I.

UTAHS.

No recent returns have been made of this tribe, or of the Shoshones, Bonacks, and other bands, who are included to some extent within the boundaries of Utah Territory. The aggregate of 11,500, heretofore given as the enumeration of these tribes (Vol. I. p. 522), from the best estimates, is but little exceeded by the subjoined returns:—

Warriors	2,300
Women	2,500
Children	7,200
Total population	12,000

Some facts of recent date may here be given, which throw light on their condition, and also their relations to other tribes. Governor Young, in his communication of September 29, 1852, says:—

"On the 6th day of August, ultimo, there arrived in this city six of the Shoshones, as messengers from that tribe, to make inquiry in relation to trade, and to ascertain if, possibly, peace might be made with the Wachor and the Utah. This being a desirable object to accomplish, I made the messengers some presents, and informed them that I would send for the Utahs, to meet them, if they would come, and endeavor to accomplish the object which they seemed so ardently to desire. Accordingly, on the 3d day of September, after many fruitless efforts on our part to procure the Utahs, who appeared very wary, and inclined to try the patience of the Shoshones to the uttermost, they were brought together; the Shoshones having been in waiting some two or three weeks. There were present, on the part of the Utahs, Wachor Sourette Antazo, Anker-howhitch (Arrow-pine being sick), and thirty-four lodges; on the part of the Shoshones, Wah-sho-kig, To-ter-mitch, Watche-namp, Ter-ret-e-ma, Pershe-go, and twenty-six lodges. The lodges were left a short distance from the city; the braves, amounting to about fifty in number on each side, attending the treaty. Major Holeman, having arrived from Carson valley just previous, was also present, by my invitation; together with the interpreters, D. B. Huntington and Elijah Wade. The main object seemed to be accomplished in getting them together upon a friendly footing.

"I led off by asking Wachor and Wah-sho-kig if they wished to make peace and be friends with each other. They replied that they did. 'Will you make good peace that will last?' Answered 'Yes.' I then said to Wachor, 'Tell all of your tribe this, and ask them if they will do the same; if so, let every one hold up his right hand.' It was done unanimously. And the same explanation being made to the Shoshones by their chief, they also responded unanimously in the same manner. I then told them that they must never fight each other again, but must live in peace, so that they could travel in each other's country, and trade with each other. I then asked the Utahs if we had been friends to them, and if they loved us? As soon as the question was explained to their understanding, they answered in the affirmative by acclamation, with evident signs of joy and good feeling. The pipe of peace, being first offered to the Great Spirit, was often replenished and sent around by the Shoshone chiefs, until every one had smoked, in token of lasting friendship. The Utahs were then asked if they had any objections to our settling on their lands, and, if they had not, to raise their right hands; which they did unanimously. Sow-er-ette, being the chief of the Uinta Utahs (two of his sons being present), was also asked the same question. He replied that it was good for them to have us settle upon their lands; and that he wanted a house close beside us. I then asked the Shoshones how they would like to have us settle upon their lands at Green river. They replied that the land at Green river did not belong to them; that they lived and owned in the vicinity of the Wind River chain of mountains and the Sweet river, (or Sugar Water, as they called it); but that if we would make a settlement on Green river they would be glad to come and trade with us. I expressed unto them my good feelings for their kindness in always being friendly to the whites, and for the safety in which all the emigrants had ever been able to pass through their country, and hoped they would always continue the same. If any of the whites should steal anything from them, it should be returned if I could find it; and if any of their tribe should steal anything from the whites, they must do the same. The Shoshones were expecting that Wachor and the Utahs would give them some horses, according to their usual custom, for a certain number of Shoshones whom they killed in their last conflict, which occurred something over a year ago. Ten seemed to be about the number that had been killed, and the same number of horses were required; but nine head were finally agreed upon. Wachor now led off in quite a lengthy speech, in which he said that he had done wrong and was sorry for it. His friends had been killed on the Shoshones' land, and he had supposed that they had done it; but now he was satisfied that it was not them; that Brigham told him not to go, but that he would not hear him; he had been sorry ever since, and so forth: had no horses now, but was going to trade with the Moquis next winter, and would bring the horses to Green river when he should return. 'I will hear now what Brigham says to me good,' placing his hand on his breast; 'I have been a fool, but will do better in future.' To-ter-mitch, a Shoshone chief, then said a few words. His ears were open wide to hear; it was good, and he felt well; his heart was good. I then directed that the chiefs should have some clothes and ammunition given to them; and some beef-cattle and flour, having been procured for that purpose, were distributed among them; when they left in apparently high spirits, and good and friendly feelings towards each other, as well as to the whites.

"I have been thus explicit in giving the particulars of this interview, as it is the first that has occurred, of a like nature, since the settlements were founded, and it is hoped will result in long-continued amity between the tribes. The Indians are universally fed and partially clad throughout the territory where settlements have been made, according to the ability of the people; and very many children are taken into families, and have all the usual facilities for education which are afforded other children."

The Utahs have ever manifested a spirit of bitter hostility to the whites. It was this tribe that behaved so treacherously to Colonel Frémont, and waylaid some of his party. The settlement of the Mormons in the Salt Lake valley increased their jealousy of the white race, and induced them to avoid as much as possible all alliances with that people. Such an alliance was, however, brought about by Governor Young, as detailed in the foregoing letter. Less than a year has served to prove their perfidy; and we are called upon to record, and also to lament, another instance of their unexampled cruelty, in the recent massacre of the exploring party under Captain Gunnison and Mr. Kern, sent out by the United States' Government. Mistaking them for Mormons, both these officers were suddenly surrounded by large numbers of armed Utahs, and cruelly murdered. Captain Gunnison, acting under the orders of Captain Stansbury, had explored that valley a year or two since, and has published a description of the Mormons. He has also furnished some of the pictographic materials for this work. Mr. Richard H. Kern, formerly of Philadelphia, contributed the sketch of Coronado, *supra*, p. 32, illustrated by the map, Plate 8.

The route of the survey, which has just so fatally terminated, was one pointed out by Mr. Kern, who received his appointment as an assistant in the topographical party, and who has fallen among the victims of savage cruelty. Mr. Kern was one of the most daring, intelligent, experienced, and cultivated pioneers of our vast western wilds. He had several times crossed the continent, and was on Frémont's last ill-fated expedition, in which his brother, Benjamin Kern, was killed by hostile Indians. Both of these gentlemen were unsurpassed in their professions. Richard, whose sad fate is now mourned by his friends, was a very superior draughtsman, a thorough scholar, an accomplished linguist, and gifted with that sagacity and energy which are so invaluable in those who lead a mountain and frontier life.

K.

INDIANS OF PUGET'S SOUND, WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

Number.	Name of Tribe or Band.	Location of Tribe.	Supposed number in each Tribe or Band.	Reference.
1.	Stitcheo-saw-mish, or Turn Water.	Budd's inlet and South bay, vicinity of town of Olympia	30	A. B.
2.	Squally-ah-mish, or Nisqually	Nesqually river, bay, and vicinity........	100	
3.	Pualli-paw-mish, or Puallisa	Puallisa river, bay, and vicinity	200	
4.	Nee-wam-ish	Nee-wam-ish river, bay, and vicinity....	60	
5.	Sah-ma-mish	Country bordering on a lake between Nee-wam-ish and Sno-ho-mish rivers	100	
6.	Sno-ho-mish	South end of Whitney's island, Sno-ho-mish river, bay, and vicinity...........	250	
7.	Skea-wa-mish	North fork of Sno-ho-mish river, called Skea-wa-mish river	175	
8.	Skuck-stan-a-jumps...	Skuck-stan-a-jumps river, a branch of Skea-wa-mish river......................	100	
9.	Sno-qual-a-muk	South fork of Sno-ho-mish river, called Sno-qual-a-muke river..................	225	
10.	Stilla-qua-mish........	Stilla-qua-mish river and vicinity.........	175	
11.	Kick-u-al-lis......... ..	Mouth of Kickuallis river and vicinity.	160	
12.	Squa-na-mish	Vicinity of Kickuallis river...............	60	
13.	Ska-git	North end of Whitney's island, Skagit river and vicinity.........................	800	
14.	Sock-a-muke	Head-waters of Skagit river	250	
15.	Ne-u-tub-vig	Extreme north end of Whitney's island, and country between Skagit's river and Bellingham's bay	400	
16.	Cowe-wa-chin, Noot-hum, Mie-mis-souks.	The country between the Ne-u-tub-vig territory and Frazier's river. (But little known of these tribes).		
		Commencing at Cape Flattery.		
17.	Ma-caw, or Flattery..	Cape Flattery to Neah bay................	800	
18.	Pist-chin................	From Neah bay to Los Angelos point...	200	
19.	Sklal-lum...............	The coast between Los Angelos and Port Townsend..........................	800	
20.	Chin-a-kum	Vicinity of Port Townsend...............	75	
21.	Tu-a-nooch............	Mouth of Hood's canal....................	150	
22.	Sko-sko-mish..........	Head of Hood's canal.....................	150	
23.	Sno-qua-mish	Port Orchard, Elliot's bay, and their vicinity..........................	400	
24.	Sho-mam-ish..........	Vashon's island	40	
25.	Sroo-tle-mam-ish......	Case's inlet	60	
26.	Quack-ena-mish.......	Case's inlet	100	
27.	Say-hay-ma-mish......	Totten inlet................................	35	
		Total estimated population	5895	

A.

Mr. E. A. Starling, the agent, reports:—"I have the honor to submit to you, according to the requirements of the department, my first annual report as United States' Indian agent, for the district of Puget's Sound. In submitting it, I take the liberty of calling to your mind the very extensive district I am placed in—extending from the Columbia river on the south, north to lat. 49°, and from the Pacific coast, east to the Cascade range of mountains—and the comparatively short time I have resided in it; which will, I hope, account for the slight amount of interest and information it may seem to contain.

"I left Oregon City in the latter part of October last, and took up my residence, according to your instructions, at Steilacoom, on the 28th day of that month. Shortly after my arrival, although the rainy season had commenced, the Indians came by tribes to see me; being impelled thereto by curiosity and an expectation of receiving presents; and all extremely desirous to learn the intentions of the government in regard to purchasing their lands. These visits not being usual with them, I did everything in my power to encourage them, in order to familiarize them with the whites. I therefore distributed the articles you delivered to me for the purpose, to the chiefs and most important persons of each tribe, for which they seemed to be most grateful. There are yet, however, tribes I have never seen; and, as I have distributed all the articles I brought over with me, excepting light blankets, I would recommend that others be sent me for the same purpose.

"I have attempted to learn with accuracy the number of Indians in each different tribe; but it has been out of my power to do so. When they visited me, they did not know themselves; and, in visiting them, such is their disposition to wander, that it is seldom, if ever, the whole tribe is found together. I have asked the chiefs of all the tribes I have seen to find out the number of men, women, and children, and let me know the exact numbers. I have taken the name, location and number of each tribe in this district. The numbers I give from information and my own observation. They are given, however, as only approximative to the true numbers.

"I had intended preparing a map of the country contiguous to the Sound, but, until lately, have not had the materials; and since I have had them, I have not had leisure to attend to it. In order, therefore, that the locations of the different tribes may be more readily comprehended, I have given the names and locations of the tribes on the east of the Sound first; commencing at Budd's inlet, the extreme south of the Sound, and going north to lat. 49°, or Point Roberts, immediately below the mouth of Frazier's river. Then beginning at Cape Flattery, on the Straits of Fuca, I have given the names and locations of the tribes inhabiting the west side of the Sound, to Budd's inlet. The tribes who do not frequent the Sound I will speak of separately. I speak of the Sound as the whole body of inland salt water.

B.

"The preceding are all the tribes that I am aware of that frequent the waters of the Sound. There is said to be a tribe called the Clossets, who inhabit the south side of Cape Flattery. I know nothing of them, however. It is a part of the country that has never been, to my knowledge, visited by the whites. Of the tribes inhabiting the country between the Columbia river and Puget's Sound, there are but two, excluding the various bands of the Chinooks.

Name of Tribe or Band.	Location of Tribe.	Supposed number in each Tribe or Band.
Che-ha-lis........................	Che-ha-lis river and vicinity	225
Cow-e-lits........................	Cow-e-lits river and vicinity........................	200

"The Chinooks, and the various bands of that tribe, inhabiting the country immediately in the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia river, I do not consider necessary to include in this report, as they have been already treated with.

"The Click-a-tats are a large and powerful tribe, inhabiting the country east of the Cascade range. Great numbers of them, however, as soon as the snow melts from the mountains in the spring, come over to this side of the mountains, where they frequently spend the summer, trading and gambling with the different tribes, and exchanging horses for money and hyagua — a shell they are fond of decorating themselves with. These Indians are much superior to the Indians on this side. They resemble more the nomadic tribes of the plains. Two of the most powerful chiefs were here this summer. From them I learned that the tribe is divided into five different bands; in all amounting to some 2000 or 3000 souls. They have immense herds of cattle and horses, and raise wheat, potatoes, &c. They understand the use of the plough, and in many other things seem to far surpass any other Indians I have seen in Oregon.

"I have been able to discover but eight different languages among the tribes of this district. These are distinct, and are used among different tribes, as enumerated below. Other languages may exist, but I cannot discover that they are in use.

"The Stitcheo-saw-mish, Squally-ah-mish, Pualli-paw-mish, Nee-wa-mish, Sah-ma-mish, Sno-qual-a-muke, Sno-qua-mish, Quash-sua-mish, Say-hay-ma-mish, and Srootle-ma-mish tribes, all use the Nes-qually language, and are very similar in character and disposition.

"The Sno-ho-mish, Skea-wa-mish, Skuck-stan-a-jumps, and Stills-qua-mish speak the Sno-ho-mish tongue.

"The Ska-git, Kickuallis, Squa-na-mish, and Sock-a-muke speak the same tongue—the Ska-git.

"The Ne-u-tub-vig and Misonk speak the same language; as also, I am informed, do the Cowe-wa-chin and Noot-hum-mic. None of these four tribes, with an occasional exception of the Ne-u-tub-vigs, ever come into the American settlements. They go to Vancouver's island to trade.

"The Ma-caws and the Pist-chins speak the same language. They scarcely ever come into the country settled by the Americans. They trade mostly at Vancouver's Island, and with vessels that frequently touch there for that purpose.

"The Sklal-lums speak a distinct tongue. They wander about a great deal, but trade mostly at Victoria, on Vancouver's Island.

"The Chin-a-kums speak a distinct language. They have been killed, or made slaves of, by the Sklal-lums, until there are now but a few of them left.

"The Tu-a-nooch and Sko-ako-mish tribes speak the same language. They are peaceable Indians, and seldom come among the whites.

"The Cow-e-litz and Che-ha-lis, or Chick-a-lees, speak the same language, and are much intermixed.

"As a general rule, the characters of all these Indians are similar. They all depend upon fish, berries, and roots for a subsistence, and all evince a desire to copy after the whites. The pride they take in dressing in cloth, and in being thought to have dropped their savage customs, and to have approached, distantly, to the manners and appearance of the whites, forms a most marked difference between them and the Indians formerly inhabiting the eastern part of the United States. They are excessively indolent and selfish; having no gratitude nor affection, seemingly, beyond themselves. The numerous varieties of fish which abound in the salt and fresh water, together with the roots and berries that grow in abundance through the woods and prairies, give them an easy livelihood wherever they may stray. In their canoes they float through life, wandering in the different seasons to the places abounding most in the different kinds of food. The climate is mild and healthy; a blanket and shirt, as far as clothing is concerned, make them comfortable throughout the year. They are all passionately fond of gambling, frequently gambling away everything they possess—even their women and slaves. Slavery exists among all the tribes, and with every individual who is rich enough to own slaves. Their indolence and the character of the food they subsist upon, render them cowardly and averse to difficulties, where their opponents are anything like equal in strength. They are seldom pugnacious. They are thievish, and will steal nearly anything: if they cannot steal, they will beg; and if the article is not given to them, they will work for it. I have never seen cupidity predominate to the same degree with any other people. It is excited only, however, when they are with the whites. Among themselves they are profusely extravagant, frequently giving away the last thing they have when it will make an impression. Position and authority, with them, depend on the number of slaves, blankets, &c., they possess or have given away. There is a chief of the Ska-git tribe, who some time since gave away over 200 blankets; and another, of the Sklal-lum tribe, is preparing a *fête*, at which there is to be a general collection of Indians, to whom he is to give a quantity of articles; all to enhance his importance. Many of them, however, notwithstanding their general indolence, thievishness, and filthiness, who have been living near or with the whites, and have been taught by example and punishment, are comparatively industrious, honest, and neat, and are very useful. There are, too, among all the tribes, more or less exceptions, who are industrious and honest to a degree one would hardly expect to see among untutored savages. There is a great deal of liquor consumed by the Indians in this district, and I have been disappointed in my hopes of entirely stopping its consumption. Government having granted lands upon certain conditions to actual settlers, without reference to the extinction of the Indian title, settlers are scattered over this part of Oregon in every direction. Of course, they claim all the privileges of American citizens, and say, with much truth, that government having induced them to emigrate, it did not intend to afflict them with all the penalties of the law regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians; for there is a special clause in that law, prohibiting persons other than Indians from residing in an Indian country. They contend, therefore, that they have a right to keep liquor for their own use, and to sell to whites, provided they do not sell or give it to Indians. Persons on board of vessels coming into the Sound contend, on the same grounds, that they have a right to bring in liquor to trade with American citizens. If this is the case where there is a large population of Indians, they will get it, notwithstanding the destruction of liquor, and the indictment of a few, against whom, fortunately, there is testimony of their having sold or given Indians liquor.

"There is much complaint among American sutlers and traders, that Indians on this side of the line dividing the possessions of the United States from those of Great Britain, are not prohibited bringing blankets and other articles from the British to this side of the line. I suppose there is no doubt but that it should be stopped; but to do it would require the presence of a cruiser in the Sound. Besides, I think it would be injudicious to attempt to restrict them in such a manner, before treaties are made with them for purchasing their lands. When treaties are made with them, a clause inserted in each treaty, as one of its requirements, making them agree to abstain from such trade, would, I think, be in a measure effectual. I would recommend that, when treaties are made with these tribes, their future homes be all included in one reservation—each tribe having the extent of its reservation marked off—and their fishing-grounds be granted them; and over the reservation, that the law regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians, and any other law relating thereto, be extended with full force. I think, situated in this way, much good might be done them, by at least an attempt to educate them, and to teach them the various arts. They all cultivate the potato, more or less, and are very fond of them; and in many other things they seem to imbibe the rudiments of civilization, and to improve by what is taught them.

"Since I have been here there have been several vessels wrecked on the coast north of Cape Disappointment. The names and circumstances of only three of the wrecked vessels have come to my knowledge; the sloop Georgianna, the brig Eagle, and the brig Una — a vessel belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. Information of the wreck of other vessels has been obtained from the Ma-caw Indians, who, trading with other tribes along the coast, have brought articles to the whites, that were evidently from vessels, and stated that the Indians they got them of said they were obtained from wrecked vessels. If such be the case, nothing definite has been heard of the vessels or crews.

"The sloop Georgianna was wrecked some time in October last, on Queen Charlotte's Island, with a party of miners on board, consisting of some forty persons, who had gone from the vicinity of the Sound to the Island to seek gold. They were all made prisoners by the Indians, but were subsequently bought from them. A vessel was chartered by the collector of this district and despatched to their relief with a file of soldiers, and some citizen volunteers, under command of Lieut. John Dement, who succeeded in purchasing the prisoners of the Indians. The brig Eagle was wrecked in August last, on the coast of Vancouver's Island, near Nootka Sound. The persons on board, except two, succeeded in making their escape. The two who were taken by the Indians were afterwards purchased of the Indians by the captain of the schooner Dumers' Cove. The brig Una was wrecked on Cape Flattery, in the Straits of Fuca, in December last. The passengers and crew succeeded in getting on shore, when they were maltreated by the Indians, and probably would have been murdered; but a vessel fortunately coming in at the time, they succeeded in boarding her. Soon after reaching the vessel, the Indians pillaged the Una and set her on fire, totally consuming her. As soon as practicable after receiving information of this fact, I despatched a communication to his Excellency the Governor of Vancouver's Island, requesting a report of the circumstances of the depredations of the Indians after the wreck, that I might take action in the matter or report it. Before I received an answer, I learned of the arrival in the Sound of the sloop-of-war Vincennes, under command of Captain Henderson. Having reports of the fact of the wreck, and destruction of the vessel by the Indians, as well as the robbery and ill-treatment of the passengers and crew, I immediately applied to Captain Henderson for assistance to inflict punishment on the Indians, and for the recovery of the stolen property. He refused, however, to do anything in the matter, urging as the reason the insufficiency of the information I had. Some eight or ten days after I received an answer to my communication to Governor Douglas (a copy of which I herewith enclose), in which he stated that the matter had been amicably and satisfactorily adjusted with the tribe. This is the only wreck, of which definite information has been obtained, that has happened within the bounds of this district; and, consequently, is the only case that I have taken official notice of. These Indians, the Ma-caws, are a bold and powerful tribe. In their canoes, armed with a rude harpoon, made of the teeth of the whale, in which a stick is inserted, having an inflated bladder attached, they seek the whale, sometimes at a distance of thirty miles from the shore. They take considerable numbers of them, and from the sale of the oil derive what is to them a large amount of riches. They are expert thieves, also, and seldom let an opportunity pass for the exercise of their skill. The want of more frequent visits of vessels of war has been seriously felt, both by the citizens and the masters of vessels trading in the Sound. Even if they do nothing, their visits exert a salutary influence over the Indians for a long time thereafter. Many of the tribes, like the Ma-caw, are so located that it is impossible to approach them with a force by land, on account of the ruggedness of the country, and the dense forests which cover it. Many things, therefore, for which they should have been punished, have been passed over without notice. Although the troops stationed at this post (company M, of the 1st regiment of artillery,) under their intelligent and active officers, have been the means, by the prompt and energetic action they have taken, of protecting the lives and property of our citizens to a great degree; yet, unless the post is removed further down the Sound — where it would be more central as regards the Indian population, as vessels of war so seldom visit these waters — I think there is great reason to apprehend serious difficulties with the Indians; which, in the present condition of the country, would be the cause of much bloodshed and destruction of property.

"In conclusion, I would beg permission to state that, owing to the scattered condition of the settlements, and the frequent and necessary calls, by the settlers and Indians, upon the Indian agent, to attend to the duties connected with his office, it is necessary for him to travel about a great deal; therefore, the expenses will be very heavy. The cost of living here is such that the salary of an agent is but little more than sufficient for his support. I would respectfully ask, therefore, that some arrangement be made, so that the agent may receive quarterly the sum he expends in this manner."

L.

POPULATION OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY,

At various Periods, from 1778 *to* 1852.

CHANGES DURING A PERIOD OF SEVENTY-FOUR YEARS.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFEDERACY.	No. of Warriors during the Revolutionary War, 1778.	Total Population in 1778, allowing five persons to each Warrior.	Government estimate of their numbers on the plan of removal to the West, in 1825.	Official Report of Mr. Schoolcraft to the New York Legislature, in 1845.	Official Report of W. P. Angel, Esq., in 1847.	Official Report of C. P. Washburn, in 1851.	Official Report of W. Osborne, in 1852.	Loss of Tribe by the War of the Revolution, and by removal from New York.	Average strength from 1825 to 1852.	References to the History, &c, of the Tribes.	REMARKS.
Mohawk.......	100	500	.....	20*	.....	.....	.....	480	.....	A.	* Not noticed since. Body of the tribe fled to Canada.
Oneida.........	200	1000	1096†	157	240	213	233	154	205⅘	B.	† 722 immigrated to Wisconsin. — Vide Report of 1844.
Onondaga	230	1150	446	368	515	457	461	704	449⅖	C.	
Cayuga.........	220	1100	90	114	60	139	133	1010	105⅕	D.	
Seneca.........	650	3250	2325	2542	2700	2679	2580	925	2587⅕	E.	
Tuscarora......	150	750	253	312	300	290	276	497	306⅕	F.	
St. Regis......	.....	.....	300	260	457	.....	.....	.....	355⅗	G.	
The whole Iroquois Nation.	600	3000	4510	3753	4272	3778	3683	3809	3919⅕		

A.

In the preceding table we have data respecting one of the most important, bold, politic and characteristic families of Indian tribes who ever inhabited America. They have dwelt, from first to last, upon one of the richest soils, and in one of the most salubrious climates known to the temperate latitudes of the United States. All the cereal grains are there produced in the highest perfection; and, long prior to the discovery of our continent, this region was noted for the production of that favorite Indian grain, the zea maize. Indeed, every circumstance connected with the character of the country, favored their increase in population. Yet, taking the government estimates in 1825 as a starting point, it has neither been progressive in the aggregate, nor has it declined rapidly; for, while the strength of the several tribes has fluctuated considerably, it has not, on the average of twenty-eight years, fallen much below the standard at which it was then placed by the best estimates. Mr. M. underrates them.

"During the war of the Revolution," it is observed in the official report to the Legislature of New York, made in 1845, "the Iroquois were put at 1550 to 1580 fighting-men. The highest number noticed, of the friendly Oneidas, and a few others, who sided with us in that contest, is 230 warriors; raising the aggregate number of armed men, of this confederacy, to 1810, and the gross population, in 1776, to 9000 souls. This estimate, which appears to have been carefully made, from authentic documents, is the utmost that could well be claimed. It was made at the era when danger prompted the pens of either party in the war, to exhibit the military strength of this confederacy at its utmost power; and we may rest here, as a safe point of comparison — or, at least, we cannot admit a higher population.

L. [CONTINUED.]

"By the census returns, herewith submitted, the aggregate population of the three full and four fragmentary cantons (counting the St. Regis), still residing within the State, is stated to be as follows, namely:—

"Senecas	2441
Onondagas	398
Tuscaroras	281
Oneidas	210
Cayugas	123
St. Regis canton	260
Mohawks	20
Total population	3733"*

The Mohawks were the first of the confederacy to quit their ancient abodes. About 1777, they, following the retreating forces under Sir John Johnston, fled to Canada, whence none have permanently, and but few temporarily, returned. The number of this tribe, which is estimated by Mr. Madison, the next year, at 100 warriors, or 500 souls, appears small. Yet, he may be supposed to have had better means of judging, at that period, than we can possibly assume. War, and the influence of disease, caused by violent changes of habits and by intemperance, have, doubtless, been the cause of the great changes which have taken place since the period when King Hendrick stood at their head, at the defeat of Count Daskau in 1755.

B.

The Oneidas, who took sides with the Americans in 1776, have retained their ancient lands, with all their means of growth, down to modern periods. At the time of the plan of removal, in 1825, they were placed at 1096. About 1824 a large part of them removed to Green Bay, in Wisconsin, where they had purchased lands of the Menomonies. This expatriated band is officially reported, in 1844, at 722 souls. Their numbers have not since been carefully reported, but all accounts agree in representing them as improving in industry and morals. If the average number for the seven years, from 1845 to 1852, namely 205, be added to the 722 in Wisconsin nine years ago, we have an aggregate of 927, or but 169 less than their population was estimated in 1825.

C.

The changes in this tribe, from 1778 to the date of the plan of removal, were extraordinary. How much was due to the influence of the war of the Revolution, and to their abandonment of their ancient precincts, is unknown. Up to the year 1852 they had lost 709 persons. Their average strength for the last seven years is 449½. Schools have been introduced, on their reservations, by the Legislature of New York, and their condition is represented as favorable.

D.

Still more destructive has been the course of the Cayugas. They have been nearly annihilated. Living in the centre of the "old military tract" of western New York, and surrounded by every species of indulgence, common to Indian tribes who are suddenly encompassed by the vices of civilization, they have literally melted away, like snow before the sun. It is melancholy to reflect that such noble men as the father of Logan, were members of this tribe. Since the opening of the Revolutionary War, their population has decreased no less than 1010 souls. For the last seven years they denote an average of 105 persons; but without lands or separate annuities. They live with the Senecas on the Cattaraugus river, New York.

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* Notes on the Iroquois, p. 24.

E.

The Senecas have, from the first, constituted nearly one-half of the Iroquois population. They were, figuratively, at the western end of the symbolic confederated lodge, and furnished a large number of warriors for the adventurous and warlike expeditions of the Six Nations, east, west, north and south. Since the Revolutionary War their numbers have even exceeded this proportion. They stand, at the last official report, in 1852, in relation to the existing tribes, as 2580 to 461, 233 and 276. This, however, excludes the Canada Mohawks and the Wisconsin Oneidas.

It is interesting to review the ancient condition of this and the other Iroquois tribes, who ruled in the Ohio valley at the middle of the eighteenth century, in connection with that of the Delawares and other Algonquin stocks. Such an inquiry is calculated to develop some curious facts.

The following census of the number of Indian warriors in the Ohio valley, in 1748, was given in to Conrad Wiser, Esq., at Loystown, by the several deputies of the tribes named; the men being represented by bundles of small sticks, carefully tied up.

	Fighting-Men.
"Sinikers	163
Shawanos	162
Wantats	100
Wissagechroanu	40
Mohacks (among whom are 27 French Mohacks)	74
Mukickans	15
Onontagers	85
Cayuckers	20
Oneiders	15
Delawares	165
Total number of fighting men	789"*

In this list we recognise the Senecas, under an old form of orthography, and the Wyandots under the name of Wantats. The Miamis or Twightees are not enumerated; and it would appear, from this, that this tribe had not yet migrated from the Miami of the Lakes, where they are located by Bouquet in 1764, when they were estimated to number 350 fighting-men, and 1750 souls. The term Wissagachroanu, is an Iroquois word; the term *roanu* means band or tribe, and was, probably, some tribe or band in connection with, or subjection to, the Wyandots, or to the New York Iroquois, who are enumerated.

The table denotes 447 Iroquois fighting-men (including the Wyandots), to 342 Algonquins (mostly Delawares and Shawnees), and is important, as showing the policy of the Iroquois confederates, in leaving large numbers of their people in actual possession of the countries which they had conquered; and it proves that, while they made these subjugated tribes allies and friends, they at the same time held the mace of power in terrorem over them. Exactly the policy that even European nations have ever pursued.

If to each fighting-man above given, we allow the usual number of five souls (a rule adopted by Col. Bouquet in 1764), the entire aboriginal population of the Ohio valley, excluding the Miamis, will appear as follows:—

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* MS. of Wiser's Journey to the Ohio valley, in 1748; Com., by F. A. M. Heister, Esq.

L. [CONTINUED.]

Iroquois.

Senecas	815
Wyandots	500
Mohawks	370
Onondagas	175
Cayugas	100
Oneidas	75
Total number of souls	2035

Algonquins.

Shawnees	810
Mohicans	70
Delawares	825
Auxiliaries	200
Total number of persons	1905

It will be noticed that the Senecas were the embodiment of the Iroquois power west of the Alleghanies; but it must not be forgotten, that this estimate includes the entire Alleghany valley, which this tribe had, at distinct periods, conquered from the Allegans, Andastes, Eries, and Kahquas.

An important hint is dropped by Mr. C. Wiser in his speech, above referred to; namely, that the chief tribes addressed had "*lately* settled on the Ohio for the purpose of hunting;" which is clearly indicative of the fact, that it had been cleared of its ancient, or former proprietors, and left in a state of desertion, or non-occupancy. The Choctaws have a tradition that they once lived here.* The Allegans, or Allegewi, have left a similar tradition.† The Catawbas and Cherokees seem to have been driven out of this valley by the confederates.

F.

The Tuscaroras fled from North Carolina after their revolt of 1712, and were at first received by the Oneidas, near whom they lived, on land assigned to them, temporarily, by that tribe. They are now located in Niagara county, not far from the Falls, chiefly on lands purchased by them, from the Ogden Company, with funds from the State of North Carolina. I visited them in 1845, by authority of the State of New York, when their population, very carefully taken, by inquiry at every house, amounted to 312, including a single Mohawk. Several of them had fine and large farms under cultivation, upon which they raised wheat and corn. Their dwellings were of a substantial kind; one or two of them being constructed of stone. The fields were well fenced. Horses, oxen, milch cows, swine and sheep, dotted their improvements. They possessed a church and a school-house. The English language was generally spoken, and the dress and manners of the people were conformable to the habits of the whites. The causes to which are attributable the decrease of thirty-six in their population during a period of seven years, have not been explained by the agent.

G.

The St. Regis tribe was a thorn in the side of New England during the whole period of the old French and the Revolutionary wars. It was founded by Indians from the other cantons, who embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and were planted at this spot, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, within

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* Pickett's Alabama.

† Heckwelder's Hist.: Penn. Hist. Trans. vol. i.

L. [CONTINUED.]

striking distance of Montreal. They were never recognized at Onondaga as one of the cantons; occupying a political position similar, in some respects, to that of the Seminoles towards the Creeks, and of the Saginaws to the Chippewas. The report of Mr. Angel, in 1847, enumerates their population at 457 souls. Mr. Eeckiel Williams, whose name has been recently used in connection with that of one who occupied a conspicuous place in modern French history, is the reputed descendant of Mr. Williams, of Greenfield, in the valley of the Connecticut river—a place which was visited by one of the St. Regis's marauding parties, during the last century.

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M.

CHEROKEES OF NORTH CAROLINA.

A compilation from the original returns of the census of North Carolina, taken under Federal authority, and just completed, exhibits the following statistics relative to the Cherokee Indians, who are still resident in its upper districts, and, it appears, wholly within the county of Haywood.

Vital Statistics and Industrial Means.	No. of Males and Females, and No. of Deaths.	Total Population.	Number of Farms.	Acres of land improved and unimproved.	Value of Farms and Live Stock.	Bushels of Grain raised.
Males	357	710				
Females	353					
Deaths	22					
Farms cultivated	.....	.....	120			
Land improved	.....	.....	.....	1,440		
Land unimproved	.....	.....	.....	15,960		
Value of Farms	.....	.....	.....	....	$8,640	
Value of Live Stock	.....	.....	.....	....	6,153	
Corn produced	.....	.....	.....	....	....	15,576

These data indicate, but too clearly, the non-progressive state of an isolated Indian community, surrounded by a civilized industrial population. No mention is made of the births during the year; but twenty-two persons out of the whole number died. Less than one-fifth of the land is cultivated. The area of each farm is 12 acres; the proportional division of each 133 acres. The live stock on each farm is valued at about fifty dollars. Yet, these Cherokees are represented as comparatively industrious and thriving. Living, as they do, in a fine climate, and possessing fertile lands, the quantity of corn they raised, averaging 130 bushels to the family, denotes what habits of more severe industry and temperance would lead them to.

N.

INDIANS IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF CALIFORNIA.

Divisions.	Men.	Warriors.	Women and Children.	Total.	No. of Bands.
Mariposa County Indians	1605	1000	1802	3407	Five Bands.
Fresno Indians	718	500	619	1337	Five Bands.
Mercede Indians........................	151	75	129	280	Three Bands.
Total population	......	......	......	5024	

These Indians have all received some instruction in farming, mining, and various other descriptions of manual labor; more especially those residing on the borders of the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers. A very malignant and fatal epidemic has been prevalent among these tribes during the past summer; nearly all the aged persons have fallen victims to it, as well as very many of the younger portion of the population. The Indians living on the Fresno have been afflicted more severely than the others, which is attributed to the fact that they had food in greater abundance, of a character to which they had been unaccustomed. Recently, however, the ravages of the disease seem to have been stayed; and the survivors have been observed, dispersed along the lower hills of the Sierra Nevada, gathering up and storing, for winter consumption, large quantities of acorns, which are their usual and favorite food. At this time they manifest a friendly disposition, and appear to be satisfied to live harmoniously in the vicinity of the whites.

O.

CHIPPEWA NATION.

Population, as computed at leading Periods.

Chauvignerie's estimate, in 1730, including Saganaws, &c.	5,420
Zebulon Pike's estimate, in 1806	11,177
Within the Agency of Sault St. Marie, in 1822	8,500
Government plan of removal, in 1825, including the Ottawas	18,173
Report of Secretary of War, in 1829	15,000
Official report of Mr. Schoolcraft, in 1832, minus the Ottawas	9,420
Agent J. P. Hays, in 1838, estimates those residing on Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi, excluding lower Michigan, at	7,158
Estimated number, including Saganaws, within the United States in 1850	10,000

This nation is the type of the Algonquin stock. The term appears to have been first applied to certain Nipercinean bands, who encamped on the banks of the St. Lawrence river, opposite Montreal; and it became a generic one, for all tribes speaking the same, or dialects of the same, language. They were found in force when the French advanced their discoveries to the Falls, or Sault de St. Marie; and they were found to occupy the basin of Lake Superior, north and south, from our earliest historical period. Owing to the vast area over which they are spread, and the very nature of their modes and customs, it is extremely difficult to ascertain their full number. It is doubtful whether this has ever been given. In the year 1730 they were reported to the French government at a little over 5000; but this excluded some bands, who were exalted to the distinctions of tribes, by local names, which have since disappeared. When a garrison and Indian agency was established at Sault St. Marie's, in 1822, those residing within the bounds of the Agency were estimated at 8500. In 1806, Pike reports their number, on the Upper Mississippi, and south shores of Lake Superior, to be about 12,000. At the time of submitting the plan of colonization, in 1825, they were comprehensively put at a fraction over 18,000. Generals Clark and Cass estimated them, in 1829, at 15,000. In a series of tables, prepared during the year 1832, with more than usual research, by the agent at Sault St. Marie's, they are estimated at 9420.

APPENDIX TO STATISTICS.

POPULATION AND AREA OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following table, from the census of the Union, just completed, is here added on account of its intrinsic importance

States and Territories.	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Total Population	Square Miles.	Inhabitants to Sq. Mile.
Alabama	426,514	2,265	342,844	771,623	50,722	15·21
Arkansas	162,189	608	47,100	209,897	52,198	4·02
California	91,635	962	....	92,597	188,982	2·49
Carolina, North	553,028	27,463	288,548	369,039	45,550	19·10
Carolina, South	274,568	8,960	384,984	668,507	28,000	23·87
Columbia, District of	37,941	10,059	3,687	51,687	50	103·74
Connecticut	363,099	7,693	....	370,792	4,750	78·06
Delaware	71,169	18,073	2,290	91,532	2,120	43·17
Florida	47,203	932	39,310	87,445	59,268	1·48
Georgia	521,572	2,931	381,682	906,185	58,400	15·62
Illinois	846,034	5,436	....	851,470	55,409	15·37
Indiana	977,154	11,262	....	088,416	33,809	29·24
Indian Territory	....	....	....	....	187,171	
Iowa	191,881	333	....	192,214	50,914	3·77
Kentucky	761,413	10,011	210,981	982,405	37,680	26·07
Louisiana	255,491	17,462	244,809	517,762	41,346	12·52
Maine	581,813	1,356	....	583,169	35,000	16·66
Maryland	417,943	74,723	90,368	583,034	11,000	53·00
Massachusetts	985,450	9,064	....	994,514	7,250	137·17
Michigan	395,071	2,583	....	397,654	56,243	7·07
Minnesota Territory	6,038	39	....	6,077	141,839	0·04
Mississippi	296,718	930	309,878	606,526	47,151	12·86
Missouri	592,004	2,618	87,422	682,044	65,037	10·49
Nebraska Territory	....	....	....	....	136,700	
New Hampshire	317,456	520	....	317,976	8,030	3·96
New Mexico, Territory of	61,525	22	....	61,547	210,774	0·29
New York	3,048,325	49,069	....	3,097,394	46,000	67·44
New Jersey	465,509	23,810	236	489,555	6,851	71·46
Northwest Territory	....	....	....	....	528,725	
Ohio	1,955,050	25,279	....	1,980,329	39,964	49·55
Oregon Territory	13,087	207	....	13,294	341,463	0·04
Pennsylvania	2,258,160	53,626	....	2,311,786	47,000	49·29
Rhode Island	143,875	3,670	....	147,514	1,200	122·95
Tennessee	756,836	6,422	239,459	1,002,717	44,000	22·79
Texas	154,034	397	58,161	212,592	325,520	0·65
Utah Territory	11,330	24	26	11,380	187,023	0·06
Virginia	894,800	54,333	472,528	1,421,661	61,352	23·17
Vermont	313,402	718	....	314,120	8,000	39·26
Wisconsin	504,756	635	....	305,391	53,294	5·66
Total population in the U. S.	19,553,068	434,495	3,204,313	23,191,876	3,306,865	7·01

The alphabetical arrangement of the States and Territories has been adopted for convenience of reference; the geographical method having been found to create much embarrassment.

XVI. BIOGRAPHY. A.

[1st Paper.]

TITLE XVI.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, BIOGRAPHY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XVI.

TITLE XVI., LET. A., VOL. IV. [1st Paper.]

A. A Sketch of Indian Biography.
  1. Logan.
  2. Pontiac.[1]
  3. Kilelimend.[1]
  4. Addik, or Waub Ojeeg.[1]
  5. Farmer's Brother.[1]
  6. Thyendanegea, or Joseph Brant.[1]

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[1] Omitted for want of room.

BIOGRAPHY.

1. A SKETCH OF INDIAN BIOGRAPHY.

SAVAGE nations are, in a peculiar manner, to be judged of by their biography. The energies of their leading men exercise even more influence on their fates and fortunes, than distinguished individuals do in civilized life, where the intelligence and power of the masses always form a counterpoise to sudden and harsh measures threatening to lead to evil consequences. So much so is this the case with the Indian nations of this continent, that it has been well remarked, that Indian history is little more than a connected series of the lives of their prominent chiefs and warriors.

In selecting the names of some of the most prominent actors of the several tribes who have occupied the United States, it is not deemed necessary, were it always convenient, to observe a chronological order. The aboriginal actors appear on the canvass at eras often far apart; and although men of the same race, have attracted attention at the same periods; they have been, in fact, individuals of tribes widely separated by geographical eras, and languages. Where this has not been the case, there will be an obvious propriety in conveying their lives in a chronological method, or, at least, in connection. Such were the lives of Powhatan and his celebrated daughter Pocahontas, which are so intimately interwoven with the origin and history of Virginia. While the rapidly-developing events of Uncas, Myontonimo, and Philip, bring them into a period which lies at the foundation of New England, a similar arrangement will bring into connection the group of aboriginal heroes and orators who have arisen in the Iroquois stock of New York. In the more enlarged class of tribes of the Algonquins, of the west and north, actors start up, at greater intervals of time, which lead us to regard them rather as representing a sentiment, than a nation.

West of the line of the Mississippi, there is an interesting clan of chiefs and leaders heretofore unknown, whose acts entitle them to record. The great tribes of the prairies have had their proportion of men upon whom their wild countrymen have set the seal of their applause. The sources of the Mississippi, and the great lake basins, have had their warriors, sages, prophets, and heroes. Nor have the great Apalachian group of the south, together with the Cherokees, the Utchees and Natchez, failed to originate a class of shrewd, brave, and determined men, whose history is written in blood. Narvaez, D'Allyon, and De Soto, found this race of men hard to conquer. The settlers of Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana did not fail to find this field one of perpetual stratagems and struggles. It is interesting to behold at what new intervals Indian address is sure to weave schemes of subtlety, to enact heroism, or to utter noble sentiments. There are two periods in our history from which it is proposed to draw these aboriginal sketches; namely, first, the period from the fall of Canada to the end of the American Revolution; secondly, from 1783 to the commencement of the Indian colonies west of the Mississippi; and, finally, from the latter period to the present time.

We open these sketches with the life of a man whose noble eloquence and overwhelming domestic misfortunes have excited the sympathy of the world.

1. Logan.

Logan appeared on the stage of action in American history, at a time when the public mind was peculiarly sensitive on the subject of the power and influence of the aborigines who occupied the regions west of the Alleghanies. Those tribes had, for several years, shown a disposition to oppose the advance of the Anglo-Saxon race into those regions; and their movements, from 1763, had at least the effect to alarm, if they did not seriously threaten the colonies. They had produced several chiefs who appeared to be endowed with more than the usual Indian spirit and capacity to direct and measurably to unite, the principal bands. Such men as Kilelimend, Cornstalk, Bukanjahela, and Pontiac, appeared at distant places, within this era, to show that the feeling of hostility in the western tribes was general, and they believed they still had the power of the French in the Canadas as a rallying-point.

Braddock, with a large and well-appointed army, had been defeated, in 1755, by a comparatively trifling body of French soldiers, supported by a large force of Indians in ambush; and when the power of France fell with Montcalm, in 1759, the aborigines, who had been her peculiar care and favorites from early days, could not be made to believe that her flag had been finally struck in the Canadas. In this state of excitement, the small English posts of Le Bœuf, Venango, Maumee, and several others,[1] including the stone-bastioned fort of Michilimackinac, on the Peninsula, had been taken. Major Gladwyn, after a close siege of several months, finally resisted, after a defeat in the field at Bloody Bridge, the determined investment of Detroit, in 1763. Col. Bouquet, the following year, crossed the Alleghanies, beat the Indians in a desperate battle at Brushy Run, on the Sewickly, and penetrated, with a triumphant army, to the banks of the Muskingum, where a general peace ensued. The Indian power, which had cast such a gloom over the colonies, was essentially crushed; and Briton and American rejoiced together in the triumph, after a hard struggle, of civilization over barbarism.

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[1] For an enumeration of these posts, see "Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan." 1 vol. 12mo, 215 pp. Detroit, 1834.

Like most treaties of Europeans with the Indian power, which have been produced by military movements, and not by a hearty acquiescence in the fate that has forced them into pacific measures, this pacification, though it produced an affecting scene of the delivery to the British authorities, of captives in the hands of the Indians, was not permanent. Less than a decade of years had exposed the whole Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers on the Ohio to such frequent attacks, that the strong arm of military force was again necessary. In 1774, Lord Dunmore penetrated, with an army, to the banks of the Scioto, the principal capital and seat of the Indian power. Again the Indians, who can never muster forces sufficient to resist large armies, were brought to terms. The wily and inveterate Shawnees, who had been the "head and front" of this war, were once more compelled to sue for peace; and all the distinguished actors in the war presented themselves at the conqueror's camp, but Logan. The name of Logan had been for many years familiar on the frontiers, and had latterly excited peculiar attention. But he disdained to show himself at the head-quarters of a conqueror, beneath whose flag had been perpetrated acts of perfidy that bowed down his heart. He sent this address, by an interpreter, to reveal his position.

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and I gave him not meat; if ever he came cold or naked, and I gave him not clothing. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained in his tent, an advocate for peace; nay, such was my love for the whites, that those of my own country pointed at me as they passed by, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men!' I had even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cool blood, and unprovoked, cut off all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any human creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it—I have killed many—I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

There were especial causes of triumph at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, on the return of Dunmore's army. It was the seat of the royal government and local aristocracy, and the prominent resort of the British and colonial military officers who had been actors in the war; and when the tale of Logan was told in its saloons, its effect was electric. The impression was spread, wherever the story was repeated. Jefferson inserted it in his popular Notes on Virginia, and it thus soon acquired a world-wide celebrity. "The speech," he says, "was so fine a morsel of eloquence, that it became the theme of every conversation in Williamsburg, particularly, and generally, indeed, where any of the officers resided or resorted. I learned it in Williamsburg, I believe at Lord Dunmore's (1774), * * * precisely in the words stated in the Notes on Virginia."

Inquiries were immediately made into the private history of the man. A heart capable of expressing such sentiments was worthy to beat in the noblest bosom of the human race.

Logan was an Iroquois:[1] a member of that once proud confederacy which has shown the most exalted example of the capacity of government, and that a representative republic, of any aboriginal nation in America. His father, Shikelimo, was a Cayuga,[2] who had left his youthful abode on the picturesque borders of the lake of that name in western New York, and fixed his cottage on the banks of the Susquehannah, at Shamokin.[3] When the proprietary governor of Pennsylvania directed Conrad Wiser, the celebrated Indian linguist and official, to visit Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois power, in the winter of 1737, he took Shikelimo, who was then living at Shamokin, as his guide. This journey, of which the diary is given in preceding pages, (vide Title VII.), is an interesting passage in Indian history, and exhibits this chief under various trials in favorable lights. At Shamokin, the subject of this notice was born. His father's wigwam was known as the Indian seat of friendship and hospitality. At that spot, the Moravians, when they came with messages of mercy to the Red Man in America, were received, and he was often a listener to the, to him, strange and wonderful story of the life of Christ. At this spot the Pennsylvania government found one of its most reliable points of communication with the then leading Iroquois power. Here its secretary, Mr. Logan,[4] was often entertained, and these visits became the occasion of bestowing his name on the chief's active and promising son. The youthful orator, whose Indian cognomen appears to have been Tah-ga-yu-ta, was also a listener to the Moravian teachings, and, it is asserted, was well acquainted with the leading Christian doctrines. So much for his acquaintance with Christianity.

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[1] The term Iroquois was applied by the French to the Six Nations, who constituted the celebrated confederation of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. Mingo was the equivalent term in vogue by the English writers of the times.

In some of the Virginia papers of 1774, Logan is termed a "Shawanese chief," an impression very natural to the officers who returned from the scenes of the treaty framed in the West, amid the Shawnee nation, where this celebrated speech was first recited. Logan had married a Shawnee wife and had long been a resident with the Shawnees and Delawares, with whom he acted in the war against the frontiers. These facts are stated in reference to some remarks made by Gen. Cass, in the Senate of the United States, during the second session of the 33d Congress, in which that gentleman calls Logan a Shawnee. Logan had passed from the scenes long before the distinguished statesman went to the West, and it was natural that local tradition in Ohio should associate the name of this chief with the lineage of the tribe with whom he lived and died. The authorities are, however, very clear on this point. See the foot-notes of Brantz Mayer's discourse before the Maryland Hist. Soc., May 9th, 1851. Also, Collections of the Penn. Hist. Soc., Wiser's Journal. Heckewelder's Letters, &c.

[2] I follow the orthography of Conrad Wiser in this word, which is the best and purest Iroquois; no person having attained the skill in that language which he possessed.

[3] Now Sunbury.

[4] He died 1751.

In early times the Susquehannah valley had been assigned as the hunting-ground for the remnants of various tribes who had fallen under the power of the Iroquois. Such were the once prominent tribes of the Shawnees and Delawares, the Nanticokes, and the Conoys, a tribe of the Susquehannocks of Maryland, and also the Munceys and Mahicans, two affiliated tribes of the Lenno Lenapean stock, who were in absolute subjection to the Iroquois. Shamokin was a point from which the war then waged by the Iroquois against the Catawbas and Cherokees of South Carolina could be conveniently carried on, and it became a point of rest and succor for the small adventurous parties of the Six Nations, on their return from the South. To Shikelimo the Iroquois Council-fire committed the chieftainship of this frontier, and the trust appears to have been confided to competent and honest hands. He was selected by the proprietary government of Pennsylvania in 1737, as before indicated, to guide Wiser in his adventurous visit to Onondaga, and conduct him on his negotiations with the Iroquois: and when, five years later, (in 1742,) the Count Zinzendorf reached the beautiful vale of Shamokin, Shikelimo was the first person to step forth and welcome the celebrated Moravian: and he promised him his countenance and friendly aid in the introduction of the gospel to the sons of the forest. Thomas Penn was then at the head of the Pennsylvania government. Pursuing a policy with respect to the Indians which had been laid down by the illustrious founder of that colony, he had welcomed the steps of the philanthropic founder of the Society of the United Brethren. Ten years later, this officer greatly conciliated the good feeling of the Indians, by sending a blacksmith to reside at Shamokin, which paved the way indeed for the first mission under brother Mack, at that spot. Still, when the devoted David Brainerd visited the place in 1747, his impressible spirit was grieved to behold the gross heathendom and beastly practice of some of the Indians; and he turned his steps to a more inviting field of labor.[1] Shikelimo, during these early scenes, although most of his people were deaf to the voice of instruction and Christianity, appears to have preserved a friendly consistency of character. He died at that place in 1749.

During these early scenes, little is known of the young man who is the subject of this sketch. He appears to have been a man of dignified, pleasing manners, and most kind feelings. It is a peculiar and striking feature in the settlement of the Susquehannah valley, that the Indians were succeeded in its occupancy, not by non-resisting English Quakers, but by Celtic and Germanic races, of a bold and enterprising spirit, though perhaps of an inferior type of civilization, who had to watch their fields as they enlarged under their hands, with the rifle. First and prominent in this interfusion of the Teutonic element of population into the part of the Susquehannah valley referred to, was the indomitable Conrad Wiser and his adherents from the disputed lands in the Schoharie valley, New York, where they had failed to realize the promises of Queen Anne: a transference of residence which dates 1729.[1] Wiser had learned the Iroquois language when a boy, by sojourning, for that particular purpose, in an Indian wigwam in the Mohawk valley, and had so perfected himself in it, that few, even of the natives, ever had so full, free, and comprehensive a knowledge of it; and during full half a century he was the great means of negotiation, agency, and interpretership between the crown of Great Britain, the local Governors of the colonies, and the powerful and controlling Iroquois confederacy—a confederacy, so powerful among the other Indian tribes, that they had only to will, and it was done. Wiser was a man of uncommon foresight, judgment, and firmness of character, and appears to have been raised up by Providence as a patriarchal medium or "days-man," standing between the aboriginal and Anglo-Saxon races during this important critical era. Himself a man of a sound pious mind, the descendant of a pious ancestry in Lutheran Germany, he resembled the great Saxon reformer in one respect; namely, in the energetic structure and fixity of his mind. It was from his lips that the Coriolanus-like speech of Cannassatega was delivered by the Iroquois in 1744, at Lancaster, to the subjugated Delawares. "I forbid you," said he, "ever more to meddle with the sales of land. I direct you instantly to quit the banks of the Delaware, think not of it, deliberate not about it, but go in hot haste. You may go to Shamokin or Wyalusing." (Colden's Five Nations.)

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[1] Works of Jonathan Edwards.

The hardy emigrants in the beautiful and fertile valley of the Susquehannah had an ardous experience of frontier life. To them, when they had obtained their grants from the Penns, the duties of settlement still wore a stern aspect. These lands were not only to be subdued, but the country was to be kept in peace, and guarded from the occasional outbreaks of the Indians. It was not an easy task they had to perform. They were, in fact, exposed to a species of the wildest and most sanguinary guerilla warfare, and had to keep possession of the country by an armed occupancy.

The manners and habits of the Indians were to them, often, both incomprehensible and intolerable. Suspicion of treachery was ever at its height on both sides, and when collisions arose, these hardy pioneers stood as a wall of fire to defend the frontiers. A harsher judgment of the Indians was consequently formed by them than was universally entertained by the benevolent and peaceful followers of Penn, who were remote from these scenes of conflict. Two very antagonistical states of opinion were thus formed which led to collisions and jars, which were never, indeed, ended, till the capital of the State was, after a long course of colonial and state struggles, removed to the banks of the Susquehannah. To those who wish to acquire the true principles of this collision between the public opinion of *eastern* and *western* Pennsylvania, and who are shocked with such bloody occurrences as those that belong to the history of "Paxton," and to the atrocities of "Conestoga" and Lancaster, it is suggested to study the history of the era. (Vide Coll. Penn. Hist. Soc.)

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[1] Wiser's Journal. Penn. Hist. Coll., new series; Vol. I., No. 1.

Braddock's defeat threw the whole frontier open from the present site of Pittsburg to the very confines of the settlements — most of which, after this event, were driven in and abandoned. The repulse of the British on the Monongahela was, indeed, a signal for renewed hostility, in even the feeblest tribes of Indians. The Moravian mission at Shamokin was broken up, and the inhabitants of the new settlements ruthlessly massacred. Shikelimo, who had been a friend to the whites, had laid himself down in death, in his native forests, six years before these disastrous events; and it does not appear that he had any successor in his half-diplomatic office.

His death did not, according to the Iroquois system of descent, make his son Logan a chief.[1] In the troublesome times that soon supervened, his family and children disappear from notice. It is not till about seventeen years after the father's demise, that Logan re-appears, and he then comes to notice as an active hunter on the beautiful banks of the Juniata — an affluent of the Susquehannah on its western borders, and not very remote (for Indian life) from the scenes of his nativity. He appears as a tall, active man, of noble appearance and humane sentiments, and as one who entertained a kind and peaceful character worthy of his father. The first interview of the settlers with him is of a romantic character. The Juniata bursts through a deep ravine in Jack's Mountain, and displays on its banks some of the most attractive scenery for which the region is celebrated. It had been early settled by some daring pioneers who were, however, driven from their homes by the Indian wars, but who returned to them some time between the years 1765 and 1769. In the latter year, as two of these pioneers were admiring the beautiful locations in a lateral valley, they beheld a bear, and being armed with rifles, they immediately gave chase to and wounded it. While unsuccessfully pursuing the animal, and exhausted with the chase, they suddenly came to a copious crystal spring bursting from the side of a hill, and, in a spirit of joy, threw themselves down beside it to drink. They had leaned their rifles against a tree. As one of them bent over the clear and mirror-like surface of the water, he saw reflected the shadow of a stately Indian, armed with a rifle. He sprang with instant energy to his feet, while the Indian yelled. Whether it was a sound of peace or war, he knew not, as he seized his rifle and faced his foe. In an instant the savage dashed open the pan of his gun, and spilling out the powder at the same instant, held his open hand, palm upwards, in token of friendship. The sign was recognised, and in an instant they closely grasped hands. The Indian was Logan. He was then on his way to the west. Pleased with each other, they hunted and encamped for a week together, when Logan pursued his way over the Alleghanies. His residence in the Juniata valley had endeared him to its early inhabitants; and he is favorably remembered in the traditions of that valley, where there are many anecdotes related of his honorable dealing, just character, and kind and affectionate feelings.[2]

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[1] Descent is by the female line. The sister's son of the chief inherits, subject to the sanction of a council.

[2] Brantz Mayer's Discourse before the Maryland Hist. Soc., p. 28.

During his residence in the Juniata valley, there were several striking evidences of this. On one occasion he entered into a wager of markmanship, with a frontier's-man, at a dollar a shot, at the locality of a noted spring in that valley which still bears his name. Logan lost four or five shots, which he acknowledged, however mortifying it may have been, with entire composure and suavity of manners. When the contest was ended, and the white men were about to retire, he stepped into his lodge, and immediately returned with as many deer-skins as he had lost shots. The victor (a Mr. M'Clay) declined taking them, alleging that he and his companions had been Logan's guests, and that the match had been merely a trial of skill and nerve, and not designed for gain. "No," said Logan, with dignity, "I wagered to make you do your best in shooting. My word is true. Had you lost, I should have taken your dollars, but as I have lost, you shall take my skins."[1] A dollar a skin for undressed deer-skins was the standing price.

On another occasion, he came from his forest covert to purchase a little grain, delivering his dressed buckskins to a tailor, and taking his pay in wheat. When this was afterwards examined by the miller who was to grind it, it was found to be adulterated by some mixture resembling wheat. It was evidently a fraud of some base kind. Logan complained to the magistrate of the district (a Mr. Brown). The case was pronounced to be a decided "cheat," and the Indian client, in a court of law, was promptly righted.[2]

Mrs. Brown's young baby-daughter attracted his attention. The little girl was just beginning to walk, and he had overheard the mother regret, that she could not get it a pair of shoes, to give firmness to its little steps. Logan said nothing. But when he was ready to return to his wigwam at the spring, not distant, he came and asked the mother to let him take the child with him. Confiding in his known character, she consented, with mingled feelings of trust and anxiety. It was morning when this incident occurred, and the day wore away, with many yearnings in the mother's heart, at the long absence of her child. Just before sunset, Logan re-appeared, leading the little girl, exhibiting, on her tiny feet, a pair of beautifully wrought moccasins—the triumph of the forest-skill of Logan's own hands.[3] It is in vain to talk of a mind, capable of these refinements of feeling, as being *savage*. God had implanted his image there. These traits clearly bespeak a man of more than the ordinary stamp, and of a noble, thoughtful, and sentimental turn.

He fixed his camp-fire in the Ohio valley, on the Mingo bottom, below the Big Beaver. This was an old residence of his countrymen; and while living here, he married, and had children by a Shawnee woman. The Mingoes, or western Iroquois, with the Delawares, then occupied the upper parts of the Ohio. The Shawnees lived on the Scioto, making Chillicothe their capital. This tribe maintained a deadly hostility against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky. The Delawares had, it is believed, from ante-European times, been in a state of vassalage to the Iroquois, and were ever ready to receive, entertain, and obey them. Between the Shawnees and Delawares there was an ancient and close affinity. Logan was a welcome guest among these tribes, but he thus placed himself in a position to have his friendship for the whites misunderstood; while by allying himself to the Shawnees by marriage, he was, in a manner, identified with that tribe. Of the hostility of the Shawnees, there is but one opinion. They had ever been deadly enemies to the colonies. It was the misfortune of the Delawares to be in union with the Shawnees, while, at the same time, they had the bad reputation of being friends and allies of the French. Essentially segregated as Logan was from the body of the Iroquois, and having taken refuge among the Shawnees and Delawares, he was constantly exposed to have his neutral position mistaken by strangers. The frontiers-men did not always make nice distinctions of tribe and lineage, of tribes whose general acts, manners, customs, and policy were the same. They often came in hot haste to avenge cruelties and wrongs of no ordinary stamp, and were prone to consider a red skin as the embodiment of all evil. Such was Logan's position in the beginning of 1774.

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[1] Mayer's Discourse, p. 29. I preserve the thought in English, deeming this much of justice, at least, due to a noble, but injured man.

[2] Ibid, p. 30.

[3] Mayer's Discourse, p. 16, 30.

Three years after Logan had been recognised on the Juniata, namely in 1772, he visited the Rev. Mr. Heckewelder, at the Moravian mission on the Muskingum. His father, Shikelimo, having been the fast friend of the United Brethren at Shamokin, the son was a welcome visitor there. He was recognised and well received. He impressed Mr. Heckewelder as being a man above the ordinary capacity of the Indians. He made some remarks which evinced his superior reflective power. He inveighed against the use of ardent spirits, and denoted a capacity for judging of high-minded acts, as contradistinguished from low acts in the settlers.[1]

Mr. Heckewelder visited him at the mouth of the Beaver in 1773, and was well received by the part of his family who were at home. About this time, Mr. M'Clure, a missionary, visited the Ohio, and saw and conversed with Logan. At that time, he was remarkable for his good figure and personal appearance. He was above six feet in height, straight, lithe, athletic, symmetrical in form, and of a firm mind, resolute, and commanding. The brave, open, manly countenance he had possessed in early years, was, however, now exchanged for an air of martial ferocity.[2] Mr. M'Clure afterwards met him in the forest, armed and painted for war. Logan solicited an interview, apart from his companions. He had not, it would seem, forgotten the missionary teachings he had listened to at Shamokin; but recognising the sacred office of the preacher, spoke to him, with a degree of pallor in his countenance, in a remorseful strain, as if lamenting the influences of a class of ever-present spirits or wood-demons.[3] Logan exclaimed, at this interview, striking his breast: "I feel their influence here. Wherever I go, they pursue me. If I go to my cabin, my cabin is full of them. If I go into the woods, the trees and air are filled with demons. They haunt me by day and by night. By their menaces, they want to clutch me, and throw me into a pit."[1] This acute sense of being accompanied by malignant spirits is remarkable, and appears to denote that his mind had once been enlightened by higher doctrines of moral teaching.

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[1] App. to Jefferson's Notes.

[2] Wheelock's Narrative, as quoted by Mr. B. Mayer.

[3] I substitute this word for the one given by Mr. M'Clure. "Maneto" is a Shawnee, not an Iroquois word. It is not presumable Logan used it, nor is it the equivalent for "devil," without some modification. It was, probably, used by the journalist as a commonly received term for a spirit, by the whites.

That Logan had imbibed some of the leading principles of Christianity itself, as taught at his father's cabin by that eminently benevolent and devoted band of brotherhood who early followed Zinzendorf to the wilds of Pennsylvania, would appear probable. But he possessed in himself a range of thought and feeling—sentiments of benevolence and humanity; and, above all, an appreciation of the knowledge and arts of the white race, which lifts him far above his wild kinsfolk of the forest. He had a high moral sense of justice and right in the transactions between man and man, and tribe and tribe; a principle of honor, in standing by his word when once passed; a tenderness and sensibility for his domestic circle, which marks his character, and puts the stamp of nobility on his mind.

But two years had elapsed from the time of his first arrival in the Ohio valley, till that frontier was embroiled with the Indians. That beautiful and attractive country had been first explored in 1773, and the next year the determination was made, in Virginia, to found a settlement at the mouth of the Little Kenhawa, the founders of which resolved to attack a Shawnee village near the mouth of the Scioto.[2] This project was, however, relinquished; and the party who had meditated it, governed by better councils, ascended the river to the present site of Wheeling, near which were a considerable number of white settlers. It was early in the spring. The settlements were in excitement, expecting every moment the breaking out of hostilities. An unsuccessful message had been sent to the Indians by Major Conolly, the temporary commandant at Pittsburg; a Virginia militia officer, who, under Lord Dunmore, commanded the frontier. Conolly communicated the result, with his apprehensions and belief of an immediate Indian war, to the armed party encamped at Wheeling, with orders to prepare for it. His letter, dated 21st April,[3] was publicly read by Captain Michael Cresap to his forces, and, at its conclusion, a state of war was formally announced.[4] The same evening two Indian scalps were brought in by men of this party. The next day several canoes of Indians were discovered descending the Ohio river, under covert of an island, and chased fifteen miles down the stream, and driven ashore, where a skirmish ensued, several being wounded on each side, and one Indian prisoner taken. On returning to their camp at Wheeling, a resolution was adopted, to march the next day to attack Logan's camp, at Mingo Bottom, situated on the Ohio river, about thirty miles above. But after proceeding on this expedition about five miles, the party halted, and while ashore, the policy and impropriety of the step were conversed about. It was admitted that the Indians of Logan's village had no hostile intentions, that they were hunters, encamped with their women and children, and all their stuff, and consequently in no condition for war. These facts were affirmed on the favorable testimony of one of the party — no less a person than George Rogers Clark himself, who was afterwards so celebrated in western history. Hereupon the party returned, filled with detestation of the contemplated act, and they took the road to Redstone.[1]

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[1] Wheelock's Narrative, as quoted by Mr. B. Mayer.

[2] American Archives, 4th series, Vol. I.

[3] De Hass, p. 147.

[4] In Brantz Mayer's Discourse, p. 48, this declaration is stated to have been April 26th.

Two days after this incident, some Indians, and among them a brother of Logan, were decoyed[2] across the Ohio from the mouth of Yellow Creek, by some obscure and base-minded persons, and all but one killed. The particular spot of this murder was Baker's cabin, at Captina creek. Baker had, early in the morning, furnished liquor to a party of eight Indians, consisting of four men, three women, and an infant, including Logan's brother, till all but the latter and the child were intoxicated. He then gave a signal to a party of concealed men, who rose and ruthlessly shot the entire party, except the child. Logan's brother had been shot down treacherously, as a prelude to this tragedy, as he was walking out of the door of Baker's cabin, by a man named Sappington.[3] While this tragedy was being enacted at Baker's shanty, or a few moments before it had commenced, two canoes were seen leaving the west or opposite shores of the Ohio, filled with Indians, steering their course across to Baker's trading-house. Before they had reached the east bank, Baker's men, one or two of whom bore the name of Greathouse, who appear to have been leading actors, had secreted themselves, with arms, in the brambles or undergrowth on the margin of the stream. Every person in the first of these canoes was killed, as soon as it came within range; the other canoe turned and fled. It has been generally stated that the mother and sister of Logan were in this canoe. But this we shall presently show to be an error. His brother had previously been shot in the house. Afterwards, other canoes, with armed warriors, came across the river to the fatal scene, alarmed by the report of rifles, but they were repulsed in an attempt to land, a little below.

Logan's family were not in either of the canoes fired on at Baker's station. Agreeably to the statement of Colonel Richard Sparks, the atrocity of the murder of his family is due to some of Cresap's men, who had a private revenge on the Indian race to gratify, and who stole away from his encampment unknown to him, and without his authority, but decidedly against his known and expressed will; and as soon as he heard of it, being in the vicinity, he hastened to Logan's cabin to put a stop to it. Sparks had been made a captive at Wheeling by the Shawnees, brought up among them, and was present on the Scioto, at Upper Chillicothe, when the murder occurred, and heard the story immediately after the occurrence, from Logan's lips. The following is his statement, recently published;[1] and as the circumstances have been variously stated, and the authenticity of the speech has been questioned, this well-vouched testimony is received as conclusive on the subject. Sparks's narrative was related, in the presence of witnesses, at Fort Stoddart, Alabama, in November, 1812, at a time when he had risen to the rank of a Lt. Col. in the U. S. army. It is as follows:—

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[1] De Hass, p. 149.

[2] American Archives, Vol. I, p. 285, Moravian Journal.

[3] Tomlinson, in Jacob's life. Narrative, as quoted by Brantz Mayer.

"Logan said that a part of Cresap's men, who had left Cresap without his orders, had attacked his house, killed and destroyed his family, and two Indian relations who were there, two young men of the Delawares; he knew Cresap's family, his father, and him; he knew that it was not Cresap's fault, but the mad young men who had left Cresap's camp, contrary to his orders, and committed the depredations. He was the white man's friend; never had a white man come to his house, but he gave him something to eat; never had he spilt the blood of a white man. They had begun war with him without provocation. From this time forward (raising his tomahawk,) I declare war against all white people; and I expect that my warriors will revenge the blood of my family.

"Logan stayed a few days, raised a party, and went and fought at the mouth of Kenhawa.

"As soon as Logan arrived at 'Plugge's Town,' he called a council, and made the aforesaid speech. The young warriors immediately gave the war-whoop.

"In all the conversations which took place, Cresap was never blamed. It was understood universally by the Indians, and always mentioned by Logan, that it was a party who stole off from Cresap's army, headed by one Askew, either ensign or lieutenant, that committed the murder.

"In all Logan's conversations with the Indians, previous to starting from 'Plugge's Town,' Logan uniformly adhered to the statement that it was not Cresap's fault; but that, as the whites had murdered his family, he would not make peace with white men while he lived, and hoped his warriors would do the same to revenge the death of his family.

"Col. Sparks had a brother with Cresap at the time.

"At the time of the murder, Cresap had been on a scout to Grave Creek and Wheeling, and was returning to Red Stone. He stopped within a mile of Logan's house, and named to his men that Logan lived there, and had always been friendly to the white men, and not to disturb him. Those men who committed the murder slily slipped off, two or three at a time, pretending to hunt for something to eat. Askew's brother had been killed by the Indians the spring before. In a few minutes after the men had gone away, Cresap was about starting to Logan's, as Mrs. Logan spoke English. The reason of Cresap's camping from the house, was the fear of some of the men, who had lost relatives by the Indians, committing something wrong. He heard the firing, and immediately ran, with the balance of his company, to save the lives of the Indians. On coming up, he found them killed, but none scalped. The party made off. Came after awhile to Cresap's camp, and pretended they had been hunting, except two, that had been caught at the house of Cresap, endeavoring to plunder. Those men, Cresap confined, and brought to Red Stone old fort.

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[1] Vide National Intelligencer, Sept. 10th, 1853.

"It was the universal impression in and about 'Plugge's Town,' that Cresap was not in the fault. On repeating the story to Richard Sparks' father, on his return to Red Stone, he (Cresap) was much distressed.

"At the time, Col. R. Sparks had been a prisoner among the Indians several years; spoke their language; knew no other; was fourteen years old, and distinctly recollects every thing that occurred; had all the feelings of an Indian, and was equally impressed as the others with the circumstances of the time."

It is clearly shown, that Captain Michael Cresap, whose name has been associated with this atrocious deed, was not of this party, and he is completely exonerated from the act. Cresap had been, by far, the most distinguished and capable actor in the early Indian conflicts on the Ohio, in 1773 and 1774, up to this time; and it was not singular that Logan should suppose, that every enterprise or aggression against the Indians was headed by him. But Cresap was a humane and just, as well as a brave man; he was a zealous patriot in the opening scenes of the American war, and his memory deserves to be relieved from this odium.[1] He had fought to repel aggressions upon the frontier, which came often, like the steps of the cougar, in silence and at midnight, and which, to all experience, rested on a wayward and unreliable sense of justice or wrong.

But the act of these atrocities on the unwary followers, and on the hapless family of Logan, had the effect of kindling the war into a blaze. All ties between the white and red races seemed now, anew, to be cut asunder. Virginia had been the particular object of Indian fear, and she now experienced the fruits of a double vengeance. It was the 1st of May, 1774, according to several authorities, when this tragedy was enacted; and during the entire range of the spring, summer, and autumn, till the march of Lord Dunmore advanced into the region, and the treaty of Camp Charlotte on the Scioto was concluded, the most sanguinary and heart-rending murders were perpetrated by the Indians.[2] Logan himself was a distinguished actor in these scenes. He led many war parties against an enemy, who appeared to him to have exceeded the utmost cruelty and injustice of the Indian race; supposing that vengeance had been specially directed against himself, and not knowing that the scenes adverted to, were the blind and indiscriminating acts of a popular frontier prejudice and fury. No boundaries seem to have been put to his vengeance. A demoniacal spirit appears, indeed, to have guided his steps, as he himself once confessed; and he did not recover himself, to a sense of calmness, till the Dunmore treaty. His vengeance was now glutted. It was enough. It was in the autumn of 1774. Ten years had elapsed since Col. Bouquet had marched, with a powerful and well-appointed army, to the West. The American arm, wielded by Dunmore, had once more been made to reach into the heart of the Indian country. The Indians, sensible that they could not cope with the Anglo-Saxon power, succumbed.

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[1] Vide Brantz Mayer's Discourse before the Maryland Hist. Society, Baltimore, 1851.

[2] Between 1777 and 1779, the author of this sketch had fourteen of his relatives in western Virginia, murdered on that frontier, by the Indians. De Hass' Western Wars.

Logan did not attend the treaty councils. He sat a silent and moody listener to the reports of which were brought him from day to day. The reminiscence of years rushed upon him. He remembered the days of his youth, on the banks of the Susquehannah and in the Juniata valley, and pictured the bright scenes of his entry into the exuberant valley of the Ohio. The two contending races, who warred for supremacy in America, came up before him. The teaching of his youth, the struggles and trials of his manhood, the philosophy of his age, were so many themes of rolling thought in his memory. The humanities of his nature prevailed. His soul expanded with enlarged thought. He could no longer endure these conflicts. He could no longer oppose the offers of peace. He unbosomed himself to a friend in his retreat, who was well versed in the Indian language;[1] and it was by him that he sent in that address which has made the world acquainted with his name. Tradition says that he was seated beside the venerable Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, who had commanded, with ability, against the Virginia forces in the battle of the Great Kenhawa. He had allied himself by blood and fortune to this tribe. This chief sympathized deeply with him. He had been witness of his injuries, his daring, his revenge; and he felt the desolation of heart which had befallen a great man.

There is light thrown on the misfortunes of Logan, in the brief note he dictated to be left at the house of Robinson, which corroborates allusions in his speech. It shows that he had lost kindred in the atrocious massacre of Conestoga, while he was yet a youth on the Susquehannah. It further opens the vista of his personal calamities, by revealing the fact, that the "prisoner" taken, "a little girl," at the massacre at Baker's cabin, in the spring of 1774, was his cousin.[2]

These disclosures but testify to, and enlarge, the grounds of his complaints against the white race. Logan may be deemed a fit representative of the aboriginal race, and his complaint, though confined to a personal recital of wrongs, is a symbolic indication of their general position before the energetic races of Europe. Of all the celebrated aboriginal men of America, Logan had, in an eminent degree, the trait which they generally most lack, namely, sensibility. His feelings, we are informed by M'Clure, sometimes overpowered him, and he burst into tears. An aboriginal sage, weeping over the woes of his nation, and of himself! Authorities also concur in representing him as bursting into floods of tears, before the delivery of his celebrated speech.

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[1] Col. Gibson—supposed to have been his brother-in-law, having married the sister that was killed at Yellow Creek.

[2] Robinson's Statement.

Garrangula, the Onondaga, had at a former period astonished the French officers who surrounded De la Barre, the governor-general of Canada, with the simplicity, force, and power with which he delineated the failure of that officer's vaunting expedition into the Iroquois country. But it was a dignified species of eloquent irony. Skenandoah, at a late period of our history, had depicted with touching force the decadence of himself, as a representative of his tribe, and of humanity, by the symbol of a lofty tree, that tottered to its fall. Pontiac, when Great Britain came to take possession of Canada, after the taking of Quebec, exclaimed to the military officer, "I stand in the path." But it was reserved for Logan to lament, in tones that touched men's hearts, the wrongs inflicted on a noble soul.

Of the fate of this man, of whom we have the testimony of a competent judge, who knew him well, "that he was one of the best specimens of humanity, white or red, he had ever known,"[1] but little need be said. Bereft of his kindred, cruelly heart-rent by the loss of his family, disappointed in his hopes, he lingered a few years around the camp-fires of his wayfaring people. He saw the white man steadily approaching. The march of civilization, that came rapidly to their ancient seats, bore no note of promise to his race. The voice of Christianity and letters was still heard, indeed, in the retreats to which its golden whispers followed them. But they were mingled often with the sounds of war, the scenes of blood and cruelty, and more disheartening than all, with the wild bacchanalian shouts of his own infatuated tribes, who fell freely before the more than Upas poison of alcohol. He himself could not, if some traditions are to be taken, personally stand up against this subtle enemy of his race. He deeply bewailed it, and with many tears.[2] He wandered about from station to station, west of the Alleghanies, the victim of disappointments that sapped his vitals, and then laid himself down in his native forests, to the sleep that knows no waking in sublunary scenes. The precise period and place of his death, are variously stated. Heckewelder says, in the statement given to Mr. Jefferson, that his death was a tradition in 1781; and that the rural spot was pointed out to him in the vast panorama of the western forests, while he was himself led a captive between Gnadenhutten and Detroit.

APPENDIX TO TITLE XVII.

THE MURDER OF LOGAN'S FAMILY.

WASHINGTON, *September* 5, 1853.

To BRANTZ MAYER, Esq., Baltimore:

DEAR SIR: Having attentively read "the discourse" (delivered by you before the Maryland Historical Society on its Sixth Anniversary, 9th May, 1851) which you were kind enough to send me, and compared it with Colonel Richard Sparks's Narrative, I now enclose you the latter, together with Mr. James Magoffin's letter of explanation, addressed to me.

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[1] Judge Brown, quoted by Mr. Mayer, p. 31.

[2] Brantz Mayer.

As it is to be presumed the exhibit of the statement of Colonel Sparks, conflicting as it does with old and respectable opinion, will be scanned with critical accuracy, I beg leave to say how this information came into my possession.

I mentioned to you in a former letter, that while travelling through Florida, Georgia, and Alabama, on a mission confided to me by the late Administration, I became very much interested in the old Indian traditions of the country through which I passed. This history, so full of romantic and thrilling association, is rapidly sinking into oblivion; and, alas! what little remains lies buried in the fading memories of a few pioneers, who are daily carrying with them to the grave every trait of the Indian character.

Among those brief and hasty sketches picked up in my wanderings, I found that it was only from some old enthusiastic settler reliable information was to be obtained. Such a person was Mr. Magoffin. Living amid the past, in a district whose very name ("Old St. Stephens") seemed to recall as much of antiquity as can exist in the New World, he delighted in relating Indian tales, incidents of border warfare, the struggles of the early settlers, &c. He found me a willing and anxious listener, and thus many a night was whiled away between us.

One evening, while looking over some papers, hoping to discover something about the "course of De Soto's expedition," I saw an old paper marked "Murder of Logan's family by Col. Cresap's men, Fort Stoddart, Alabama, November, 1812!" Its authenticity could not be doubted; the writer was present, and I seized upon it with avidity.

After I read the paper, "Col. Sparks's narrative," as related by himself, speaking of scenes in which he was an actor, of course I was much gratified to find him corroborating Mr. Jefferson's statement regarding "Logan's speech;" for, if Col. Sparks is correct, Logan did make the speech to his own people, he (Sparks) being present! And Mr. Magoffin repeatedly assured me that he only took down at the time a *brief sketch* of Col. Sparks's remarks, though he distinctly recollected that Col. Sparks spoke of "Logan's speech" as a thrilling and eloquent effort, and the strange and exciting effect it had upon his hearers at the time.

As to Gibson's testimony, it is (to say the least) very singular. That Logan, after they had been drinking, should have taken him (Gibson) into a *solitary thicket*, burst into tears, and "broke out into a passionate ejaculation," and he (Gibson) should remember it all the way (six miles) back to camp, and then write it down *as delivered* by Logan, is indeed strange. Where was Girty all this time? Is it not more probable that Gibson was one of "the white men" whom Col. Sparks alludes to as being present when Logan made the speech? There had been a speech made *somewhere*, in "repeated conversations" spoken of "as an extraordinary speech," and "several attempts at a rehearsal of it" had been made, when it is probable the charge as to Col. Cresap crept in; for Logan, according to Sparks, always exonerated Cresap from any participation in the murder! We know that it was only to vindicate Cresap's name the Hon. Luther Martin attempted to discredit "the speech" as given by Jefferson; and let me here add a singular fact, that Sparks had never heard of Jefferson's Notes!

On reading over Gen. G. R. Clark's letter, I find it differs so materially from Col. Sparks's statement, that I must let others decide which is correct, though Clark agrees with Sparks that "Logan was the author of the speech," and "wrong as to Cresap." As to Askew's leading the men who committed the murder, Sparks speaks confidently, and the name of Greathouse is not mentioned by him, while he asserts that at the time of the murder Cresap was near, and hastened at once to stop it; *the most complete evidence of his innocence.*

I might dwell upon other points in the evidence against the authenticity of "Logan's speech," but it is not necessary; my object being not so much to detect error as to present to you what little I had picked up to throw light upon this interesting point of history. The original actors and narrators have alike passed away, and we cannot recall them from the grave to say who is right. "History only teaches by example;" and, alas, the most prominent events of our own time are subjects of doubt, while,

> "Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
> Versatur corna serius ocius
> Sors exitura."

With regard, I remain, dear sir, your obliged servant,

J. Martin.

Land Office, St. Stephen's, Ala.
November 5th, 1852.

Dear Sir: It may be proper to give you some information regarding Col. Richard Sparks, from whom I received the statement, transmitted to you at your request, respecting the murder of the family of Logan, the distinguished Indian chief, by a party of men under the command of Col. Cresap.

Lieut. Col. Richard Sparks, of the army of the United States, was the commanding officer at Fort Stoddart, on the Tombigbee river, in 1810, then a river of the Mississippi Territory. This fort was a strong stockade, having some mounted cannon: stood on a considerable bluff on the west side of the river, about ten miles above the line of demarcation between the United States and the territory of Spain, as established by Elliott.

Connected with the regiment of Col. Sparks were Lieut. Edmund P. Gaines, late the distinguished General E. P. Gaines; Reuben Chamberlain, 2d lieutenant, afterwards distinguished at the defence of Fort Bowyer, under Capt. Lawrence; Capt. James

Wilkinson, son of Gen. J. Wilkinson, and son-in-law of the Hon. Harry Toulmin, judge, &c.; Lieuts. Ware, Noah, Mathers, &c.

Col. Sparks resided at the cantonment with the regiment, about one mile west of the fort. This cantonment was built for the health of the troops, at which a number of respectable citizens had their residence, among others the Hon. Judge Toulmin. Lieut. E. P. Gaines had his residence at the fort, at which place a guard from the cantonment was renewed daily.

On my arrival at the fort, bringing with me letters of introduction from Gen. A. Jackson, Gen. Sevier, (the father-in-law of Col. Sparks,) Gov. Blount of Tennessee, and Judges Emmerson and Hugh L. White of Knoxville, I was requested by the commanding officer to act as sutler to the troops, along with the late Col. B. S. Smoot, who had resigned his post of lieutenant in the regiment, and had received the appointment of sheriff. To the foregoing request was added a polite and friendly invitation from the colonel commanding to make a part of his family, which was thankfully accepted.

The present highly respectable Gen. Theo. L. Toulmin, of Mobile, was then a youth, living with his father, Judge Toulmin.

Col. Richard Sparks had been in the army of the United States from a young man, and esteemed, as I was informed, in a military point of view: was illiterate, but possessed of a good share of intellectual powers; brave, cool, and determined on all occasions. He never attempted to read a volume of any kind, and with much difficulty made his signature. Mrs. Sparks, a most accomplished lady, was a daughter of the before-mentioned Gen. Sevier, of Tennessee, one of the greatly distinguished heroes of "King's Mountain." I regularly read the papers to the colonel, penned his communications to the Secretary of War, and read to him those from the War Department. From my becoming a part of his family, the post held by the amiable lady was turned over to me as long as the colonel remained at the fort. Col. Sparks was remarked by the officers around him, as also by citizens who intimately knew him, for a singularly tenacious memory. The common remark of "forgetting nothing" was daily applied to him by even the common soldiery. The extent to which he exhibited the peculiarities of the Indian character was a subject also of common remark, as also his partiality and knowledge of Indian customs and character. In the enjoyment of his "siesta" his favorite place was a buffalo robe or two on the floor; his most agreeable diet, bear-meat, venison, wild turkey, opossum, &c.

Indian details were a favorite subject of conversation with him, and in which he indulged, especially when Judge Toulmin and Lieutenant Gaines were present, to whose society he was quite partial: frequently stating the circumstances attending on his capture by the savages, when a child, near Wheeling, on the Ohio; his being adopted by a chief; their family customs; the treatment he received from the family, who lived near "Plugge's Town," near which place the chief Logan lived. One evening, while the Colonel was in one of his details, he dwelt on the great chief Logan's family, when Judge Toulmin caught the name, and some inquiries by him ended by ascertaining that it was the chief Logan whose speech Mr. Jefferson has handed down in his Notes on Virginia. On making this discovery, the judge went into a train of inquiry that eventuated in a detail by the Colonel of the whole catastrophe of the murder of Logan's family by a party of Col. Cresap's force, and the subsequent conduct and speech, delivered at "Plugge's Town," by Logan, &c. Lieutenant Gaines was present.

The judge, after hearing the colonel's detail, asked him if he had ever read Mr. Jefferson's "Notes on Virginin," to which the colonel replied he had never known any other writing than Mr. Jefferson's "Declaration of Independence."

On a subsequent evening, at Lieutenant Gaines's quarters, Colonel Sparks again got on the subject of Logan's speech, &c. After the colonel had retired, the judge proposed to me to endeavor on a favorable occasion to induce Colonel Sparks to permit me to take down in writing his statement as nearly in his own language as possible; to which Lieutenant Gaines added his request, and to which I assented.

A few days after, the colonel proposed to me to accompany him on a visit to a Dr. Chastang's, a few miles south of the cantonment. Returning, the colonel stated the pleasure it appeared to give Judge Toulmin to "hear Indian stories," "the interest he appeared to take in the Indian character," &c. "Did you notice the other day how much he was affected by the account I gave him of the murder of Logan's family, and especially by the speech of Logan, made afterwards at Plugge's Town. I have always been astonished how those men of great education and learning can see in the talk of an Indian so much to interest them. I always felt more interested in the manner in which the warriors spoke than at what they said. My friend Gaines has a good deal of the feelings in this way of his father-in-law." Why colonel (I replied), it is a fact, the judge and Lieutenant Gaines are warm admirers of the character of Logan that you have placed before them, and especially with his address after the murder of his family; and I will candidly say that they would be gratified to have your account of the transaction reduced to writing. "Why, sir, I have not the smallest objection to gratify those gentlemen, if you will take the trouble to take it down." With pleasure, colonel, whenever your convenience will admit. "To-morrow evening I will state to you the whole occurrence, as far as my recollection serves me; and I will just say to you that if you ever become an Indian (giving an arch look) you will find that your recollection of occurrences at all interesting during the time will be better remembered through life than any other." The following evening the detail was put down from the lips of Colonel Sparks in the paper, a copy of which you have already.

A few evenings after, the colonel requested me to read to him the notes I had made; and, after attentively hearing them read, said: "At the time white men were present who, the Indians said, *come over the big water;* but I never knew who they were or their business with the chiefs."

I gave a copy of the colonel's statement to Judge Toulmin, and not long after removed to St. Stephen's. Some years subsequent I met Judge Toulmin as a member of the Convention that formed the Constitution of this State, who, in the presence of Governor Bibb, referred to the papers that passed between a distinguished member of the bar of Maryland, viz., Luther Martin, and Mr. Jefferson on the same subject, at the same moment inquiring if I had preserved the account given by Colonel Sparks of the murder of Logan's family, &c., as he had lost the copy I had given him. On my replying that I had it safe, he requested me to state to Governor Bibb, as near as I could, its contents. The last named gentleman warmly pressed me to give it publicity, the honorable judge adding his request. This I have determined to do every year almost since, but from variety of causes delayed; and but for your friendly and forcible remarks and the writing of Mr. Meyer would have continued to do so.

My life has been one of incessant application to some pursuit or other, principally official; my opportunity of association with literary gentlemen extremely limited.

It may be proper here to add that in a conversation with Judge Toulmin, years after I removed to this section of country, I found the interest he felt in the statement of Colonel Sparks was in consequence of the charge against Colonel Cresap, as being accessory to the murder, being disproved.

General Th. L. Toulmin, with the highest esteem and confidence of his fellow-citizens, is still living, and the amiable George S. Gaines (brother of General Gaines) in full possession of all his faculties, still resides at or in the vicinity of Mobile.

With perfect esteem, and very respectfully, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES MAGOFFIN.

J. Martin, Esq., Clifton.

The following is the statement taken from the mouth of Colonel Richard Sparks, who was among the Indians at Plugge's Town," now Upper Chillicothe, when Logan arrived, just after the murder of his family by a party of Cresap's men.

(For this statement vide p. 624.)

The above is a true copy from the original in my possession.

JAMES MAGOFFIN.

Fort Stoddart (Ala.), November, 1812.

XVII. RELIGION. A.

[1st Paper, Title XVII.]

TITLE XVII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, RELIGION.

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TITLE XVII., LET. A., VOL. IV. [1ST (ELEMENTARY) PAPER.]

1. Aboriginal Idea of Religion. H. R. S.
2. Power and Influence of Dacota Medicine-men. By Rev. G. H. Pond, of Minnesota.

RELIGION.

1. ABORIGINAL IDEA OF RELIGION.

DEISM, probably, exists in no purer form among the uncivilized nations of mankind, than it is found in the abstract beliefs of the North American tribes. The Indian is, psychologically considered, a religious being. His mental organization leads him to trust in the power of a deity. He is a believer in the mysterious and wonderful. To him, the world is replete with mysteries and wonders. Every phenomenon in nature which he cannot explain, is the act of a God. The clouds, in their varied display, are invested with the sublime symbolic teachings of a God. God is everywhere present. The thunder and lightning, and the brilliant auroral displays of the hemisphere, are identified as manifestations of the power of God, who is the great creative Spirit. The Indian's ear is open to his teachings in every sound of the forest; living, as he does, in the open air, his eye is familiar with the face of the heavens, which are spread out before him, as a vast volume of pictography, in which he reads wonderful things. Such, at least, is the idea of the Indian of the tribes in the old area of the United States. He sees a supernatural power in all these surrounding telluric and sublime ethereal manifestations. He fills the universe with scintillations of the Deity; and appears to realize the idea of Jacob, who, after rising from his stone pillow at Bethel, acknowledges the local presence of Jehovah, by the remark—"Surely the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not." (Gen. xxviii. 16.)

That there exists a unity in this idea of a great Spiritual Existence, who made all things, upholds all things, and governs all things, even to the minutest destinies of men, is apparent to those who closely scrutinize this man, and direct their attention to the objects and sources of his hopes and fears. While looking directly to the Great Spirit for success in life, and acknowledging life and death, fortune and misfortune, as due to his supreme power and omnipresence, his mind has been strongly impressed that there is also an evil influence in the world. To account for this, without impugning the benevolence and goodness of God, an antagonistical god is believed in, who is the author of evil. Thus, there are two Gods created, in the Indian theology, which must strongly remind the observer of the ancient Persian system of Ormusd and Ahriman; for while, like the ancients, to the former are ascribed all good and benevolent acts, the latter is regarded as the potent power of malignancy.

The primary term for the Deity is still retained by the Indians, but they prefer to it an epithet, signifying good or bad. In this manner, there is created a duality of Gods, rather than a dual Deity. It is impossible, however, to witness closely the rites and ceremonies which the tribes practise, in their sacred and ceremonial societies, without perceiving that there is no very accurate or uniform discrimination between the powers of the two antagonistical deities; while the benignant power, which accords life and death, is regarded as possessing the spiritual mastery. This conclusion will be sustained, by a careful perusal of the rites and songs recorded in the first volume of these investigations, under the head of "Indian Pictography," beginning at page 333. In these curious and elaborate details, the great interests of Indian life are brought into review, namely, his secret and mysterious reliances in war, hunting, religion, social prosperity, love, life, and death.

It was not enough for the founders of the Indian religion to generalize the powers of good and evil, by creating, in their theology, two Gods. To enable these diverse Gods to exercise their powers in a certain conceivable god-like manner, each is provided with an innumerable host of minor gods, or spirits, who, under the shape of birds, beasts, reptiles, men, angels, demons, giants, dwarfs, sorcerers, enchanters, fairies, pigmies, and other forms, inhabit the world. These are classified into benign and malignant spirits, or semi-gods, agreeably to the deity under whose influence they are sent abroad.

Imagine the diverse influences which are now placed before the Indian's mind and heart. What sources of vivid hopes and fears! A fast and absolute believer in these antagonistical powers, nothing is too astonishing, mysterious, and subtile for him to to believe or doubt. Everything he sees or hears in the animate world, may be the subject of intense fear or hope; he is perpetually in doubt which. He is a ready believer in transformations, possessions, and incarnations. A deer, a bear, or a swift-flying bird, may be the messenger of good or evil. He is constantly on the qui vive, but especially on the look-out for something untoward. The movement of a bush, or the voice of a wild animal, may be as premonitory a sign to him as the roar of Niagara, or a clap of thunder. This is not yet the extent of his susceptibilies to mysterious fears,—he is not only a believer in the influences of magic, sorcery, and necromancy—he is not only on the constant watch, through these, or other sources, for hosts of good or evil spirits—but all these influences may be exhibited or excited through the evident powers of invisible and invulnerable agencies.

God, in revealing himself to Moses, said to him, "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." It has not occurred to the

Indians, nor their unknown ancestors, from whom we may suppose them to have derived their religion, that God should be represented to be Holy. Yet it admits of no question, when properly viewed, that the Great Spirit of the Indians is a purer deity than the Greeks or Romans, with all their refinement, possessed. For the Indian, by his system of a dual-deity, or two separate persons, is careful to guard his good and merciful God from all evil acts and intentions, by attributing the whole catalogue of evil deeds, among the sons of men, to the great Bad Spirit of his theology. His Manito, Owayneo, or Wacondah, is thus kept intact. He neither interferes in wars, hunting, domestic life, or love, further than is required to exhibit his controlling and innate goodness, purity of will, and benevolence to the human family. He lifts his voice to him in supplication, in his native forests, without temples or formality; and when he offers a sacrifice to such a deity, it is not in a roasted quadruped, such as so often smokes on the altar of the other deities of the wilderness, but in the light and curling fumes of tobacco. Shall he not have the benefit of his *intentions?*

It is not so much, it is apprehended, in the theory of the Indian mind on this topic, that he is mistaken, as in his failure to make men understand it. And when he peoples space with his multitudinous *loci deii*, the fear on his mind is not, clearly, that the great Good Spirit exists no more, or does not uphold his government, as that he has to employ the language of the Psalmist, "forgotten him," and needs, by these subtle agents, to be put in remembrance of a man whose life is, he daily and deeply feels, one tissue of vicissitudes. Hence the opportunity that occurs for the class of medas, priests, jossakeeds, seers, sorcerers, or jugglers, who rise up in every tribe, with the pretence of superior wisdom or skill. It is this class of impostors, who are too lazy to hunt, and too wicked to be usefully industrious, that keep the Indian mind in a turmoil; and are really, by far, the most formidable obstacles that the teacher and the missionary has to encounter. It is this class of men, who are mere demoniac agents of Satan, that revel in the doctrine of polytheism, introduce confusion in the Indian mind, between the boundaries of the good and evil power, and keep it on the torture, by setting one class of the spirit-gods at war with the other. These local gods of the air, woods, and waters, are striving perpetually for the mastery among each other, and among the human race. They are, in fact, from the theory inferred from their legends, nothing but so many demons, filling the Indian world with discord. They come down into the forest, and animate wolves, bears, turtles, and various quadrupeds and reptiles. They direct the flight of birds, who, living much in the air, are deemed to be peculiarly subject to these spiritual teachings. As this animal incarnation, so to call it, is the only form of deity with which he can come into actual or personal contact, he selects his personal guardian spirits from them. And when this process, which is very ceremoniously done, with dreams and revelations, has been accomplished, they communicate with him, and indicate the will of the Great or Bad Spirit to him in dreams, which are carefully sought in fasts and abstinences, often excessively protracted. He hangs up offerings to those deities on poles before his wigwam. Thus he worships, not the Great Spirit, which is perpetually on his tongue, but this class of tutelar intercessors, or mediums, who are firmly relied on.

He is not, evidently, satisfied with these tutelar spirits alone. Distrustful of their power, or his own faithfulness to them, there are, in all the tribes, a class of diviners, to whom it is believed the power and will of the Great God is peculiarly revealed. These persons are believed to be more holy than others. They pass more time in fasting in secret, and studying to make themselves mediums of God's will. They are called variously pow-wows, soothsayers, prophets, jossakeeds, and by other names. The tribes firmly believe in them, rely on their predictions in every exigency, and are essentially swayed by them.

The Indian is a man who emphatically and positively relies on the indications of dreams, which are believed to be inspired by the guardian spirit. His dreams are his revelations. The Great Spirit is, indeed, still enthroned in his mind, as the creator and presider over the universe; but he is shorn of his power by these myriads of local gods and spirits, who mediate between *him* and *them*. He is, in fact, a negative being — negatively good. Goodness and mercy are the two great attributes ascribed to him. They are relied on by the hunter and warrior, through the mediation of the guardian spirits, in every situation in life and in death. And he dies with the faith of his ancestors on his lips and in his heart, believing that all good hunters and brave warriors will be received into the Indian paradise. It is a theory of the Indians, that the evils and trials of this life are, as it were, a merit roll, compensation, or sort of expiation made to the Great Spirit for the gift of life, and its many abuses and crimes, of which their consciences make them sensible. And that, in a future state, men shall be admitted to an easier life. Hence death to him is not fraught with terrors; it is rather a state full of attractions. Hell is a foreign word to the Indian mind and language; although a compound word, Majimonidonong (place of the Bad Spirit), has been coined for it. Hence it is that the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, which vindicate the *justice*, as well as the *goodness* and *mercy* of God, are so distasteful and repulsive to the Indian mind. He is not a man, however, when he begins to reflect, that is slow to admit that his deeds have been evil; nor is the doctrine of a mediator a very strange one to him, when his mind is once enlisted on this theme. His local spirits have been his mediators. He has, in fact, been all his life resorting and trusting to spirit-intercessors and local mediators, through the system of guardian angels, and dreams and fasts. But his understanding is slow to perceive that these beliefs of his youth and age are not true; and his unassisted reason is not sufficient to show him that there should be an acceptable mediator, of Divine appointment, whom God will recognize and accept. For he, so far as we can judge, deems man justifiable *per se*. It is, unquestionably, a conclusion justified by observation, that the tone of the aboriginal mind, when once arrested in its wild career, is penitential. The difficulty is to get it from under the influence of the Indian priests. He is not, it is true, of a very hopeful temperature; feeling almost everything, hoping almost nothing. Generally, the Indian mind is prone to be pensive and desponding when at rest and free from external impingement, allurement, and temptation to indulgence; and were it not for the continued influence of the native teachers and false prophets, it does not seem probable that it could, in the present peaceful and prosperous state of the country, long successfully resist Christianity. The latter has, at this time, a firm footing in some, if not all the Indian colonies.

There is another generic idea to be considered in the Indian religion. It is the worship of the sun. This worship appears formerly to have prevailed throughout America, from south to north. The Peruvians carried it to its acme. The Toltecs, and their predecessors the Olmecs, according to D'Alva, made it a fundamental point. It was also the leading dogma of the Aztecs; holy fire being imparted to the priests, and distributed periodically to the whole nation; a doctrine, indeed, by which they retained their power. But they corrupted it, by adding the horrid practice of human sacrifices to Heutzilapochtli, the god of war.

Traces of this belief are found to exist in the early history of all the United States tribes. The Floridians all acknowledged it. It was most prominently set up, even after the colonization of Louisiana, by the Natchez. Tradition traces it to the latitudes of Lake Superior, and to aboriginal New England. Speaking on this subject with a celebrated Indian prophet in the west, called Sagitchewayosay, who then professed Christianity, he said that it had prevailed, as a tenet, very extensively; but the sun was only regarded by the tribes as a symbol of the Great Spirit, and it was thought, that as the sun radiates light everywhere, he who adopted the symbol would continually find light in his path. This ingenious defence of the sun-worship impressed me as plausible, rather than convinced me of its entire truthfulness. It is almost certain that the ancient form of worship, by the North American Indians, was merely a sentiment. They sang hymns, it is said, and performed some ceremonies, of which burning tobacco was a part. The Iroquois had a priesthood who put out the old fires of the wigwam, and distributed new. This Toltec ceremony is suggestive of a southern origin. The same prophet to whom I have alluded, pointed out to me the figure of the sun in their medicine and wabeno songs, and even in old pictographs copied from rocks, which I submitted to him.

Whatever other trait may exist in the character of the Indian tribes, it is religion that is most important [illegible] their prosperity and welfare. It is on this point that they come most prominently in conflict with the axioms and practices of civilized nations; and, as if conscious that the chief thing to be guarded against was a change in their ancient religion or rites, as a fundamental interest on which their fate must turn, it is on this vital point that they have, from the earliest era, made the most general, resolute, and constant defence, for it has been the defence of the ancient priests against Christianity. To preserve their ancient religion intact; to defend its doctrines and promulgate its rites, the power of the Indian priest, pow-wow, magician, soothsayer, meda, medicine-man, wakon-man, prophet, or by whatever other name the sacerdotal office may be called, is brought constantly into requisition. The children learn its rites, ceremonies, and choruses as soon as they can learn anything, and long before they have reached the threshold of manhood they are adepts in the Indian ceremonies and beliefs.

We must call this class of men a priesthood, because they profess to administer in holy or mysterious things—things that pass the ordinary comprehension of their listeners. Whatever is wonderful in invention or phenomena, sublime, incomprehensible, god-like—whatever relates to futurity and is unknown—whatever, in short, is connected with the exercise of power, for good or evil, which is not merely human, but "spiritual," or rather such as a spirit or demon, a monedo,[1] a wakon,[2] or an abainka,[3] may exert on the mind of man, leading it to put forth powers not innate—this it is the profession, art, and province of this class of men to do. Above all, the Indians believe in them. They believe that these men have this supernatural power: that they can foretell events, cure or inflict diseases, and influence life or death. It is not a question with the Indian whether his priests and pow-wows are false or true. He believes them true. He hopes in their predictions. He fears their power and denunciations.

It is therefore this class of persons, who are recognized in every Indian tribe on the American continent, that Christians require to put down. And the efforts of missionaries and teachers should never be relaxed till they have destroyed and extirpated their power. It was these men who, two centuries ago, opposed John Eliot, and formed the hardest point to be conquered in his laying the high principles of the Gospel before the New England Algonquins. They not only opposed him in word and doctrine in the assemblies of the adult and aged Indians, but, as we have affirmed above, taught the demoniacal and ceremonial doctrine, rites, and songs, to the young. One generation of errorists, demon worshippers, and idolaters was therefore no better than its predecessors. The majority, nay, nine out of ten, believed in the pow-wows. It may be startling to say, but it is nevertheless true, that but seven generations of Indians have passed away,[4] since Eliot began to preach at Natic. And the same class of superstitions, beliefs, and rites, are at this day common to the tribes of the various Algonquins on the great lakes and the sources of the Mississippi, to the widely-dispersed Dacota family of Minnesota and the Missouri; and to the whole class of tribes west of the line of the Mississippi, who are led astray, and bound down as it were with "hooks of steel" by the medicine-men and the whole class of interceders with demons and spirits on the forests and prairies of America.

The doctrines of this class of men should be directly attacked. The moral disease should be vividly held up and pointed out. The serpent poison of such dogmas on the minds of the hunters, and its capacity to produce moral death, should be strongly dwelt on. It is not enough to point out the remedy. The remedial power will not be appreciated by the Indians till the certainty of the disease is established. Christ is the only remedy, when sin has been admitted as a disease.

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[1] Algonquin. [2] Dacota. [3] Choctaw.

[4] Thirty years is a generation.

In beginning to put facts on record on this subject, attention is asked for the ensuing paper of Mr. Pond, on the power of the Indian medicine-men—a class of men holding great and uncontrolled authority in every tribe, who rely, not on the exhibition of herbs, but almost wholly on the powers of sorcery and magic. Talk to such a man of a moral responsibility — of an hereafter in which deer are not to be hunted — of an atonement which may be made available through faith, and of the danger of delaying till age what should be done in youth — or any other branch of Christianity, and he will be ready to exclaim with the atheist, "'What will this babbler say!'[1] Is not our jossakeed wise? Is not our moneto strong? Does not our wakonda love us? Is there any greater power than abainka? Or shall we not hunt deer, and bears, and buffaloes in another world; and glide to the land of the blessed in stone canoes? What will these white men teach us? Is a plough as sharp as an arrow, that it can be shot out of a bow, and kill an enemy? Shall we give up our noble pursuits in the forest, and disgrace ourselves by work, like a mere maker of iron traps and wooden barrels?"

Sentiments such as these, we have heard from the lips of proud Indian speakers, whose step, and air, and glance have, at the same time, borne evidence of the sincerity of their belief in a peculiar system of religion, and of being under the protection of a peculiar deity.

If the symbolical axe of the gospel is ever to be effectively laid to the root of the tree of aboriginal superstition, it must begin by cutting off the power of the Indian pow-wows, who are the actual intercessors, not of a living power, but of an image of wood and stone, with demons and devils.

2. POWER AND INFLUENCE OF DAKOTA MEDICINE-MEN.

The term *medicine-man*, in the following article, does not mean one who is extensively acquainted with diseases, or medicinal roots. It seems that the public mind is in error, touching the real character of Indian doctors, or else that the Dakota doctors are unlike those of other tribes. Among the Dakotas, these persons are not known as *medicine*-men. They do not depend on medicine for success in the treatment of diseases, so much as they depend upon the virtues of their incantations and sorceries; nor is the treatment of diseases their chief employment.[2] It is their business to contend with all the ills of Indian life, in the chase, in the lodge, and on the battle-field.

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[1] Acts, Chap. xvii., verse 18.

[2] Medicinal roots are extensively used among the Dakotas, and often with very beneficial effects; but it will be borne in mind by the reader, that, in this article, the medicine-man is treated of strictly as a *wakan* man, in which capacity, if he uses medicine, it is in such a manner, if possible, as to make his own wakan qualities

The terms by which the medicine-men are known among the Dakotas, suggest both their character and occupation. They are these: Wica-xta Wakan (Wee-chash-tah Wah-kon), and Taku Wakan ihamnanpi (Tah-koo Wah-kon e-ham-nan-pe). The former term signifies mysterious, supernatural, or god-men; and the latter, mysterious, supernatural, or god-dreamers—inspired by the gods.

By the term "medicine-man," or Indian doctor, therefore, I mean those persons among the Dakotas who lay claim to mysterious, supernatural, or god-like abilities; and they may be divided into two great classes; namely, Zuya Wakan (Zoo-yah Wah-kon), and Wapiya (Wah-pe-yah); the former signifying War-prophet, and the latter, Renovator, or Restorer.

The questions which I propose to myself in pursuing this subject, are the following, namely, WHAT ARE THE POWERS OF THE MEDICINE-MEN? HOW DO THEY COME IN POSSESSION OF THEM? and WHAT USE DO THEY MAKE OF THEM?

It seems to be necessary, first, to advert to the Dakota divinities, by whom the medicine-men are inspired; while, at the same time, this is a subject into which it is next to impossible to penetrate. For little can be obtained from these men concerning it, except by stratagem; and that which they do disclose, is often exceedingly confused and contradictory. One will affirm, another deny, and a third, perhaps, inform you that both the others are wrong. After a residence of eighteen years among the Dakotas, and embracing every opportunity to acquaint myself with matters of this sort, they are still, in a great measure, involved in mystery.

The most prominent characteristic of the Dakota deities, is that which they express by the word *Wakan*. This word signifies, generally, any thing which a Dakota cannot comprehend. Whatever is wonderful, mysterious, superhuman, or supernatural, is wakan. The generic name for gods is Tahuwakan, i. e. that which is wakan. The Dakota, therefore, sees a god in every thing; to use an expression of one of their most intelligent men, "There is nothing which they do not revere as God." The chief, and, perhaps, the only difference that exists among the ten thousands of the divinities of the Dakotas, is, that some are wakan to a greater, and others to a less degree; some for one purpose, and some for another; but *wakan* expresses the chief quality of them all—the only quality, I believe, which the Indians deify.

I have never been able to discover from the Dakotas themselves, the least degree of evidence that they divide the gods into classes of good and evil; and am persuaded

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appear to the better advantage: and this is the use which they endeavor to make of this medicinal aid, which their people are receiving from medical men of our own nation. [For the other views of this subject, namely, the medicinal properties and species of roots employed, reference is made to Dr. Pitcher's paper, in the preceding pages. Vide Sect. XIII. H. R. S.]

that those persons who represent them as doing so, do it inconsiderately, and because it is so natural to subscribe to a long-established popular opinion. I cannot believe that the Dakotas ever distinguished the *Great* Spirit, or *Great* Wakan, as they term it, from others of their divinities, till they learned to do so from their intercourse with white men; because they have no chants, nor feasts, nor dances, nor sacrificial rites, which have any reference to such a being; or if they have any reference to the Great Wahan, in any religious act whatsoever, there is satisfactory evidence that it is of recent origin, and does not belong to their system of religion. The acts of worship, which Carver tells us particularly that they performed to the Great Spirit, had no reference to the Great Spirit, though that traveller doubtless thought they had. It is, indeed, true, that the Dakotas do sometimes appeal to the Great Spirit in council with white men, but it is always as to the being whom the *white man worships*.

As specimens of the supernatural beings, whom it is believed preside over the destinies of the Dakotas, and whose wakan qualities are imparted to the medicine-men, I will mention more particularly three or four classes of the most respectable of them.

The *Onkteri*, (Onk-tay-he).—The signification of the name of this class of the Dakota gods is unknown. In their external manifestation, they resemble the ox, but are very large. They can instantaneously extend their tail and horns so as to reach the skies, and these are the seat of their power. They are male and female, and propagate their kind like animals, and are mortal; which is true of all the gods of the Dakotas. It is believed that the earth is animated by the spirit of the Onkteri goddess, while the water, and the earth beneath the water, is the dwelling-place of the male god. Hence the Dakotas, in their addresses to the water, in religious acts, give to it the name of Grandfather, and that of Grandmother to the earth. The Onkteri have power to issue from their bodies a mighty wakan influence, which is irresistible, and which the Dakotas term *tonwan*. The signification of tonwan is quite similar to that of "arrow," where it sometimes occurs in the Bible; as, "The *arrows* of the Almighty," "He sent forth his *arrows*," &c. All the gods are armed with a similar power. One of the Onkteri gods, it is believed, dwells under the falls of St. Anthony, in the Mississippi river. A few years ago, at the season when the ice was running, it gorged, and so obstructed the channel between the Falls and Fort Snelling, that the water suddenly rose to an exceeding height. When the pressure became sufficient to open the channel, the water rushed down with a tremendous force which swept all before it; and a cabin which stood on the low bank of the river, near the fort, was carried away, with a soldier in it, who was never afterwards heard of. It is universally believed by these Indians, that the whole was caused by the Onkteri, who passed down the channel of the river at the time, and that the soldier was taken by him for food, as he feeds upon human souls. The following chant, which is much used in the medicine-dance, (wakan dance,) shows the character of this class of the gods, in this respect:

"I lie mysteriously across the lake,
I lie mysteriously across the lake,
Decoying some souls, let me eat him alive.
I lie mysteriously across the lake,
Let me eat him alive."

The sacrifices which the Onkteri requires of his worshippers, are the down of the female of the swan and goose dyed scarlet, white cotton cloth, deer-skins, tobacco, dogs, medicine (wakan) feast, and the medicine dance. Subordinate to the Onkteri are the serpent, lizard, frog, leech, owl, eagle, fish, spirits of the dead, &c. These gods made the earth and men, instituted the medicine-dance, &c., prescribed the manner in which earth-paints must be applied, which have a wakan virtue to protect life, and are often worn by the warrior for this purpose on the field of carnage. Among all the myriads of the Dacota deities, the Onkteri is the most respected; and it might be said without much exaggeration, "seven times a day they worship him," or some of the numerous gods which are his subjects.

The *Wakinyan* (Wah-keen-yon).—The name of this class of the gods signifies *flyer*, of the verb *kinyan*, to fly. As the night-hawk produces a hollow, jarring sound by a peculiar motion of the wings, so the Wakinyan produces the thunder which the Dacotas denominate "the voice of the Wakinyan." It is said by some that there are three varieties of the external manifestation of these gods, and others say that there are four varieties; in character, however, they are but one. One of these varieties in form, is black, with a very long beak, and four joints in each pinion; another is yellow, beakless, and has also four joints in each pinion, but only six quills; the third, which is of a scarlet color, is remarkable for the length of his wings, each of which contains eight joints; and the fourth is blue, globular, and has no face, eyes, nor ears; but immediately above where the face should appear, is a semicircular line, resembling an inverted half-moon, from below which project two chains of lightning, which diverge from each other as they descend. Two plumes, like soft down, coming out just above the chains of lightning, serve for wings. Each of these varieties represents a numerous race. The Wakinyan created wild rice, and one variety of prairie-grass, the seed of which, in shape, bears a strong resemblance to rice. At the western extremity of the earth (which is a circular plain surrounded by water), is a high mountain, surmounted by a beautiful mound, on the summit of which is the dwelling-place of Wakinyan. Watches are stationed at each door-way of their dwelling, one of which opens towards each of the four cardinal points. A butterfly stands at the east opening, at the west a bear, a reindeer at the north, and a beaver at the south. Except the head, each of these watchers is enveloped in scarlet down.

The Wakinyan are ruthless and destructive in their character, and they ever exert their mighty power for the gratification of their ruling propensity, at the expense of whatever may come in their way. The enmity which exists among all the classes or races of the gods, is like that which is seen to exist among the different Indian tribes; but the Wakinyan and Onkteri bear a particular hatred to each other, which is hereditary and deep-rooted, like that which exists between the Dacota and Ojibwa nations, and neither can resist the tonwan of each other's wakan. It is unsafe for either to cross the other's track. The fossil remains of the Mastodon, which are sometimes found by the Dacotas, they confidently believe to be the bones of the Onkteri; and they are preserved by them most sacredly, and are universally esteemed for their wakan qualities, being used with wonderful effect as a sanative medicine. The Wakinyan are the Dacota's chief war-gods, from whom they have received the spear and tomahawk, and those paints which will shield them from harm when exposed to the murderous weapons of their enemies.

Takuxkanxkan (Tah-koo-shkan-shkan).—This god is invisible and ubiquitous. The name signifies "that which stirs." In cunning and passion, the Takuxkanxkan exceeds any of the other gods, and has a controlling influence over both intellect and instinct. He resides in the consecrated spear and tomahawk, in boulders (which are hence universally venerated by the Dacotas), and in the "Four Winds." The ceremony of the "vapor bath" is a sort of sacrifice to this god. He is never better pleased than when men fall in battle, or otherwise. The object of that strange ceremony of the Dacotas, in which the performer, being bound hand and foot with the greatest care, is suddenly unbound by an invisible agent, is to obtain an interview with this object of Dacota superstition, instead of the Great Spirit, as Carver supposed when he witnessed its performance, as related in his book of travels among the Indians. Subordinate to the Takuxkanxkan, are the buzzard, raven, fox, wolf, and some other animals of a similar nature.

The *Heyoka* (Hay-o-kah).—Of the Heyoka, like the Wakinyan, there are said to be four external forms; but it would be tedious to particularize. They are represented as being armed with bows and arrows, and deer-hoof rattlers, into which is infused the electric fluid; and one carries a drum, which is filled with the same. For a drum-stick a Wakinyan is used, the tail serving for a handle. One of the varieties of these gods, like Takuxkanxkan, is invisible; it is the gentle whirlwind. By the virtue of their medicines and tonwan powers, they aid men in seeking the gratification of their libidinous passions, in the chase, in inflicting diseases, and in restoring health. The nature of the Heyoka is the opposite of nature, *i. e.* they express joy by sighs and groans, and sorrow by laughter; they shiver when warm, and pant and perspire when cold; they feel perfect assurance in danger, and are terrified when safe; falsehood, to them, is truth, and truth is falsehood; good is their evil, and evil their good. I might proceed with an almost endless specification of Dacota deities, but those already mentioned will suffice for the present purpose.

In these, and divinities like these, as various as their imaginations can create, or their wants demand, the Dacotas find all that they desire. The abilities and powers of the gods combined, are the abilities and powers of the medicine-men.

How do the medicine-men come in possession of these powers?

Dacota medicine-men do not spring into existence under the ordinary operations of natural laws, but according to their faith, these men and women (for females too are wakan) first wake into conscious intellectual existence in the form of winged seeds, such as the thistle, and are wafted, by the intelligent influence of the Four Winds, through the aerial regions, till eventually they are conducted to the abode of some one of the Taku Wakan, by whom they are received into intimate communion. Here they remain till they become acquainted with the character and abilities of the class of gods whose guests they happen to be, and until they have themselves imbibed their spirit, and are acquainted with all the chants, feasts, dances, and sacrificial rites which the gods deem it necessary to impose on men. In this manner some of them pass through a succession of inspirations with different classes of the divinities, till they are fully wakenized, and prepared for human incarnation. Particularly they are invested with the invisible wakan powers of the gods, their knowledge and cunning, and their omnipresent influence over mind, instinct, and passion. They are taught to inflict diseases and heal them, discover concealed causes, manufacture implements of war, and impart to them the tomvan power of the gods; and also the art of making such an application of paints, that they will protect from the powers of enemies.

This process of inspiration is called "dreaming of the gods." Thus prepared, and retaining his primitive form, the demi-god now again rides forth, on the wings of the wind, over the length and breadth of the earth, till he has carefully observed the characters and usages of all the different tribes of men; then selecting his location, he enters one about to become a mother, and, in due time, makes his appearance among men, to fulfil the mysterious purposes for which the gods designed him. It is proper, perhaps, here to state, that when one of these wakan-men dies, he returns to the abode of his god, from whom he receives a new inspiration; after which he passes through another incarnation, as before, and serves another generation, according to the will of the gods. In this manner they pass through four incarnations (four is a sacred number), and then return to their original nothingness. Thus the medicine-man comes clothed with power.

What use does he make of it?

It would doubtless be impossible for the wakan-man to substantiate his claims with an intelligent and enlightened people, but it is not even difficult to do it among such a people as the Dacotas. Ignorance is emphatically the mother of credulity; and no absurdity is too great to be heartily received by an ignorant savage, when proposed by one of artful cunning; and such the persons in question generally are, who combine their talents for the benefit of the craft.

The blind savage finds himself in a world of mysteries, oppressed with a consciousness that he comprehends nothing. The earth on which he treads teems with life incomprehensible. It is, without doubt, wakan. In the springs which never cease to flow, and yet are always full, he recognizes the "breathing places" of the gods. When he raises his eyes to the heavens, he is overwhelmed with mysteries; for the sun, moon, and stars are so many gods and goddesses gazing upon him. The beast which he pursues to-day shuns him with the ability of an intelligent being, and to-morrow seems to be deprived of all power to escape from him. He beholds one man seized with a violent disease, and in a few hours expire in agony; while another almost imperceptibly wastes away through long years, and then dies. One he sees prostrated with racking pain in an instant, and then as suddenly restored to ease and vigor; while another drops away unnotified of death's approach, and without any cause which he can perceive. Pains which are excruciating will seize upon one part of the body at one moment—at the next, leap to another part, and then vanish. He finds himself a creature of ten thousand wants, which he knows not how to supply; and exposed to innumerable evils, which he cannot avoid. All these, and thousands of other things like these, to the Indian are tangible facts; and under their influence his character is formed. As, therefore, the tinder is susceptible of ignition, so the Indian mind is ready for deception, and hails with joy one who claims to comprehend these mysteries, to be able to contribute to the supply of all these wants, and successfully contend with all these intolerable evils; and we are prepared to expect that the wakan-men will put bridles into the mouths of their people. To establish their claims, these men and women cunningly lay hold of all that is strange, and turn to their own advantage every mysterious occurrence. They assume great familiarity with whatever astonishes others; they foretell future events, and often with a sufficient degree of accuracy; those at one village affect to be familiar with that which is transpiring at another village leagues distant; persons who are almost reduced to a skeleton by disease, in a day or two are as suddenly restored to perfect soundness, by their agency. When famine pinches the helpless infant and its disconsolate mother, and even the proud hunter sits down in the gloom of despair, relief often comes suddenly, in an unlooked-for, and even improbable manner, apparently through the influence of the wakan-men; or, if their efforts are for a time unsuccessful, and the suffering is protracted, it is attributed to the sins of the people. By the mental illumination of the wakan fires, obtained by almost superhuman abstinence, watchings, and efforts, they discover the movements of an enemy, wherever he may be, of which fact no doubt remains, when the little handful of warriors are led to victory by these god-men. At times, they appear to raise the storm or calm the tempest; to converse with the lightnings and the thunder, as with familiar friends; and if one of them happens to be injured or killed by the electric fluid, it only proves the truth of all he had said concerning the Wakingan, and his own disobedience to their mandates. To satisfy the cravings of the gods within them, these persons frequently, with great ceremony, publicly tear off with their teeth and eat the raw and bleeding flesh of slaughtered animals, like starving beasts and birds of prey; thus devouring parts of dogs, a fish entire, not excepting bones and scales; and they even quaff considerable quantities of human blood! By the performance of thousands of wonders such as those enumerated, these pretenders triumphantly substantiate their claims to inspiration, and are believed to be "the great powers of the gods;" and if some are looked upon as impostors, this fact only serves to enhance the importance of those who, being more crafty, are successful. I do not know an individual Dacota who does not yield full credence to the claims of some of these impostors; or if there are a few solitary exceptions, it must be attributed to the introduction of Christianity among them.

As a *priest*, with all the assurance of an eye-witness, the wakan-man bears testimony for the divinities; reveals their characters and will—dictates chants and prayers—institutes dances, feasts, and sacrificial rites—defines sin and its opposite—imposes upon the people a system of superstition to suit his own caprices, with an air of authority which may not be resisted, and with a precision which it would be difficult to exceed; a system so artful, so well adapted to the condition of the Indian, that it weaves itself into every act, and is embodied in each individual, and insures his most obsequious surrender to its demands. Sin consists in any want of conformity to, or transgression of the arbitrary rules prescribed by the priest, or want of respect for his person; and holiness consists in conformity to these rules, and well expressed respect for the wakan-men; while the rewards and punishments are of such a nature that they may be appreciated by the grossest senses. In the capacity of a priest, the influence of the Dacota medicine-men is so extensive and complete, that scarce an individual can be found in the nation who is not a servile religionist.

The wakan-man as a *warrior:* Every Dacota warrior looks to the wakan-man as almost his only resource. From him he receives a spear and tomahawk, constructed after the model furnished from the armory of the gods, painted by inspiration, and in which resides the spirit of the gods, and also those paints which serve as an armature for his body. To obtain these things, the proud applicant is required to become a servant to the Zuya wakan, while the latter goes through those painful and exhausting performances, which are necessary preparatory to the bestowment of them; such as vapor-baths, fastings, chants, prayers, &c. The implements of destruction being thus consecrated, the person who is to receive them, wailing most piteously, approaches the war-prophet and presents the pipe to him as to a god; and while in the attitude of prayer, he lays his hands upon his sacred head, penetrated with a sense of his own impotency, he sobs out his request in substance as follows: "Pity thou one who is poor and helpless—a woman in action—and bestow on me the ability to perform manly deeds." The prophet then presents the weapons desired, saying, "Go thou, try the swing of this tomahawk and the thrust of this spear, and witness the power of the god to whom they belong; but when in victory thou shalt return, forget not to perform thy vows." Each warrior is required to paint himself for battle in the same manner that his arms have been painted by the prophet; and may never paint in the same manner at any other time, except it may be in the performance of extraordinary religious rites. In this manner every young man is enlisted for life into the service of the war-prophet. These weapons are preserved as sacredly by the Dacota warriors as was the "ark of the covenant," by the Israelites. They are carefully wrapped up in a cloth cover, together with plumes and sacred pigments, and are laid outside of the tent every day, except in the storm, and may never be touched by a female who has arrived at the age of puberty. Every warrior feels that his success, both in war and hunting, depends entirely upon the strictness with which he conforms to the rules and ceremonies imposed upon him by the wakan warrior. The "armor feasts" are of almost daily occurrence in the Dacota camp, when the fruits of the chase are sufficient to supply them, when these arms are always religiously exhibited. Thus the influence of the medicine-man as a warrior, pervades the whole community, and it is hardly possible to over-estimate it; it is, however, vastly weakened by coming in contact with civilization and Christianity, and the medicine-men themselves seem to be well aware of the fact, that the dissemination of knowledge among the people tends directly to its destruction.

The wakan-man is a doctor. In the capacity of a doctor or wapiga, the influence of the Dacota medicine-man has scarcely any limits. Health is hardly more necessary to the happiness of the Indian than the wakan-man is for the preservation of health. It is believed that they have in their bodies animals, (gods,) which have great powers of suction, and which serve as suction-pumps, such as the lizard, bullfrog, leech, tortoise, garter-snake, &c. Other gods confer on them vocal powers, and their chants and prayers are the gifts of inspiration. The following is inserted here as a specimen of the chants which are used by these doctors, and is evidently from the wakinyan god, and the manner of the person using it is such as to impress all present that he is *conscious* that it expresses his own abilities.

INDIAN.

"Marpiya mibeya wakanyan awakinye;
Maka cokaya ojanjanwaye.
Tatankadan maka nabasa wanke,
Miye wan iyarpewaye."

TRANSLATION.

"Flying god-like, I encircle the heavens;
I enlighten the earth to its centre.
The little ox lies struggling on the earth,[1]
I lay my arrow to the string."

If the doctors are long without practice, they suffer great inconvenience from the restlessness of the gods within them. To pacify these, they sometimes take blood from the arm of some person and drink it. When one of them, having been respectfully and reverently called upon, and liberally prepaid, is about to operate upon a suffering patient — "a little ox struggling on the earth" — he has him placed upon a blanket on the ground, in a tent, with the body chiefly naked. He also generally strips off his own clothes, except the middle-cloth. After chants, prayers, the rattling of the gourd-shell, and innumerable other silly ceremonies, and making a variety of indescribable noises, and muttering something like the following, "The god told me that having this, I might approach even a skeleton and set it on its feet," he gets down upon his knees, and applying his mouth to the affected part of the patient, sucks with an energy which would seem to be almost superhuman; the gourd-shell still rattling violently. In this manner the god which is in the doctor pumps the disease from the sufferer. After sucking thus for a considerable time, the doctor rises on his feet in apparent agony, groaning so as to be heard a mile if the atmosphere is still, striking his sides, writhing and striking the earth with his feet so as almost to make it tremble, and holding a dish of water to his mouth, he proceeds with a sing-song bubbling to deposit in the dish that which has been drawn from the sick person. This laborious and disgusting operation is repeated, with short intervals, for hours. The operant is thus enabled, not only to relieve the sufferer, but also to discover the sin on account of which he has been afflicted, the spirit of which he sees rush into the lodge, and violently lay hold of the unfortunate sinner, as if he would rend him to atoms. The doctor now makes an image of the offended animal whose enraged spirit he saw, and causes it to be shot by three or four persons in quick succession, when the god that is in him, leaping out, falls upon, not the image, but the spirit of the animal which the image represents, and kills it. Now the sick man begins to convalesce, unless other offended spirits appear to afflict him. Sometimes the doctor is overcome by these spirits and the patient dies, unless one of greater wakan powers can be obtained; for they are wakan to different degrees, corresponding to the strength of this attribute as it exists in the gods by whom they are respectively inspired. It seems to be the general impression that there are wakan-men who are able to repel any foe to health till the superior gods order otherwise, but it is difficult to obtain their aid. For if they are not properly respected at all times, and well remunerated for their services, they let the sufferers perish without exerting their power to save them; doing their work deceitfully. It is also believed that they can inflict diseases as a punishment for sins committed against themselves, and that death is often the effect of their wakan power. When they thus kill a person, they cut off the tip of his tongue and preserve it as a memento of the fact. The people stand in great fear of these medicine-men, and when sick will give all they possess and all they can obtain on credit, to secure their services, and will often give a horse for a single performance. They are always treated with the greatest respect, and generally furnished with the best of everything. And if there are impostors, this fact turns decidedly to the advantage of those who are believed to be true. There are from five to twenty-five of these men and women at each of the villages, and most of them have a fair reputation and considerable employment, and that notwithstanding these Indians are now receiving so much aid from persons of our own people who follow the medical profession. I do not believe that an individual Dacota can be found, who does not believe that these jugglers can heal diseases without the help of vegetable or mineral medicines, except as this faith has been destroyed by the introduction among them of science and Christianity; and even at this day, the persons who do not employ them as wakan jugglers, are very few indeed.

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[1] The suffering patient.

Thus the Dacota medicine-men, (wakan-men,) in their various capacities, exert an influence which flows mightily from the centre to the circumference of Dacota society — an influence which is deeply felt by every individual of the tribe, and controls all their affairs, except as it has been partially interrupted by coming in contact with civilization and Christianity; and for reasons too obvious to need to be mentioned, they as a class, combine their influence to oppose the introduction of knowledge generally, and religious knowledge in particular, among their people. Each in particular, and all together, as wakan-men, they are not only useless, but a decided and devouring curse to their nation, on whose neck, mentally and morally, they have firmly planted the iron heel of priestly despotism: and until they are put down by the mighty operations of the Divine Spirit, through the word of Christ, they will effectually baffle any effort to elevate and civilize the Dacotas. "O Lord, how long!"

GIDEON H. POND.

XVIII. ETHNOLOGY. B.

[2D PAPER.]

TITLE XVIII.—SUBJECTIVE DIVISION, ETHNOLOGY.

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF TITLE XVIII.

TITLE II., LET. A., VOL. I.—[1st Paper.]

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2. Sun Worship.
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9, 10. Omens.

11 to 14. Indian and Oriental Philosophy.

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TITLE XVIII., LET. B., VOL. IV. [2d Paper.]

1. Preliminary Remarks to "Some Considerations on the Geographical Positions occupied by the various stocks of Tribes, in the present area of the United States, at the close of the 15th Century, and their subsequent migrations."

ETHNOLOGY.

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS TO SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY THE VARIOUS STOCKS OF TRIBES IN THE PRESENT AREA OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE CLOSE OF THE 15TH CENTURY, AND THEIR SUBSEQUENT MIGRATIONS.

THE Indian tribes of America, by their very isolation, for so many centuries, from the rest of mankind, offer a peculiar theme for ethnological consideration. And it is one which cannot be approached, in the actual paucity of our information, without a strong feeling of presumption in taking up a question on which research and philosophy have been so long employed — employed, too, with talents of no secondary order, and without having rendered that certain and undeniable, which was before doubtful. The only plea that can be offered for this temerity is, that there is room for applying facts to theories, which have been supported chiefly by speculation. Reflections on the original divisions and migrations of nations, assume a cosmical dignity, which is apt to be specious and persuasive, rather than convincing. The scope for such remarks is ever the greatest in regard to the early and dark ages of the globe, before history can be said to have fairly nibbed her pen, or philosophy attempted to pursue the plain path of induction. I verily believe that it would be easier to prove, from the shadowy and very manageable materials of this era, that Nimrod and his descendants overran all India, and peopled America, than it would be to produce reliable proofs of the genealogy of Manco Capac, or to render it very satisfactory how many times the attempts to found an empire in Mexico broke down, and fell into disorganization, before Montezuma erected his dynasty.

But while these questions, respecting the tropical and torrid parts of the continent, are involved in a great deal of doubt, there is less uncertainty respecting the condition and migrations of the Indian tribes who occupied the temperate latitudes at the era of the discovery by Columbus; and still less, it is believed, respecting the leading stocks who occupied the present area of the United States, at the respective periods of its colonization. It is on this latter subject that it is proposed to offer some remarks. To do this in a manner that may approve itself, it is not proposed to trace up the often loose and vague notions of our early history, but rather to denote some sources of misconception which have been mingled in the philosophy of our antiquities. To dig in Indian graves and mounds would be a very excusable curiosity, if the labor revealed nothing but implements of art which the tribes had purchased from our ancestors, and which they set so high a value on that they were anxious to secure the superior treasures to their relatives in the other world. But when these excavations reveal to us testimony of a higher kind, namely, the fabrics of the true Indian period, before the Europeans crossed the Atlantic, we obtain an insight into the condition of art which preceded the era of our own advent here.

Language is a still more conclusive test of national affinity. It was truly observed by Mr. Jefferson, that, although so many centuries had passed since the English race broke off from their kindred stocks in the north of Europe, yet the most unmistakable evidence exists at the present day of such affiliation, by an examination of English lexicography. No attempt to trace the affinities of our tribes, is, therefore, likely to be successful, which does not found its hopes, in a great measure, on the testimony derived from vocabularies and grammars of the Indian languages. Mr. Prichard, who has so successfully made inquiries on the subject of the Races of Men, in the course of some queries which he drew up for the British Association for the advancement of Science, in 1839, directs the following notice to the collectors of proofs of language:—

"Do the natives speak a language already known to philologists, and if so, state what it is; and notice whether it exhibit any dialectic peculiarities, as well as the modifications of pronunciation and accentuation which it may offer. State also the extent to which this dialect may be used, if limits can be ascertained.

"If the language be little, if at all known, endeavor to obtain a vocabulary as extensive as circumstances will allow, and at least consisting of the numerals, the most common and important substantives,[1] the pronouns in all persons and numbers, adjectives expressive of the commonest qualities, and, if possible, a few verbs varied in time and person. The vocabulary should be tested by the interrogation of different natives, and more than one person should be engaged in taking it down from their mouths, to avoid, as far as may be, errors arising from peculiarities of utterance or defect of hearing. It is, likewise, of importance that the system of orthography be duly indicated, and strictly adhered to.

"Endeavor to take down some piece of native composition, such as the ordinary phrases employed in conversation, and any other piece of prose which may be attainable; and specimens of metrical composition, if such exist. Though these would be of comparatively little use without translation, yet independently of this, some importance is to be attached to the metrical compositions, if they have a national character and are widely diffused; and, in this case, it might be possible to express some of their airs in musical characters. A specimen of known composition translated into their language, may also be given, such as the first chapter of Genesis, the fifteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel, and the Lord's Prayer.

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[1] The names of mountains, lakes, rivers, islands, &c.

"Endeavor to ascertain whether the language is extensively spoken or understood, and whether there are different languages spoken by men having similar physical characters, obviously connecting them as a race, or if different somewhat in this respect, inhabiting a particular geographical tract. When such groups are said to possess different languages, endeavor, as far as possible, to ascertain their number, the sources whence each is derived, and the languages to which it is allied; and also the circumstances, geographical or political, which may account for these distinctions."—*Pamphlet Queries*, p. 14: 8vo, Lond. 1841: Richard and John E. Taylor.

The subject is one which, so far as the history of the Indian tribes of the United States is involved, can be conveniently segregated, at least in this stage of the inquiry, from that of the South American tribes. Deeming it to be one, however, in the proper investigation of which individual efforts must have no little difficulty to meet, it was (after consultation with the Hon. R. J. Walker, in 1836, a few days after the passage of the act organizing the Smithsonian Institution) suggested to the Regents of that institution, as being appropriate to its researches for the increase and diffusion of knowledge. The following extracts from the memoir drawn up on this occasion, embrace the principal lights in which the subject appears to have claims to consideration.

"In laying before you the following suggestions, I am governed by the opinion that the subject proposed possesses general interest, as a branch of human knowledge, and cannot but be invested with peculiar force to men of letters dwelling on the Western Continent. The origin, dispersion, and affinities of nations, and their transference from the eastern to the western hemisphere, prior to the period of Columbus, have constituted subjects of interesting inquiry, from the time of the discovery. Viewed in the lights which are presented by the progress of ethnography, modern geographical discovery, and other means of advancing the study of nations, the inquiry may be supposed to be one which the mind of Mr. Smithson had embraced in his enlarged conception of promoting 'the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men.'

The occupation of the continent itself by men diverse in their physical and mental traits, and their languages, from the various races of its discoverers at, and after 1492; —separated as the continent is, by seas and open straits, from other parts of the globe, constitutes an interesting and unsolved problem. And its solution is still more interesting, when we reflect that these native races had no maritime skill adequate to the construction of ships—that the state of arts, if we make some local exceptions, was very low—that they were without letters or literature; and, when questioned as to their origin, that they put forth traditions which were generally better suited to engage the imagination, than to satisfy the judgment.

The extent and noble proportions of the continent, stretching for thousands of miles through the Atlantic, and forming a vast and mountainous barrier between it and the Pacific, entitled it in more than one sense, to the appellation it received by every succeeding navigator of the NEW WORLD. It was indeed a new world, not less in its grand physical structure, than for the races of man who roved over, rather than inhabited it. And these latter races, now that over three and a half centuries have passed, are quite as much a problem to historians and philosophers, in view of their early connection and national affinities with the races of Asia, Africa, and Europe, as they were then.

But when we examine this continent, in all its sweeping latitudes and longitudes, in its highest altitudes, and in its lowest and broadest valleys, we find imbedded in its very geological strata, as well as in its surface-ruins, evidences that it had been inhabited long — that there had been people of diverse arts and habits upon its plains and estuaries. And that, of the RED RACE itself, there are evidences of mutations and changes, reaching from mere sachemships to rude colossal empires, which, like that of Montezuma, broke down, in fact, under the glittering and disproportioned weight of inherent corruptions and barbarisms.

Forts, mounds, ditches, and works of art — pottery with the triune emblem of the philosophy of Zoroaster — mummies wrapped in their half Nilotic cerements — vast pyramidal structures of earth and of stone—palaces and ruined cities—are among the objects of its antiquarian and historical interest. Not only from the romantic and sublime lake of Titicaca, and the fire-crowned peaks of the valley of Mexico, do we perceive centres of population, rushing out to rule and conquer, but from the yet unexplored plains of the Rio Gila and the Colorado of California—from the broad valley of the Mississippi, from the southern slopes of the Apalachian range of the south Atlantic, and even from the colder latitudes of the Great Lakes, where the indomitable Iroquois built up their republic, we behold a concurring series of facts and discoveries, which prove incontestably that various races of the wide-spread and original family of the Red Race have lived, and cultivated, and warred, and died at these localities.

When we come to apply to these vestiges of ancient structure, the scrutiny of exact observation and description, and to view the facts under the lights of induction and historical analysis, we elicit several classes of evidence, which tend to restore important links in the history of the original dispersion of our species—elevate us in the scale of knowledge, and go far to enable us to appreciate and understand our position on the globe. And in proportion as this investigation is pressed, — in proportion as science is applied to it, and the current of investigation deepened, we abstract from the boundaries of mystery and conjecture, and add to those of ascertained facts and history. We thus advance, indeed, in knowledge; and compass one of the noblest ends of being.

It is in this light that Ethnology makes its appeal to modern letters; and I beg leave to bring its claims to your early consideration. It is proposed to consider ethnology in the most enlarged sense, of which the etymology of the word admits, as embracing MAN in his divisions into NATIONS;—their affinities and characteristics, mental and physical; with such proofs deduced from history, philology, antiquities, and the exact sciences, as may serve to link nation to nation, and race to race. In this study, particular reference is designed to be had to the position of the American Continent, and to the aboriginal races found upon it, when first discovered by Europeans. In this view, it embraces not only geography, ANTIQUITIES and HISTORY, as descriptive sciences, but likewise the early history of ARTS, ETHNOGRAPHY, COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, geology and physiology, and such other collateral sciences as may be found necessary to investigate, illustrate, and explain the subject.

The mode of advancing the subject, and carrying into effect the inquiry, so as best to bring out the facts for general information, may admit of some diversity of opinion. It is not an inquiry which admits of extempore labors. To consider diligently the various parts of the continent which furnish mental aliment for the investigation, to scrutinize and collate what has been discovered and written, to collect from mounds and other sources, in various parts of the world, specimens of ancient art, and above all, to embody the present and past languages and philology of tribes and nations, is a labor requiring time and attention. Much of this, when acquired, is hardly of a character to sustain popular treatises or lectures. It may be doubted, indeed, whether in offering researches in a verbal form, they are not always in danger of suffering from the hands of theory and rhetoric. Still, it is a question whether condensed statements of parts of the inquiry may not thus occasionally be thrown out in the regular Institutional letters. But whether so or not, the inquiries should be printed at a press, completely controlled by the Board, and issuing its papers in a form to correspond with the general style and plan of their publications.

In reference to all the objects of Indian history, it is essential to compare the several American nations one with another, and with the leading nations of other parts of the globe. In proceeding to advance the subject, the first labor must be the labor of accumulating facts. Visits to the several objects of antiquarian interest, demanding attention, with proper instruments for observation, are required. Field surveys of ruins, and drawings of all important objects, to be commented on, are essential. Care must be taken to notice, whether there be more than one era of occupancy, or one type of nationality, denoted by the same locality. And with the same view the different ages and relative position of the different geological formations, embracing ruins, or objects of art, should be carefully noted. Fossil bones of extinct or ancient species of animals, and beds or banks of shells of the eocine or pleocine deposits, derive the character of evidence denoting separate EPOCHS of occupancy, and are invested with new interest. Traces of organic life of the higher species have been found deeper down in the geological column, in later days, than were known to the elder geologists, and the vestiges of man should be carefully sought in all the unconsolidated strata. We know the globe has been disturbed since its creation and destruction, and we should be prepared to find physical evidences of it. Not only architecture, but metallurgy, pottery, sculpture and drawing, should be interrogated, in examining their remains on American soil. Inscriptions on rocks are of value, as antiquarian proofs, as well as all traces of the ancient method of symbol, or picture writing.

But whatever degree of care is evinced by personal inspection, it is essential to the purposes of comparison, that a full and complete collection of antiquarian objects, and the characteristic fabrics of nations, existing and ancient, should be formed and deposited in the Institution. By adding to this, from time to time, such implements of art or war, articles of costume, or other objects of curiosity, as might be obtained, there would be formed, in the end, a MUSEUM OF MANKIND, wherein each tribe and nation would be characteristically represented. Such a museum would, in itself, be a desideratum. Many valuable objects of this kind have been brought home by the Exploring Expedition, and are now deposited in the Patent Office.

Nothing is more characteristic of the intellectual existence of man, than language. It is found to be a more enduring monument of ancient affinities than the physical type, and there is no tribe, however situated, from whom this proof of affiliation should not be obtained. By collecting a vocabulary and grammar of every known tongue, from printed and verbal sources, the institution would present to the world a Library of Philology which would cause its site to be resorted to from the remotest quarters. In the United States and British North America alone, we have at least sixty-four dialects and languages.[1] Nor should the mythology of rude nations be neglected. It is the frame-work of their philosophy and their religion, and gives character to their songs and poetry, and every form of intellectual excitement.

Finally, both the duty of observation in the field, and the examination of facts and evidences in the cabinet or library, may be commenced immediately, and need not be delayed until the contemplated buildings are completed, and the library, &c. perfected. Time is essential in making preliminary examinations. The consideration of the country may be taken up, in a separate and systematic manner, taking valley by valley, or state by state. Some portions of the land are more prominent in their claims to notice than others; but in all, over which the tide of modern emigration sets, the evidences of its former occupancy are rapidly disappearing. The same may be said of the Red race, whose languages and existing customs it is wished to preserve. The earlier the labor is commenced, the more easy will be its execution. Of the Mississippi Valley alone, where so many evidences of the earliest and heaviest ancient population exist, but a few years will place the most important facts beyond our reach. By adopting the plan suggested, or some plan of this extent, we shall rescue from the oblivion of past generations, matter for thought and reflection. As fast as the information is collected, digested, and prepared, it can be submitted to the public. Whatever form for diffusing it the Board may adopt, can be conformed to; and in this way, the object may at once be made to assume a practical cast." [Letter, 22d August, 1836.]

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[1] Greatly increased by the extension of the Union, since 1836.

The topic appears to be one which either was not appreciated or understood by the Board, or it probably was inadequately advocated. However that may be, I am still of opinion, that the subject, in both its ethnographical and ethnological bearings, is one eminently suited to public patronage; and that its investigation is alike due to the cause of antiquarian letters, as to the history of an enigmatical race.

The name and history of the Indian tribes are indissolubly connected with the continent. Much of our own story is the history of negotiations, struggles, and plans for the melioration of the race. Thrilling and sanguinary are the pages on which this history is written. Bravely have they often stood up against European absorption; and wildly and desperately have they often fought for their supremacy. But they have been led, in these patriotic and fitful struggles, by a class of dark-minded and sanguinary priesthood, who, being themselves believers in the worst forms of necromancy, superstition, and fanaticism, have led them on into scenes of peril, from which they have not had the wisdom to extricate them. Cheats and rhapsodists, without moral light for their guidance, making furious harangues, to lead them on to struggle and battle, often for the most selfish, false, or imaginary objects—this class of men, who are the real bane of Indian prosperity, have been the cause to hurry them on to their destruction. And for one who has fallen by the sword, a thousand have fallen by intemperance, and other forms of indulgence.

To rescue them from their fate, there has been no want of benevolent effort. But it has been, under the power of their medas and jossakeeds, like crying out to the hurricane to cease its rage. And if sometimes we have heard the voice of an archangel in the wilderness, who, like Eliot and Brainerd, Edwards and Zinzendorf, have stilled the tempest with the voice of love and mercy, it has been, while the Indian magii remained, but as pauses in the hurricane, to be succeeded by still greater darkness, and more furious blasts.

Nor can I omit the occasion to add, that one of the most exalted objects pressing on our nationality at this time is, perhaps, to leave to future ages a record of the race, which, while it dissipates error and charlatanism with respect to the aborigines, in every guise, shall present them to posterity in their true lights, historically and ethnologically.

APPENDIX TO TITLE XVIII.

QUERIES AND SUGGESTIONS FOR TRAVELLERS SOUTH.

1. Semi-civilization in the aboriginal races of the southern parts of this continent, appears to have originated in high interior valleys, such as those of Anahuac and Titicaca. Interior, and not seaboard positions, appear also to have most favored the development of industry and the arts in the tribes of the original area of the United States. The Eries, the Iroquois, the Alleghans, and other tribes of the Ohio, who have left the most respectable class of monuments, were strictly interior tribes, who had no communications with the sea, or none that supplied them an element of civilization.

Inquire about these ancient conditions of the tribes where you travel. To be fenced in with mountains, must have given security to society. A genial climate and a fertile soil, were the next elements. Were not these, in fact, also the essential elements of the civilization of Asia Minor, prior to the Greek civilization?

If the idea of interior nuclei, or centres of civilization, be true, it becomes important to scrutinize the yet unexplored areas of the continent, to pry into ancient seats of Indian population. In this view, the entire elevated or mid-altitude ranges and valleys of the Cordilleras and the Andes, hold out inviting sections of discovery.

The style of architecture of all the American Indians, from Fuego to the Great Lakes, appears to have the character of extreme simplicity or antiquity. Examine into this, and endeavor to test the question, by a close inspection of foundations, columns, plinths, capitals, entablatures, and arches, in the best specimens of temples and teocalli. Is there any evidence of the Nilotic, or battering wall? Is there any contrivance to compensate for the arch, beyond the overlapping mode?

In all North America, north of the Gila, the Indians had, in fact, no fixed dwelling-houses, and were, as a consequence, erratic. There is not an ancient trace of such a structure, of permanent materials, in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, where the evidences of a fixed population were at the same time the greatest, and where their sacrificial temple mounds and manito hills were very general. Three poles, tied together at the top, and spread out at the bottom in the shape of a tripod, constitute the model for the lodge, tent, or extempore dwelling of all the tribes of the temperate latitudes between Texas and Minnesota. That the Indian nations laid stress on the possession of a fixed dwelling-house, as a type of condition, in contradistinction to a tent or lodge, is proved not only by their having separate words for each, but by their having, in their picture-writing, universally adopted the figure of a dwelling-house as the symbol of civilization.

What is the general ground-plan and elevation of the great calli or *town-house* of stone in New Mexico and California? Are structures of this kind found in Central America generally? The Cherokees, so early as 1730, had adopted the type of the notched or frontier log house. This was an early forest element of the Americo-European civilization, and consequent upon the introduction of the iron axe. The Iroquois, at the discovery, erected an oblong lodge of stout posts, with cross-ties at right angles; the whole sheathed with massive bark. There seems to have been among the North American tribes, from the earliest time, a tendency to family unions, or large combined families, connected by what is termed the *totem*, so far as related to the arrangement of their dwelling-places.

2. The researches of Dr. Morton have settled the point of craniological development, unless it can be shown that the anomalies in the Peruvian and Salish skulls are not due to compression, or mechanical causes. But we are in want of exact descriptions of the ancient places of sepulture, both ordinary and extraordinary.

In other cases, as at Durango, where the bodies were embalmed, or otherwise preserved, it is desirable to ascertain the mode adopted, and whether there be anything in the gums or preservative menstruæ employed, or in the fabrics used in wrapping the body, which indicate an oriental character, or which do not, on the contrary, point to a local origin.

3. The earthenware of the aborigines, wherever it represents the earliest period, is of the rudest possible kind. It has no traces of having been raised by the potter's wheel, or baked in an oven, or of having been glazed. Their *akeeks*, or earth-kettles, were mere vessels for the sand-bath, and not in any instance supported by feet. Observe whether there be any vessels of the earliest epoch which had borrowed forms, or devices, from those of the Egyptian vases. At a later period, say in Peru and Mexico, A. D. about 1600, better wares were introduced. The composition, the style, and the general character of aboriginal pottery, are indeed among the best tests of the several eras of Indian history, and it is important particularly to note the degree of art evinced by the vessels disclosed in the examination of the most ancient tumuli, or ruins. Funereal dishes were put with the Indian dead. They appear in the low mounds of Florida.

4. Sculpture is not older than the potter's art; but, according to Winckleman, mankind had made a very early proficiency in it, as well as in the art of cutting and engraving gems. Judah had his signet long before the invention of letters.[1]

Among the northern tribes, sculpture was almost wholly devoted to the carving of pipe-bowls and sea-shells. The sculptures often represent quadrupeds and birds with great spirit; and it appears that this art, of which specimens have been found as far N. as 46°, was most perfect in the earliest periods of our Indian history.

5. Inscriptions. — In tracing the monumental history of our American tribes, it is desirable to scrutinize the oldest tumuli and remains for the arrow-headed character, no instance of which has ever been discovered in America. The same may be said of hieroglyphics of the Nilotic stamp. The art of recording ideas by the symbolic mode of pictures, or ideographic drawings of animals, &c., is confessedly older than either of these systems. If we are to trace the American tribes to the early known and recognized groups of the red-skinned type of the Asiatic stock, (and their physiology alone appears to impel us to this conclusion,) we may suppose them to have known the common and most popular arts of their era. In this view, the art of inscription by picture-writing covers the earliest epoch.

The whole subject of the art of Indian picture-writing has, indeed, a broad significancy, as bearing on their origin, history, and mental capacities. It is essentially a homogeneous system, from the ancient valley of Anahuac to the bleak shores of the Arctic Ocean. The Aztecs had only excelled in it, and were better painters. It was, virtually, mnemonic, north and south, and never went much beyond a help to memory. Particular facts were noted by natural symbols; their general position in the history of a transaction required to be fixed by conventional signs or treasured knowledge in the interpreter. It is so, at this day, with tribes on the farthest shores of Lake Superior and the western prairies. Whole songs are noted by these tribes by means of a series of devices, which bring to mind important visible objects, as a wolf, a snake, &c., in the *theme* of the singer. He must have previously, however, memorized the words of a song, in order, on the production of the symbols, to chant them. Biographical data, or rude exploits, are also jotted down in this manner, although these symbols are less difficult to explain. Historical events, tax-lists and statistics, and the general events of war seen in the Mexican paintings, were also more easy to depict and to remember; and it is in this species of the art, rendered striking by its coloring and order of arrangement, that the Aztec system has become so noted. Of the very large proportion of the splendid collection of Aztec paintings of Lord Kingsborough, relating to the obscure topics of their astrology and mythology, the ablest commentators have failed to impart much. The Aztec mythology was found, at the conquest, to be so foul a system of demonology, that the Catholic priests everywhere suppressed it, and the knowledge of its rites and dogmas was permitted, as much as possible, to die with the old Indian interpreters and teachers.

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[1] Gen. xxxviii. 18. 25.

6. **Oriental Mythology.**—There are some striking coincidences between the general mythology of the oriental and occidental hemispheres. The ideas of a creation, of the ark, and of a person or family who survived the flood, have been generally found to be symbolized by the same class of sculptures in both hemispheres. In both divisions of America, the serpent performs an important part in the symbolic language of mythology; the turtle scarcely less so. The latter is, in the north generally, a symbol of the original earth. The great Coatl of the South, and the Kenabik of the North, are types of evil. When personal evil is alone meant to be symbolized with the northern tribes, they generally affix horns.

Egg of Ormuzd.—In one of the recent disclosures of the ancient earth-works of the Ohio valley, a curious structure has been traced, which appears to symbolize the very ancient idea of the origin of matter by the mundane egg. This was a fixed dogma of the philosophy of Zoroaster; it was afterwards transferred to the Grecian cosmogony; but thus far appears to be anomalous in the Indian mythology of America, and is to be suspected as intrusive in the system. If not thus isolated, the remains or ruins of ancient structures in other localities, north or south, may be expected to disclose it.

7. **Creation.**—The will of the Great Spirit, the Monedo of the Algonquins, and the Teotl of the Aztecs, is the *first cause* of creation in our Indian theology. Indian mythologists do not attempt to show the mode of it. We hear nothing of a fortuitous concurrence of atoms, as in the Phœnician theology. It is simply assumed by our aborigines that heaven was made *first*, and that the earth was a *secondary* creation; for it is only in the latter era, or the mythological revolutions, that we hear of details, such as the Iroquois story of Atahentsic.

Idea of Eternity.—The sacred books of the Hindoos make Vishnoo and Siva to die at the end of 4000 years; others of the thirty-three millions of the gods of their Pantheon, at far longer periods; to be succeeded by other deities of limited periods. Brahma himself dies at the end of 2,160,000,000 years.[1] But Monedo never dies. Polytheism, with our Indians, consists, indeed, in no rivalry or transmission of divine power, such as exists between Siva and Vishnoo. It is rather in the mode of the exhibition of the Great Spirit's power, that the doctrine of sublunary spirits comes in; but these minor agents, when seen on earth, are not pretended by the Jossakeeds and wise men to be anything more than men inspired or dignified with limited spiritual powers. The Great Spirit is affirmed to exist in all space, ready to bestow these powers.

End of the World.—In ancient Mexico, the theory of the priests was that the world came to an end at the close of each of their cycles; and it was only their power, in supplication and offerings, that induced Teotl to renew it. But we do not hear that their supreme god ever stood in jeopardy of terminating his own existence. Here, then, is a point of their belief superior to the Brahminical theology. It affords, at the same time, traces of correspondence between the most corrupt (the Aztec) and the most pure (the Algonquin) forms of the Indian theology.

8. **Religion.**—All our Indians appear, at the earliest periods, to have been worshippers of the Sun, or of a sacred fire. There are some very striking resemblances between their rites and the very ancient Persian system of the magi. With less imposing forms than the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, our elder northern tribes yet held the essential doctrines of the Gheber worship, and made offerings to the Sun throughout all our latitudes. Its symbols are found on the rocks of New England and Lake Superior. The existing tribes who still adhere to their native religion, the Me-

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[1] Lectures of H. H. Wilson, Boden Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, 1840, p. 55.

dia-win of the North, only deny that they regard the Sun in any other light than as a material type of the Great Spirit. Yet I have found hymns to the Sun.[1]

9. Sun's Orbit.—The astronomy of the Aztecs was chiefly remarkable for the near accuracy with which they, at length, found the true period of the solar year. Their division of time into a period of thirteen days, or semi-months, of which it required twenty to complete their year of two hundred and sixty days, was entirely artificial, and proves the system to have been older than their astronomy; for, when they formed it, they must either have been ignorant of, or else disregarded, the sun's phases. It would be interesting to know whether the Aztec astronomy, as found at the conquest, had spread to other regions. In the present area of the United States, the natives knew nothing of it, or of any system which has been noticed, but a lunar year of twelve moons—some affirming a thirteenth moon, for which they cannot, however, determine the place of intercalation.

10. Psychology.—The doctrine of duplicate souls, which is a very ancient idea, has been found among some of the Algonquin tribes. It is believed by them that one of the souls remains with the buried body. The transmigration of the soul, after death, is very strikingly revealed in some of the oral imaginative traditions of the same class of tribes. (Vide Algic Researches.) It is seen in these traditions that the soul of Pa-pu-ki-wis, an adventurer who is exalted to a place in their mythology, after losing his human shape, is successively sent to inhabit a wolf, a brant, a snake, a rock, &c. But it is nowhere denoted that this was done, as the system of the disciples of Pythagoras maintained, as a punishment for misdeeds. It was rather, in the case named, the individual's choice, as if he had feared annihilation.

In studying the Indian history from their monuments, there is enough to indicate inter-tribal resemblances and affiliations in arts and ideas on a large scale. The question is, whether there be anything in their geometry, architecture, astronomy, agriculture, or other of the best cultivated features of their civilization at its highest point, which is traceable to oriental nations. Are we to look to the prostrated cities and temples of aboriginal America for anything which was ever characteristic of the inhabitants of the Ganges, the Indus, the Euphrates, or the Nile, at periods of which history gives us either a record or a glimpse? If so, we must go to epochs which preceded not only the dawn of letters, but of the phonetic, the hieroglyphic, and the cuneiform character. We are driven to the utmost era of the earlier picture-writing. We have found no true hieroglyphics in America. There is no instance of an inscription in the arrow-headed character. The utmost attainment of our aborigines, north and south, is the system of ideographic paintings and symbols, at once the most ancient and the most imperfect of all known forms of recording ideas the world ever saw. If we are guided by modern explorations in the East, the pictographic era dates back to the building of Babel and Nineveh.

11. Elements of Indian Agriculture.—There is an interesting class of facts connected with the early cultivation, by the Indians, of the zea maize and the tobacco plant. Both species are, generally, deemed indigenous. Not as much can be said, perhaps, of the American species of the cotton plant. Cotton was grown and manufactured in India, at the earliest period of its discovery.

12. How far did the Indian Civilization extend.—There are two antipodal points in American geography which it is important to examine, after we have exhausted the yet imperfectly known area of Guatemala, and Central America, in order to determine the full limits of the ancient semi-civilization. They are the western flanks and base of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia, particularly the basin of Titicaca, and our newly acquired possessions on the northern borders of Mexico.

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[1] Ge, in the ancient mythology, was a sister of Heaven. Ge-sis, is the name these tribes apply to the Sun. That they may be compared with the ideas entertained of the Sun by the ancient Egyptians, the following inscription from the Obelisk of Heliopolis may be cited. "I, the Sun, the Great God, the Sovereign of Heaven, have bestowed upon you, life without satiety. Horus the brave, lord of the diadem, incomparable; the sovereign of Egypt, that has placed the statues of (the gods) in this palace, and has beautified Heliopolis. In like manner as he has honored the Sun himself, the Sovereign of Heaven, the offspring of the Sun, the king immortal, has performed a godly work."

The Spaniards themselves were impressed with the importance of thoroughly exploring these northern regions, to which the Indian traditions referred as the origin of their civilization: but all their expeditions into that quarter may be said to have been, more or less, failures. They were looking for gold, rather than for facts in the history of man. Our recent military reconnoissances only prepare us for the reception of further and full researches in that quarter.

13. TOTEMS.—There is found a very curious tie of tribal affinity among the Algonquins, the Iroquois, and other northern tribes, which has been called the TOTEMIC BOND. It is important to learn how far it extends. Formerly, it was thought to be peculiar to the tribes named. But it has been traced to other families. The Iroquois are mingled by association in eight Totems, in each of the six cantons, making forty-eight cross-ties, binding them together by a bond of brotherhood, politically and socially. Among the numerous Algonquin tribes, the number of clans, or Totems, is far more numerous. The ancient Lenapees had but three. The Iroquois, originally, appear to have had but three, namely, the turtle, the bear, and the wolf. The Cherokees possessed seven. In searching for this Totemic trait in the monumental remains of America, the curious and hitherto unexplained low imitative mounds of Wisconsin, assume their proper place in history. They are Totemic mounds, erected to clans, or chiefs of clans.

In the sculptures and glyphs of Chichen Itza, as given by Mr. Stephens, a distinctive portion of each compartment of figures is clearly made up of the Totemic insignia and honors of the respective chiefs and rulers, under whose sway these now dilapidated structures may be supposed to have been built. They clearly exhibit evidences of this early pictorial and symbolic art. We observe the same system on the walls of Palenque.

This tie of ancient family and tribal affinities, enters also largely into their system of inscriptions on scrolls of the western papyrus, or bark tissue, and is frequently observed in passing through the Indian country, on their blazed trees, bark letters, hieratic tablets, and muzzinabiks, or painted rocks. It may be expected to have had a wider development on the monuments of the south. Manco Capac and Mong,[1] both inscribed a figure of the sun as the evidence of their family descent. The son of Uncas placed a water-fowl for his signature. Brant sealed with the triune badge of a bear, turtle, and wolf.

The descent of the chiefs by the female line is found to have marked the Iroquois, the Cherokees, the Natchez, and other North American tribes. Is this purely an American aboriginal law?

14. PHILOLOGY.—But whatever deductions may be drawn from types of civilization and theories of descent, or modes of polity, their languages appear destined to throw most light on their ancient affiliations. For of all Indian traditions, those which preserve the memory of words and phrases, and their principles of concord, are the most lasting. No people take up or lay down a language at will. It descends with their blood, and is altered only by a process of mutation which is so slow, that it is wholly imperceptible at the time. One vowel finally melts into another—an accent is changed, or an unaccented syllable dropped—the known list of interchangeable consonants contribute their element of change—new combinations of words are required by change of residence, or new objects. These sources of mutation, acting through one age upon another, are to be supposed to have been adequate, in long eras, to have originated diverse dialects and tongues. But that the action is extremely slow, and requires very long epochs, is shown by the little change that has been produced by three centuries upon those languages of which we have, more or less fully, the earliest records—such as the Mohegan, the Lenapee, the Iroquois, and the Algonquin. Words are so many monuments reaching from age to age. It is on this known philological principle that the extreme antiquity of the Indian tribes of this continent chiefly rests. In the accompanying vocabulary, the scope and general principles of the languages will, it is believed, be satisfactorily developed. It is thought important to add their numerals from 1 to 10 and 12, from 20 to 100, from 100 to 1000, and from 1000 to 10,000. Scarcely any of our northern tribes are capable of appreciating a higher

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[1] The key figure of the Dighton Rock.

number. It will be sufficient to denote whether the tribes count by decimals, by fives, or by the ventigesimal system of the Aztecs.

In the North American tribes, the tendency of modern researches has been to denote an increased number of words and forms, which assimilate clearly with kindred words in the Semitic family. This subject has acquired a new interest from the facilities furnished by modern philology.

15. Anomalies.—In Indiana and Michigan, extensive antique garden-beds or furrows were found, preserved in their outlines by the forest or the stiff prairie sod. Did these antiquities mark other parts of the continent? Are they the remains of aboriginal industry, or of exterminated civilians?

16. Things that carry the mind to eras as remote as those of Nimrod or Job.—The style of many of the western fortifications is unique. It appears to be too rude and irregular to be deemed derivative from any people who had reached attainments in the art of field-works. The type is a ditch and palisade around the scarp of a hill, however irregular.

There is nothing, perhaps, in things found in the tumuli, any object or article older than the carved pipe bowl, the stone fleshing chisel, corn and silex crusher, and the porphyry, or stone disc, or, at the utmost, the shell coin and shell amulet.

19. Internal Trade.—The commerce in sea shells, wrought or entire, copper, silver, gold, obsidian, mica and serpentine, steatite, and other soft material used for carvings, is one of the best means of tracing migration, or international relations, among the ancient tribes. The delicate marginella of the West India and Florida coasts is found in the oldest mounds of the Ohio, with the native copper of Lake Superior, the silver mica of the Alleghanies, and the obsidian of Mexico. The Chinooks of the mouth of the Columbia employ the Dentalium eliphanticum to decorate their shot-pouches; this article is exchanged from hand to hand till it has reached the tribes on the Lakes. Ornaments of the red pipe stone of Coteau de Prairie, were found at the level of the foot of the flag-staff, in pulling down and levelling the eminence of the old fort at Oswego.

20. Geographical names only begin to denote the history of aboriginal tribes, after civilized nations have fixed themselves in the country. The tribes pass away, or migrate; but their names for localities are retained by the new comers, and show where the aborigines once lived. In this way, we have convincing testimony that the Wyandots once lived on the north shores of Lake Ontario; that Algonquin tribes dwelt about the base of Monadnock; and that Mohegans passed in their canoes through the whirlpool channel of the Manhattan.

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An impression having been entertained, both at home and abroad, that this work is an issue of the "Smithsonian Institution," or is sustained in part by its funds, or by its influence, it is proper to observe, that no aid, in either of these respects, is known to have been derived from that Institution; which has, however (having an European agency), been the medium of distributing a stipulated number of the 1st, 2d, and 3d volumes in Great Britain and Central Europe. Hereafter, this branch of the distribution will be made through the foreign legations and consulships. The work is exclusively sustained by Congress, and distributed by the Indian Bureau of the Department of the Interior.

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Washington, January 15th, 1854.